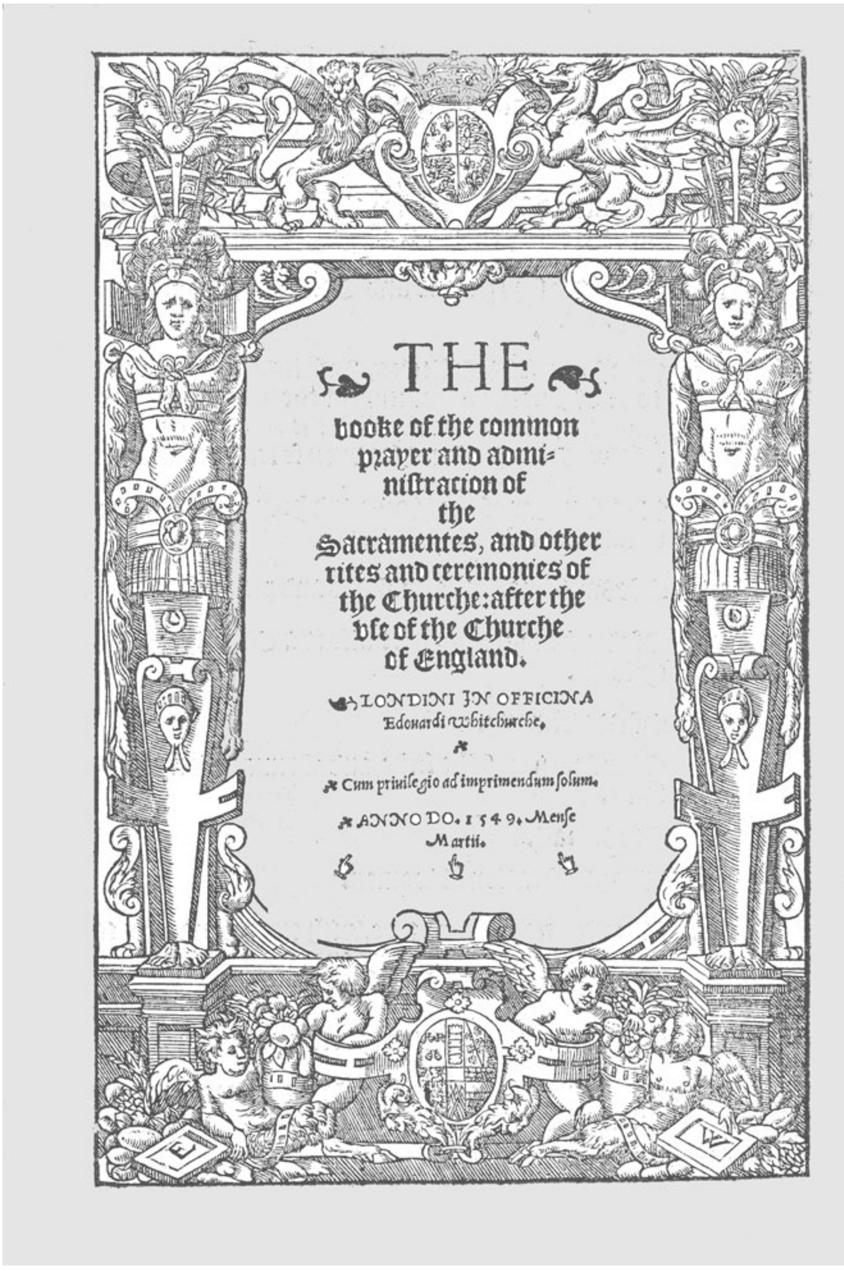
The Oxford Guide to The Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey

Charles Hefling
Cynthia Shattuck,
Editors

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

THE OXFORD GUIDE TO THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER



THE
booke of the common
prayer and admi-
nistracion of
the
Sacramentes, and other
rites and ceremonies of
the Churche: after the
vse of the Churche
of England.

LONDINI IN OFFICINA
Edouardi Whitchurche.

Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

ANNO DO. 1549. Mense
Martii.

The First Book of Common Prayer

The title-page shown here, from the earliest impression of the 1549 Prayer Book, was printed by Edward Whitchurch, who would later marry Thomas Cranmer's widow. His initials appear on the plaques at the bottom; at the top are the royal arms with their Tudor supporters, a lion and a dragon. Prayer Books from Whitchurch's press issued later in the year have alternate lines of the text on this page printed in red. Very similar editions were published by the King's Printer, Richard Grafton, who had formerly been in partnership with Whitchurch and had printed the 'Order of the Communion' in the previous year.

Benton Collection, Rare Books and Manuscripts Department, Boston Public Library.

THE OXFORD GUIDE TO

The Book *of* Common Prayer

| A WORLDWIDE SURVEY |

EDITORS

Charles Hefling

Cynthia Shattuck

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Colin Buchanan

Esther Mombo

Jenny Te Paa

Richard Geoffrey Leggett

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To the memory of
CHARLES PHILIP PRICE
1920–1999

Accept, O Lord, our thanks and praise for all that you have done for us. We thank you for the splendor of the whole creation, for the beauty of this world, for the wonder of life, and for the mystery of love.

We thank you for the blessing of family and friends, and for the loving care which surrounds us on every side.

We thank you for setting us at tasks which demand our best efforts, and for leading us to accomplishments which satisfy and delight us.

We thank you also for those disappointments and failures that lead us to acknowledge our dependence on you alone.

Above all, we thank you for your Son Jesus Christ; for the truth of his Word and the example of his life; for his steadfast obedience, by which he overcame temptation; for his dying, through which he overcame death; and for his rising to life again, in which we are raised to the life of your kingdom.

Grant us the gift of your Spirit, that we may know Christ and make him known; and through him, at all times and in all places, may give thanks to you in all things.

'A General Thanksgiving'
The Book of Common Prayer (1979) of the Episcopal Church
in the United States of America

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ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

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FOREWORD
THE MOST REVEREND AND RIGHT HONOURABLE DR. ROWAN WILLIAMS, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

The 1662 Book of Common Prayer is unique among the worship books of Christendom in having become the touchstone for the ethos and even, for hundreds of years, the unity of a whole church. It is less the expression of a fixed doctrinal consensus, though it takes for granted a number of clear theological positions; more the creation of a doctrinal and devotional climate. As such it has also helped to shape a long literary tradition in the English language; not many liturgical texts can still provide titles for detective stories.

But it has also been the template and the inspiration for many other essays in the composing of liturgy in local languages. Even in the English-speaking world before 1900, it had undergone reconceiving and revision. Despite attempts to treat it as a sort of unmoving polestar in the Anglican firmament, its fate has been varied, and its power has depended less on a uniform adherence to its text than on its status as a model of composition and the definer of an Anglican 'common sense'.

These essays offer an encyclopaedic guide both to the background and content of the 1662 text and to the complex history of how the book has been received, reworked, criticised, imitated, and enriched in a church that has gradually and almost imperceptibly turned into a worldwide communion of local bodies. To understand the phenomenon of Anglicanism we need to understand the Prayer Book—in its original setting and in its many transformations. I cannot think of a better and more comprehensive resource than this collection of expert discussions in helping us learn more of what Anglicanism has given to the literary heritage of Christianity and culture alike.

✠ Rowan Cantuar:

23 May 2005

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WE SHOULD like to thank many people all over the Anglican Communion for their cordial and willing assistance during the three-year creation of this guide to Prayer Books, past and present, throughout the Anglican world. To our editor at Oxford University Press, Donald Kraus, we owe a special tribute for initiating this unique reference work and inviting us to bring it to reality. His collegiality, ready wit, and knowledge both of good prose and of Anglican worship have been invaluable in bringing this work to fruition.

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Our hard-working editorial advisory board has contributed significant editorial critique throughout the preparation of this work. In addition to writing articles of their own, Colin Buchanan, Richard Leggett, Esther Mombo, and Jenny Te Paa have between them scrutinized every article in *The Oxford Guide* and given us good counsel and many suggestions.

Many of our contributors and colleagues have also helped us in the work of finding potential authors and checking facts. Ian Douglas supplied an initial list of theologians throughout the Anglican Communion that began our research, and Dorothy Lau, Louis Weil, J. Robert Wright, and Judith Maltby have suggested contributors and resources. Gordon Jeanes, Richard Leggett, Titus Presler, Jeffery Rowthorn, Pierre Whalon, and Colin Buchanan have all given generously of their time.

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Weston Jesuit School of Theology, and the Library of Trinity College in the University of Toronto.

R. David Cox read and responded to an early outline of the *Guide,* while Timothy Sedgwick gave us many suggestions for contacts in Africa. Tuck Shattuck first alerted us to the fact that Anglican prayer books can be said to form a family tree, which became an important concept for this book's organization.

A less direct inspiration, which is no less real for that, is gratefully acknowledged in the dedication, which borrows an expression of gratitude that Charles Price himself composed.

CHARLES HEFLING

CYNTHIA SHATTUCK

Introduction: Anglicans and Common Prayer

Charles Hefling

This is a guide to a small library. Ask an expert about the Book of Common Prayer, and the response is likely to be, 'Which one?' It is a fair question. There are half a dozen books now in print which bear that title. One of them was first published in the seventeenth century, another as recently as 2004. The name they share bespeaks the common ancestry that has given them all a strong family likeness, yet each has distinctive features of its own, and there are no identical twins. There are also other branches of the same family that go by different names. Sometimes the long-standing custom of calling the Book of Common Prayer 'the Prayer Book' for short has been formally adopted, as in the titles of *A New Zealand Prayer Book, A Prayer Book for Australia,* and *An Anglican Prayer Book*. The Prayer Book in Kenya, which is so named in its own pages, has the title *Our Modern Services* on its cover. And besides a number of other current Prayer Books, there is a line of predecessors that goes back to 1549, when the first Book of Common Prayer was issued.

By way of introducing this library, the whole Prayer Book family, something will be said here about the kind of book a Prayer Book is, what it is for, who makes use of it, and what significance using it has had. Then, since this is a 'worldwide survey' with both a historical and a geographical dimension, a short account of how the Prayer Book family spread beyond its ancestral home will follow. This will lead, finally, to an explanation of how the *Guide* is organized.

What sort of book will be introduced here? The Prayer Book is not a prayer book, in the sense of a collection of separate prayers. It is more like a playbook, the 'script' actors use for performing a play. In this case the 'acts' to be performed are acts of worship, religious exercises in which prayers are important components but not the only ones. The name for such an act, *liturgy,* means a 'public work', an event enacted collaboratively by and for the sake of those who take part. In order to collaborate, participants need to have the same idea of what each of them is to do in relation to what the others will be doing. That is what a liturgical text such as those in the Prayer Book makes possible. Like a dramatic script, it prescribes what is to happen by describing it in advance. Different speeches are assigned to different characters, who play different roles, individually or collectively, by speaking lines that the book prints in full, and following 'rubrics', the stage directions, as it were, that specify what is to be done and explain how the various components of the liturgy are ordered.

The playbook analogy goes only so far, but it does make two basic points. The first is that 'common prayer', in the sense that is relevant here, is not only corporate and public, as contrasted with prayers said alone, in private. It is also scripted, rather than improvised or extempore. Prayer Book worship ordinarily conforms to a set pattern. This need not mean that a given act of liturgy will be exactly the same from one occasion to the next. Usually it is not. But much and perhaps most of what is said and done does not vary, and any important variations are themselves likely to be regular, inasmuch as they follow a weekly or monthly or yearly pattern, set by rules and schedules that are included in the liturgical 'script'.

A second point of comparison follows. Prayer Books and playbooks alike are texts that can be read silently and studied *as* texts, but that is not what either of them is meant for. Like the text of a play, the text of a liturgical rite is a means to a performed or enacted end. It may have other, intrinsic qualities, literary or historical or what not; certainly the Prayer Book has. Chiefly, however, it is a manual, a practical book intended for use in carrying out a certain kind of action which Christians have generally held it is their 'bounden duty' to perform together. It is because worship is called for, a matter of common obligation, that particular acts of corporate worship are termed 'services' or, as in the Prayer Book tradition, 'offices'. The service required may be required only now and then, depending on circumstance, as are the 'occasional offices' for solemnizing a marriage, visiting the sick, and burying the dead. It may instead be service that is called for repeatedly and at regular intervals, as are the 'daily offices', Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer, which stand at the beginning of the Prayer Book, and the service of Holy Communion or the Holy Eucharist, which is assigned to every Sunday and certain other days as well. But in either case what matters is that the service should be rendered, the office discharged, the obligation fulfilled.

That is why the Prayer Book exists, in the first instance: so that God may be worshipped, decently and in order. Whatever further importance this text may have is rooted in the fact that it has been so used, continuously, from the sixteenth century to the present.

That being said, worship according to the Book of Common Prayer has at the same time made a difference, humanly speaking. It was Winston Churchill who observed that we shape our buildings, and afterwards our buildings shape us. The same is true of liturgies. Using the Book of Common Prayer has been a species of religious training or spiritual formation for those Christians who since 1549 have worshipped in and as the churches known today as Anglican. As readers of this *Guide* will discover, the story of the Book of Common Prayer cannot properly be told without at the same time telling the story of Anglicanism—because it *is* the story of Anglicanism, seen from the standpoint of one thing that has defined what Anglicanism consists of. If 'Anglican' is more than a convenient label, if it names an identifiable tradition of Christian belief and practice, that tradition is what it is because the Prayer Book and the churches in which it has been used have shaped each other.

This reciprocity has characterized Anglicanism from the first. Consider the full title of the original Book of Common Prayer. Its title-page, reproduced in the frontispiece, announces a book that sets out 'rites and ceremonies of *the* church'—that is, the Christian church at large—and sets them out 'after the use of the Church *of England*'—that is, in accordance with the customary usage of one local church, the English church, *ecclesia Anglicana*. In some sense, then, the book presents itself as an 'Anglican' book. 'This', it says in effect, 'is a product of the Church of England and a reflection of its liturgical practice.' But at the time it was proposed, that self-definition was more notional than factual—a prospect not yet realized. On the one hand, it is at least a question how far the Church of England existed, as a distinct institution, in 1549. Indeed, that it should *be* distinct was not the least important reason for issuing new liturgies. Moreover, on the other hand, they *were* new. The 'use' prescribed in the first Prayer Book was scarcely usual. Apart from one or two bits, none of its prescriptions had ever been put into practice. It would be only gradually, as these 'rites and ceremonies' came into general and regular use, that the church which used them would come to have a distinctive 'Anglican' identity—in large part because it did use them.

No doubt the Book of Common Prayer was used partly, and at first perhaps mainly, because its use was enforced by the authority of Parliament. Ever since, the Church of England's 'established' status has involved its liturgy in domestic, colonial, imperial, and post-imperial politics. All of that is part of the story, and ought not to be left out of the account. Yet in spite of it, or because of it, or both, Prayer Book worship did become a primary carrier of the meanings and values that have characterized not only the originally Anglican church in England but also the newer Anglican churches to which the English church has given rise. So much so that it has become something of a commonplace for An-

glicans to identify themselves *as* Anglicans by their liturgy. Other churches may be anchored in confessional documents, or doctrinal formularies, or a systematically articulated theology, or the pronouncements of magisterial authorities. Anglicans–so they are wont to say–are different. The Anglican anchor is worship, whereby is *worship* is meant the Book of Common Prayer.

So says conventional wisdom. What it says is not wrong. Nevertheless it would be a mistake to draw the conclusion that the Prayer Book has no doctrinal content or theological meaning. It has both, and always has had. What it teaches, it does not teach didactically, except in the Catechism, but its pedagogy is no less effective for that. The religious formation it promotes can and does inform thought as much as feeling and belief as much as devotion. That is why it has always been regarded as a serious business to alter the wording of its services or even (and sometimes especially) its rubrics. The reason was formulated long before philosophers began to insist that language is what bestows meaning on the workings of the human mind and heart. Whoever invented the adage *lex orandi lex credendi* knew that already. According to this venerable saying there is a correspondence between the beliefs of those who pray and the articulate form their prayers take. So, to paraphrase, the way in which God is addressed in worship is what settles the convictions that worshippers adopt and hold about the God they address. Doctrine is believed inasmuch as it can be prayed. Now the Book of Common Prayer is a *lex orandi,* a discipline of praying, and certainly none of its many prayers is addressed to whom it may concern. They address a definite if indefinable Deity. More generally, if theology is an effort to speak intelligibly not only about God but about the world, the human situation, and what there is to be done for it, then 'common prayer' in the Anglican tradition has always been a form of theological speech–in some sense the principal form. Learning how to speak the Prayer Book 'language' is at the same time learning what can and cannot be affirmed by speaking it. To have learned it well is to have assimilated and made one's own a *lex credendi,* a grammar of believing.

It is true that certain traditional formulations in the Book of Common Prayer allow of being understood in more senses than one. Sometimes the ambiguity appears to have been intended. Yet on the whole there is not much question where on the larger theological map the book belongs. It was put there by its principal writer, Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, who deliberately fashioned the Prayer Book services so as to take one side rather than another in the theological controversies of his day. In 1549 there was nothing new in the practice of worship 'by the book' *per se*, but worship by *this* book was meant to follow and further the movement of church reform that would soon begin to be called Protestant. Indeed it was because the first Prayer Book did not go far enough in this direction that Cranmer went back to work and a second edition, with important changes, was issued in 1552.

This was not the last time Cranmer's work would be revised for theological reasons. Some of the later alterations were important, but not until the mid-twentieth century were any of them major. For the better part of four hundred years (with a hiatus during the Commonwealth) public worship in the Church of England was prescribed by one unchanging text. It is perhaps no wonder that so many phrases from the 'classical' Book of Common Prayer have secured a place in quotation dictionaries. They were spoken and heard, again and again, by thousands of congregations all over England and, in time, all over the world, from Aotearoa to Zanzibar.

How the Anglican liturgy, intended originally for the church of one nation, came to be used so widely is a complicated and remarkable story. For a hundred years or so, the Prayer Book remained within the British Isles. It was introduced in Ireland and Scotland early on, although the reformed Scottish church found it uncongenial and the foothold it maintained in Ireland was precarious. Its migration overseas began in the seventeenth century, as English settlers took their Anglicanism with them to newly founded 'plantations' and colonies. The expansion of what became the British Empire and then the Commonwealth was at the same time the expansion of the Church of England and its statutory liturgy, which were regularly

exported, along with government and civil service, to Britain's dependencies and territories abroad. Meanwhile, the eighteenth century saw the beginning and proliferation of Anglican missionary work among peoples in places beyond the boundaries of Christendom. The voluntary societies that were organized to support these missions provided, among other things, supplies of the Book of Common Prayer, which began to be translated into more and more non-European languages. At times these two enterprises, colonial and missionary, overlapped and at times they cooperated. Between them they explain why and where – in North America, South Africa, East Asia, the West Indies – there came to be congregations of Christian worshippers who conformed their worship to the English Prayer Book.

At first these outposts were all deemed to belong to the diocese of London. Eventually they were organized along traditional English lines, with territorial parishes and dioceses, and resident bishops, usually sent from England. Next came ecclesiastical 'provinces', groups of contiguous dioceses. Many of these were in fact what some of them were called officially: 'The Church of England in' this or that region or country. Some were, like the 'mother church', established by civil law. Gradually, almost all the extensions and branch offices became self-governing. As they did, the word 'Anglican' began to have the enlarged, non-geographical meaning it now has, and a new, mainly informal institution emerged: the Anglican Communion of churches. At present there are about forty constituent members, depending on how they are counted. As the endpaper maps show, many of them are still national, in the geographical sense, though only the Church of England continues to be national in the sense of being legally established.

To return to where this introduction began, the multiplication of autonomous Anglican churches accounts in part for the multiplicity of Prayer Books now in use. It has become an emblem of identity and independence for a member of the Anglican Communion to have its own version of the Book of Common Prayer, locally compiled and often locally produced. In this regard newer churches have followed a precedent that was set as long ago as 1789, when for the first time an offshoot of the Church of England cut its ties completely, and at once adopted a revised Prayer Book. The nascent Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States made some notable liturgical changes, beyond eliminating prayers for the king; but it is perhaps more notable that as a result there began to be an 'other' Book of Common Prayer, alongside the one which, until then, had been the only one there was. The Scottish Prayer Book of 1637 had been the only previous attempt, and it failed disastrously, although parts of that book made their way indirectly into the American version.

The next separation, the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, would not occur for nearly a century, but once it did, the next 'other' Prayer Book followed shortly afterwards. The changes in the Irish church's 1878 Book of Common Prayer were certainly not extensive, but certainly not insignificant either. Then, early in the twentieth century, the Episcopal Church of Scotland brought out its own Prayer Book, which incorporated some distinctive usages that Episcopalians had maintained since 1637. And in 1922, at Easter, the primate of the Church of England in Canada, as it was then called, issued the proclamation that finally gave full canonical status to the first Canadian Book of Common Prayer, a careful revision that had been several years in the making.

Neither in North America nor in the British Isles were these 'other' Prayer Books all that different from the version of 1662 used in England and in Anglican provinces everywhere else. In the 1920s one liturgy, 'the' Book of Common Prayer, could still be said to function (with minor variations) as an 'instrument of unity' throughout the Anglican Communion. That was still being said as late as 1948, by no lesser authority than the decennial assembly of Anglican Communion bishops known as the Lambeth Conference. But saying it was perhaps wishful thinking. By then, the abandonment of Cranmer's ideal of 'but one use' was becoming more and more evident, and the next Lambeth Conference admitted as much. 'We have entered a period of liturgical change', it was reported in 1958, 'and the movement cannot now be halted'.

Far from coming to a halt, the movement accelerated as the twentieth century went on. Anglican worship moved away from liturgies 'read' almost entirely by one minister, towards vocal participation on the part of everyone present. It moved away from the fixity of services in which almost nothing varied except the scripture readings, towards flexibility, options, and alternatives. It moved away from the solemn, elegant prose of the classical Prayer Book, towards direct, simple expression. It moved away from Morning Prayer as the normal Sunday service, towards the Eucharist as 'the principal act of worship on the Lord's Day'. It moved away from verb and pronoun forms that had fallen out of common use, towards the diction of everyday speech, and away from mainly masculine, thoroughly western wording and imagery towards inclusive language. It moved away from the preoccupations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, towards earlier, patristic theology.

In and along with all these interrelated liturgical changes, Anglicans were moving away from an understanding of the church as coterminous with a settled Christendom, towards an understanding of the church as engaged in mission to a world of many cultures. One obvious result is that today the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion are not only many but various. Some of the differences are only matters of emphasis, but some are substantive. Cooperation among Anglican liturgists and collaboration with other Christian churches have produced common texts and common outlines for revised Prayer Book rites; but equally if not more significant has been the inculturation of liturgical worship in relation to local traditions and practices.

Readers of this *Guide* can observe the similarities and differences – family likeness and distinctive features – in Parts Five and Six. Part Five surveys current Prayer Books, each on its own, in a series of 'family portraits' arranged geographically. Part Six presents the rites for major Prayer Book services as they are provided for in churches throughout the Communion. To these two parts of the *Guide*, Part Four offers a prelude that explains how the predominance of the classical Book of Common Prayer – the version of 1662 and its forebears – gave way to the variety that characterizes Anglican liturgy today. The first three parts treat the classical book itself: its antecedents and origins, its social and cultural life, and the beginnings of separate traditions of Prayer Book worship outside the Church of England. It was noted earlier that reading a liturgical text is not participating in liturgy, and reading *about* liturgies is one step further removed. To narrow the gap, this *Guide* has added sample excerpts from the various Prayer Books discussed. Because the study of liturgy, like any other, has its own specialist vocabulary, and because Anglicans use in-house terms that may need to be explained, words of both sorts are included in the Glossary.

Since the time of the first Queen Elizabeth, Anglicanism has been noted (to its praise or blame) for splitting the difference between the two sides into which western Christianity has been divided for half a millennium. The Anglican approach to liturgy can be seen as (for better or worse) a case in point. In that regard, one extreme would be a policy of requiring local rites, whatever their language, to be translations that conform closely, even woodenly, to an obligatory text. The other extreme would be an atomizing of liturgy that gives every local church, or every congregation, complete liberty to decide, perhaps on every occasion, what will be done and said in worship. There are Christian communions that exemplify these extremes in their liturgical practice, and there have always been Anglicans who hanker after one or the other. But on the whole the Anglican Communion has preferred, not so much to split the difference, as to unite the strengths and values of both approaches. Anglican churches in different cultural settings around the world have in recent years developed situated rites which 'speak to their condition' and, at the same time, enact the beliefs that are the common inheritance of Anglicanism everywhere. The Prayer Books currently authorized are not cast from the same mould, but they are cut from the same cloth. They are Prayer Books, not something else.

The endeavour to hold diversity of practice and expression together with unity of faith, hope, and love is not, in the nature of things, an endeavour that is ever finished once and

for all. How far Anglican efforts have succeeded varies, in matters liturgical as in others. Possibly, however, the small library this *Guide* introduces will come to be seen as exemplifying a tradition of worship that both genuinely incarnates the uniqueness of particular times and places, and at the same time addresses and informs those who gather for 'common prayer' in ways that transcend their own self-understanding. If so, the story of the Prayer Book will have been a story worth telling.

PART ONE

‘But One Use’: The Birth of the Classical Prayer Book

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Worship by the Book

Kenneth Stevenson

It is easy to write about books, but until we have actually held them in our hands the exercise is bound to be somewhat artificial. I cannot claim to have handled a copy of the very first Book of Common Prayer of 1549, but among the gifts that came my way when I was ordained over thirty years ago was a numbered facsimile of the original, five hundred copies of which were printed in 1898. The priest who prepared me for confirmation gave me what for him was a family heirloom. In many respects, it looks just like another old book; and for many people that is exactly what it is. But its contents were revolutionary: one book for everyone, with every service complete, as well as an explanation of its contents and how to use it through the year. In one book I held the orders for Morning and Evening Prayer, the introit psalms (together with collects and readings for each Sunday and the main festivals and saints' days), the orders for Holy Communion, baptism (public as well as private), catechizing the young, confirmation, marriage, visitation of the sick, burial of the dead, and purification after childbirth–all capped by a form of service for use on Ash Wednesday. And even though the 1549 book was to be a transitional liturgy, leading into further revisions, even down to the rites and services in use all over the Anglican Communion today, it is nonetheless a foundational service book.

What were the original motivations behind the production of such a book? These were partly doctrinal–to embody a liturgy that put Reformation teaching into praying words–and partly social–to signal and spread the use of the vernacular. Above all they were liturgical, bringing together the main services of the (now reformed) Church of England under one cover and placing them in direct relationship not only with the clergy who presided at them, but the laity as well–few could read, but all could listen to and understand the English text. Even though not everyone could afford to pay for a copy (3s.4d. was the price fixed by law), the notion of having the same book in the hands of potentially anyone attending a service was a novel idea, reinforced by the new technology of printing and the new (but also very ancient) conception of the church as the baptized people of God.

As events were later to show, the book proved inadequate; it was not reformed enough for some, too much so for others. Over a century later, after the Civil War and further exchanges with the Reformation on the European Continent, as well as a more considered approach to the earliest centuries of the Christian church, still more changes were to be made. All that lay in the future. For however venerable, loved, or familiar a liturgy becomes in time, unlike the Bible it can never have canonical status. Words, concepts, rites, and ceremonies evolve, sometimes gradually, sometimes suddenly. And one of the most fascinating aspects of this process is to look at where things have come from.

In that respect, the 1549 Book of Common Prayer was as much the child of worship in the preceding centuries as it was a product of the Reformation. But there is an essential difference. Whereas the 1549 was intended to establish this new, universal relationship between every worshipper and the single, authoritative service book for the whole nation, the preceding era was different altogether. A number of different books were in use for different groups of people and different occasions. Each one started its life long before the invention

of printing. In that sense, the Book of Common Prayer, provisional as it came to be, was also the child of the printing press, and its effects and legacy would have been impossible in other circumstances. Its late medieval predecessors take us into a much more complex world, the world of a multilayered church, with different levels of literacy, in which prayers could be recited in Latin that went back centuries alongside more recent ingredients, such as the marriage vow, which had to be in the language of the people. There was, too, a radical difference in how the Bible was treated. Whereas the Book of Common Prayer is useless without the Bible, at least for the daily offices of Morning and Evening Prayer, in the preceding era, the Bible was known almost exclusively in Latin, the property of the scholar and the student, and not (ideally at least) for ordinary men and women in the pew. 'Worship by the book' in the centuries prior to 1549 was subtly different.

Pre-Reformation Books: The Missal

The most frequent act of worship was without doubt the Mass, and the books for this were, in the first instance, the Missal, and, secondly, books of vernacular devotions in circulation among the laity who could read. The Missal itself came from as far back as the tenth century and it enabled a single priest to celebrate the Mass on his own, without being encumbered by the various books copied out for the use of other ministers for the more participatory style of Mass from the sixth and seventh centuries. This involved not only readings of the epistle and gospel (the Epistolary and the Evangeliary), but the various chants sung at points in the service (nowadays we have the antiphon and the gradual hymn), how to do the service on ordinary Sundays and special occasions (the Ordo), and the basic book that contains the consecration prayer, together with the variable prayers of the Mass (the Sacramentary).

Seen in this light, the Missal was a book of convenience, with a highly practical aim. It meant that a priest could walk to a side-altar in one of those large medieval churches, carrying the chalice and paten, with the necessary linens, preceded by a server carrying a book that contained everything that needed to be recited by him at the altar, regardless of who (if anyone) was in the congregation. Only at a High Mass were other ministers involved, such as the subdeacon, who read the epistle, and the deacon, who read the gospel, together with a choir, who would sing the chants in the course of the service. In terms of the function of the book, a Missal was for the priest alone. Moreover, the evolution of the Missal represented the gradual usurpation by the priest of all the words and actions that used to be performed by others, with the sole exception of the server who handed him the cruets of wine and water when the altar was prepared at the part of the Mass called the offertory. (It has been suggested that had the medieval priest been able to grow a third hand, he could have performed this action as well!)

Missals varied according to different countries and religious orders. In England, the Sarum Missal, reflecting traditions of the Salisbury diocese, became the most influential in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Such differences as existed were, however, largely confined to the details, such as provision for certain saints' days, the Palm Sunday procession in Holy Week, and the various prayers that were to be recited by the priest at the approach to the altar, the preparation of the gifts of bread and wine at the offertory, and before and after communion. When one compares some of these Missals, it is striking how similar they are in their basic form, given that the invention of printing did not make itself felt until 1526, when the first printed Sarum Missal appeared. But this was too near the English Reformation for any long-term influence.

What did a Missal look like? First of all, it would include a list of festivals, such as Christmas and Easter, and the calendar, with major days such as St Luke on 18 October and local saints like St John of Beverley on 7 May. It contained the order of the Mass itself with prayers to be said both before and after. It would continue with provision for the seasons, starting with Advent, and going through Christmas, Epiphany, Lent, Holy Week, Easter, Ascension,

Pentecost, Trinity, and the Sundays following. Then would follow similar provision for the entire calendar, each with its epistle and gospel, variable prayers, and those snippets of psalmody and scripture that would be recited at the start of the service, before the gospel, at the offertory, and at the communion. All these would have been sung at a High Mass, but such was the authority of the Missal that priests often recited them at the altar as well.

First and foremost a book for the priest, the Missal was doubtless studied by those preparing for ordination, if only to learn how to move from one part of the service to another. To this end an elaborate system of markers came to be used, so that one could move from the main part of the service to the 'proper' material at various points, and back again. But what of the person in the congregation? What relationship did these men and women have with the Missal? The answer is both oblique and (potentially) rich, as vernacular devotions grew up to aid participation in different ways.

One way was to provide an extended devotional counterpart to the Mass as recited and enacted by the priest at the altar. The thirteenth-century 'Lay Folks Mass Book' is a set of manuscripts based on a Norman French text produced in the previous century by a canon of Rouen Cathedral (*see* 'A Devotion for Lay Folk'). As the title implies, it requires a level of literacy that would have been unknown in the majority of the population. Rhyming verse throughout the devotional aids the worshipper. For example, the *Pater Noster* (Lord's Prayer) is to be recited silently and repeatedly from the first collect to the end of the epistle. When it comes to the point in the Mass when the priest recites this prayer before communion, a translation is provided where the requirements of versification rather than accuracy are uppermost ('Father our, that is in heaven/Blessed be thy name to name'). All in all, the rhythms of the service are inculcated in the mind and heart of the devout worshipper, as one book in the nave interacts with another at the altar. The difference is that devotional books like these would have varied from one place to another, whereas the Latin text at the altar had of necessity a standard, authoritative format.

Another way was to help the worshipper see the Mass as an allegory of Christ's life, so that the hymn near the beginning, 'Glory to God in the highest' (*Gloria in excelsis Deo*), was seen as the song of the angels at his birth, and the consecration as the crucifixion. One set of devotions, dating from the fifteenth century, written by someone (probably a priest) called Langforde, provides a brief set of devotions that may well have been intended for the educated layperson. For example, building on the central place which the Lord's Prayer held in later medieval piety, he suggests that its seven petitions should be likened to the seven words from the cross uttered by Jesus in the narratives of the passion as recorded by Matthew, Luke, and John. This is heady stuff, and for those initiated into its subtleties, no doubt profoundly nourishing. Here, Langforde's *Meditations in the Time of Mass* form a book to help create a mental drama, the drama of Christ's life, while the priest at the altar was using another book altogether, the Missal. Langforde's writings, and those of others like him, were intended to evoke in the worshipper an internal response of a highly imaginative kind.

Yet another way in which vernacular devotions surfaced at Mass was between the sermon (which came to be delivered after the creed instead of before it) and the preparation of the gifts at the altar. Often combined with some instruction on the meaning of the Lord's Prayer, there would be a series of biddings for prayer by the priest or the preacher (if they were not the same person). Probably confined to principal celebrations on Sundays and festivals, and by no means universal in every parish church even then, this practice served as a kind of vernacular interlude from the pulpit in a service the rest of which was conducted at the altar in Latin. It lived on after the Reformation in the Bidding Prayer, which is in effect a series of biddings that conclude with the Lord's Prayer. No central text appears to have been used. There were probably many versions, based on a common format. And while these prayers cannot be said to be 'by the book', they form part of the way in which worshippers interacted, through another devotional intermediary, with the Missal that the priest was using at the altar.

A Devotion for Lay Folk

This excerpt from a late-medieval 'Lay Folks Mass Book' instructs the worshipper at Mass to kneel during the canon and offer private thanksgivings and prayers such as those it lists, until the 'little bell' announces the time for beholding the elevation.

When þis is sayde, knele þou doune,
and þat with gode deuocioune;
Of al gode þou thonk god þan,
And pray als-so for ilk a man
Of ilk a-state, and ilk degre,
so wil þo law of charite;
for-þi with-outen taryinge
on þis wise be þi sayinge.

Lord, honourd mot þou be,
with al my hert I worship þe;
I þonk þe, lord, als me wele owe,
Of more gode þen I con knowe,
þat I haue of þe resayued,
Syn þe tyme I was consayued:
My lyue, my lymmes þou has me lent,
my right witt þou has me sent,
þou has me keped of þi grace
fro sere perils in mony place.
Al my lyue & al my lyuynge
holly haue I of þi gyuynge;
þou boght me dere with þi blode,
and dyed for me o-pon þo rode;
I have done a-gaynes þi wille
synnes mony, grete & ille;
þou art redy, of þi godnesse,
for to graunt me forgyuenesse
Of þes godes, and mony moo
I þonk þe, lord, I praye als-soo
þat al my gylt þou me forgyue,
and be my helpe whils I shal lyue;
And gyue me grace for to etchewe
to do þat þing þat me shulde rewe;
And gyue me wille ay wel to wirk.
Lord, þenk on þo state of holy kirk,
And þo bishops, prestes & clerkes,
þat þai be keped in all gode werkes,
þo kyng, þo quene, þo lordes of þo lande,
þat þhai be wele mayntenande
hore states in alle godnesse,
and reule þo folk in rightwisnesse;
Oure sib men, and oure wele-willandes,
Oure frendes, tenandes, & seruandes,
Olde men, childer & alle wymmen,
marchandes, men of craft, & tilmen,
Riche men, & pore, grete & smalle,
I pray þe, lord, for hom alle,
þat þai be keped specialy
In gode hele & lyue haly.
To hom þat are in ille lyue,
In sclaunder, myscounforth, or in stryue,
seke or prisonde, or o-pon þo see,
pore, exilde, deserit, if þer be,
til alle hom, þou sende socoure,
til þi worship and þin honoure.
Alle þat are in gode lyue to day,
& clenly lyuven to þi pay,
kepe hom, lord, fro alle foly,
and from alle synne for þi mercy,
And gyue hom grace to last & lende,
In þi seruyce to hor last ende.
þis world þat turnes mony wayes,
make gode til vs in alle oure dayes;
þo weders grete & vnstable,
lord make gode & sesonable;
þo froytes of þo erthe make plenteuus,
als þou sees best, ordayn for vs,
swilk grace til vs þou sende,
þat in our last day, at oure ende,
when þis worlde & we shal seuer,
Bring vs til ioy þat lastis euer. Amen.

Loke pater-noster þou be sayande,
to þo chalice he be saynande:
þen tyme is nere of sakring,
A litel belle men oyse to ryng.
þen shal þou do reuerence
to ihesu crist awen presence,
þat may lese all baleful bandes;
knelande holde vp both þi handes,
And so þo leuacioun þou be-halde,
for þat is he þat iudas salde,
and sithen was scourged & don on rode,
and for mankynde þere shad his blode,
and dyed & ros & went to heuen,
and ȝit shal come to deme vs euen,
Ilk mon aftur he has done,
þat same es he þou lokes opone.

Daily Prayer

Daily prayer has never been the exclusive property of any liturgical tradition, however fixed or flexible. Christians have prayed on their own, and with others, whether at home or in church. But by the end of the Middle Ages, three particular ways had developed of worshipping at set points in the day. They have their origin in the early monastic tradition, particularly the Rule of St Benedict, from the sixth century. The first is to all intents and purposes how religious communities put the Rule into practice. The second is how the scheme was adapted for more flexible use by local clergy and friars, whose way of life made it very difficult to pray the seven daily offices on their own, and impossible in the company of others. The third is about how certain specific, simple forms of prayer were used by literate lay folk, first of all in Latin, and then, on the eve of the Reformation, in English. In some respects, this parallels what we have noted in relation to the Mass; a standard earlier elaborate form is reduced into a single, flexible book, the Missal, and this is supplemented by material for the laity.

What of this monastic tradition? Of all the religious orders, the Benedictines were probably the most influential in England. Unlike on the Continent, the majority of English cathedrals were Benedictine, though one or two, such as Salisbury, were staffed by secular canons. Nonetheless, the worship in these great churches, and the abbeys dotted around the countryside, whether grand buildings like Tewksbury or smaller places like Titchfield, was elaborate. The seven daily offices were offered in a way that echoed the spirit of the Rule of St Benedict, with Lauds ('Praises') and Vespers ('Evening') as the main services, between which were Terce, Sext, and None ('Third', 'Sixth', and 'Ninth'), topped and tailed by Prime ('First') and Compline ('Completion'), and with the longer service of Vigils ('Watch') before Lauds. Sometimes this scheme was added to, such as by Vespers of the Dead, or there might be an additional short office of the Blessed Virgin Mary or the Trinity. But there were always celebrations of the Mass, whether the main High Mass, which usually followed Terce, or at other times in the morning. Every priest celebrated Mass once per day on his own, with a server to assist; and sometimes it would be more frequently, if there were an endowment to celebrate on behalf of a dead person.

It is not difficult to imagine how a great monastic cathedral such as Winchester functioned in this regard: behind the choir screen, in the enclosure, the priest monks would gather for these services, unless duties precluded them, and because the services were chanted, books such as the Antiphonal were needed. This provided the variable material, such as seasonal hymns and the 'antiphons' that came at the start and conclusion of the psalms and the biblical canticles (*Benedictus* at Lauds, *Magnificat* at Vespers); these latter, contained in the Psaltery, the monks would know by heart. Cathedrals and churches run by secular canons offered a similar pattern, but on a less elaborate scale. A lectionary provided the long readings, both from the Bible and from non-scriptural sources, for the office of Vigils, while all the other daily services had short 'chapter' readings. It was therefore the biblical readings at Vigils that were to form the basis, in principle, of the two long readings, one from the Old Testament, the other from the New Testament, at the two Prayer Book offices of Morning and Evening Prayer. Moreover, these were to require the use of a full text of the Bible, in line with Reformation teaching, whereas the readings at Vigils appeared as separate extracts in the course of each service.

What of lay brothers, who made up a considerable proportion of the monastic population, and the many monks who were away from their monasteries, perhaps as 'deans' running a farm staffed by a smaller group of monks? Lay brothers working in the fields were expected to recite a psalm and the Lord's Prayer (or the Lord's Prayer by itself) as a substitute for the Daily Office, while deans or monks on a long journey could either do the same or else use a much simpler version of daily prayer – the offices of the dead, the Holy Cross, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Trinity, together with the Litany of the

Saints and a selection of psalms, such as the seven penitential psalms (6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143). The key to such provision was simplicity and ease of memorization.

However, the monastic environment, even with its adaptations, did not meet the needs of the later medieval church. From the eleventh century onwards, the second major development began to make itself felt all over Europe. The main driving force was the friars, Franciscan and Dominican, who functioned as an evangelistic and theological powerhouse. From the Psaltery, Antiphonal, Lectionary, and Ordo designed for collective use in a cathedral or monastery came a simpler all-in-one book, usually called a Portifory ('to be carried around') or Breviary ('shortened version'), which was soon adopted by the papal court, giving it considerable weight. The seven daily offices remained in a simplified form, and everything was contained in one book so that, like the Missal, the daily offices could be recited individually or by several people together, all with their own book. After some experimentation, the Breviary was divided into four volumes, corresponding to the four seasons of the secular year, and this system carried on in the Roman Catholic Church until the liturgical changes after the Second Vatican Council. It was a development of convenience, and it had one important result that was to leave a lasting legacy on the way the Prayer Book was compiled: at the eve of the Reformation, the practice had grown up of reciting the daily offices in two main 'blocks', one in the morning and the other in the evening.

Meanwhile, the educated laity, including the aristocracy and members of royal families, began to notice these trends and to develop their own version of the earlier 'travellers' office books. Books of hours (sometimes called Primarium, or Primer) began to be compiled from the fourteenth century onwards. These often costly and richly painted manuscripts included the popular offices of the dead and the Virgin Mary, together with the seven penitential psalms, and other material, including the Passion of St John and the Litany of the Saints. Unlike the Breviary, which could be used corporately, these books were intended for individual recitation only. The invention of printing brought these books more into the hands of the educated laity. English versions of the Primer appeared from 1534 onwards. Their simplified structure also helped to shape the Prayer Book, as did increasing experimentation with vernacular texts such as the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed.

Thus we have another varied picture, and one that is in a state of ferment. While monks and secular canons gathered in their cathedrals and abbeys for elaborate offices, friars and senior clergy used the Breviary while the lay elite with the time, leisure, and money adapted the form of office used by journeying monks as the simplest of all. Exactly what the average parish priest used is hard to say: pastoral need required a knowledge of the offices of the dead, as well as a few other services, and memorization of a basic core of scriptural and devotional texts was probably the substance of his daily prayer.

Pastoral Offices

The term 'pastoral offices' is Anglican, but it is still a useful umbrella term for the various services needed for local use in circumstances that included the blessing of water, baptism, thanksgiving after childbirth, marriage, visitation of the sick, anointing, commendation of the dying to God, and funerals. All these rites, and sometimes many more (such as blessing food at various times of the year, to say nothing of the Easter Vigil), came to be included in what was usually called in England and Scandinavia the 'Manual'. Each one of these services enabled the close interaction of the church with people at special moments in their lives.

The first printed version in England was the Sarum Manual, in 1508. It was followed by the York Manual, which was for the Northern Province, in 1509. There are differences in detail between the two, but they are to all intents and purposes the same. Everything is in Latin, except the vow in the marriage service and the formula for emergency baptism when a priest is not available. But there must have been scope for at least a minimal use of vernacular English, as for example when enquiring the name of the child to be baptized or hearing a deathbed confession.

Nonetheless, these rites are lengthy, and they represent an accumulation of material across the centuries. For example, the first part of the baptismal service consists of the rites that used to be extended throughout the period of adult catechumenal instruction during Lent. These included placing salt on each candidate's mouth and breathing over them, recalling the healing of the deaf-mute (Mk 7:34). Furthermore, the rite of 'extreme unction' was originally not restricted to those about to die, but for the anointing of the sick, as the prayers still used implied. The medieval church made much out of death, which was ritualized through a process whereby the body was received into church the night before the requiem Mass with Vespers of the dead, and the Mass next day was followed by a procession to the graveyard.

It is in the marriage service that the most recent developments are to be seen, which probably explains why the rite contained in the Prayer Book is the least radical. From the twelfth century onwards, public consent had to be given by the couple in front of the priest before the nuptial Mass. From the fourteenth century on, the couple also made their vows. In other words, in addition to being asked if they wanted to be married to each other, and replying in the affirmative, they also made a short declaration *about* their consent in marriage. Here the texts vary from one part of the country to another, whether it is Sarum, Hereford, Wales, or York–and not only in terms of the local vernacular. For example, Sarum has 'I take thee to my wedded wife', whereas Hereford has 'I undersign you for my wedded wife'; where York has 'for better for worse', Wales has 'for fairer for fowler'; where Sarum has 'if holy church it will ordain', York has 'holy kirk'; and both Sarum and Wales have the bride promising 'to be bonere and buxsom at bed and at board' ('buxsome' meaning 'obedient'). Nonetheless, these vows have a remarkable similarity, with their common format, the rhyming contrasts, and their ease of memorization. There were probably many more in existence, however, so it would have been very difficult for those in outlying parts of the country to absorb the Prayer Book when it first appeared in 1549.

The Manual thus represents a mixture of elements, which is partly the residue of centuries, such as the case of a catechumen who was actually a baby about to be baptized, and partly the vernacular response of a couple wanting to be married. The Manual as a 'book' thus includes ancient material that cannot be changed and is very distant from its original context, and newer material, freshly composed, though by the mid-sixteenth century already at least a hundred years old, and reflecting strong local traditions. It comes across almost as an object lesson in how near the medieval church got to uniformity with vernacular texts before the invention of printing. The Prayer Book marriage vow, which has become part of classical international English culture, has its roots somewhere in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, although one cannot help noting that it was Archbishop Cranmer, who nearly lost his job twice for being married, who added the words 'to love and to cherish'.

The Processional

An important feature of medieval worship, especially in large buildings, was the procession before the main Sunday Mass. It usually provided the occasion for a sung litany, that is to say, a series of biddings for prayer followed by a response, concluding with a shorter series of brief 'arrow-prayers' (*preces*) with similar responses, and some short collects. Seasonal variations included opening antiphons that would reflect the occasion–for example, the Advent antiphon would refer to the angel Gabriel appearing to the Blessed Virgin Mary. The directions for these processions inevitably provided for an array of thurifers, candle bearers, and an abundance of clergy.

To imagine such a processional litany in a large open space such as the nave of York Minster is to measure in some way its impact on a congregation waiting for Mass to begin–especially if they themselves are unable to see much of the Eucharist, celebrated behind a great screen. Here, the Processional as a 'book' is a basic core of intercessory material, with seasonal variations, filling a liturgical space. It is interesting to note that Cranmer's very first

official public exercise in vernacular liturgy was the 1544 Litany, which is a simplified version of what might have taken place anywhere in an English cathedral or large church on a Sunday morning. And it is yet more interesting that the ultimate destination for this litany, once further revised, was in the static context of solemn intercession at the end of Morning Prayer and before the Eucharist.

The Pontifical

The word 'pontiff' comes from the Latin *pontifex,* which means 'bridge-builder'. The *pontifex maximus* in ancient Rome was the office of one who advised the magistrates in their religious functions. The term soon became applied to the bishop of Rome, perhaps because he was responsible for building bridges between this world and the next. By extension, the term came to be applied to all bishops, so that when, in the ninth century, as episcopal services began to increase in number and complexity, the 'Pontifical' became the term use to describe the bishop's book. Exactly what should go into this new compilation varied from place to place, but most contained such services as ordination, the consecration of altars and churches, the crowning monarchs, and of course confirmation.

The rite of confirmation was perhaps the least impressive of all because, as a separate liturgy, it started life as the concluding part of the baptism service, where the candidate was anointed with the chrism oil and the bishop recited a prayer invoking the sevenfold gifts of the Spirit (Is 11:2). Priests were urged to instruct the young in the Christian faith before they were confirmed, but it was not until 1281, at a council at Lambeth, that Archbishop John Peckham laid down that no one should be permitted to receive communion without confirmation. The background to this decision is clear: many people did not bother to be confirmed, and that in turn was affected by the degree to which bishops made themselves available. Because confirmation was, in effect, the tail end of the old baptism service, there were no directions as to where it should take place – it was not unknown for bishops to confirm from horseback. The two great innovations to the confirmation service in the 1662 Prayer Book are that it was required to take place in church and had to include the renewal of baptismal vows, using the interrogatory form of the Apostles' Creed.

To single out the confirmation service is to provide another kind of case study in the process of continuity and discontinuity between the late medieval and post-Reformation English church. The other episcopal services migrated into other books at the Reformation. Ordination, in the Middle Ages an elaborate sequence of grades from acolyte and lector upwards, became a separate series of deacon, priest, and bishop; the consecration of churches had to wait until unofficial forms began to appear in the seventeenth century, under such figures as Lancelot Andrewes and Jeremy Taylor; and the coronation service has been traditionally redrafted, usually with modifications, each time it is required. By contrast, all these services were seen as exclusively episcopal in the Middle Ages. As with other services, they included ancient and less ancient elements; for example, at the ordination of a priest, the simpler, older ordination prayers were supplemented by later material inserted to interpret newer customs, such as the giving of the chalice and paten. Moreover, the outward appearance of the bishop as time went on made him look more and more like a corresponding figure to the monarch, with a crown-like mitre on his head (instead of a small pointed hat), and carrying a regal-looking crosier (instead of something that looks like shepherd's crook). All these details, including when to wear the mitre and when not (pray with head uncovered, but put it on most of the rest of the time), and when to use the crosier, appeared in the Pontifical.

The Pie

'As easy as pie' is a saying that belies its origins. The 'Pie' (or 'Pica') was a nickname for the directory that set out instructions for the saying of services and helped sacristans and others

involved in the preparation of services behind the scenes know which readings, antiphons, and prayers should be used on a given occasion. But it was far more complicated than it sounds because of the sheer number of feasts that had different grades, resulting in some having precedence over certain Sundays and others not. For example, in Eastertide the feast of St Mark (25 April) cannot be celebrated on a Sunday, whereas St Luke (18 October) can take precedence over a Sunday after Trinity. Once these kinds of distinctions were applied to the layers of different saints' days in what emerged as an overloaded calendar, the Pie became anything but 'easy'. It is no wonder that Archbishop Cranmer disparaged it in his preface to the 1549 Prayer Book–and in this he was helped considerably by having a much simpler scheme of saints' days for which specific liturgical provision was to be made. The Pie thus became reduced into a few pages of the Prayer Book. But the need for something a little more expansive was to rear its head in the light of the liturgical revisions towards the end of the twentieth century.

Iconography

Manuscripts elaborately copied by hand in a monastery are a far cry from books without pictures, and there is thus a major contrast between some of the liturgical books of the later Middle Ages and the 1549 Prayer Book. Medieval iconographers traditionally decorated the first letter of the opening word of a prayer. While these obviously varied according to skill, time, and resources, the most common device by the later Middle Ages was to depict the crucifixion between the *Sanctus* and the second part of the eucharistic prayer (the 'canon') in the Mass. The first letter of the opening word of the canon was 'T', frequently made into a crucifix. We have already alluded to the work often carried out to prepare books of hours for the well-to-do. Pontificals were frequently full of miniatures which, when closely examined, provided their own commentary on how the service was to proceed, even suggesting ceremonial directions–as happened also with different parts of the Mass. It was not unknown, too, for Pontificals issued from Rome to depict the Pope as the ordaining bishop for every single kind of ordination, acolyte included, just to ensure that the papal profile was sufficiently high. At coronations, furthermore, the monarch was depicted at a certain stage kneeling before the officiating bishop, just to symbolize the power of the church over the king and not the other way round.

Iconography of this kind provides the only way in which we can imagine what these services were actually like, including such homely touches as the appearance of domestic pets such as dogs at divine worship. Fashions in the cut of vestments can be traced, as surplices shrink slightly, mitres are enlarged grotesquely, and chasubles begin to reflect colour-sequences. The service books of the church thus reflect, if only ideally, the liturgical practice of a given era. Far from merely allowing the skilled artist to exercise his trade, illustration was also an ingenious way of indicating (or reminding) what an officiant should be doing next.

Musical notation also appeared in these liturgical books. The average Missal would provide notes for the opening words of the *Gloria in excelsis* and the creed, as well as music for the full texts of the proper (variable) prefaces in the first part of the eucharistic prayer and the Lord's Prayer. There is a standard format for these notations, although variations can be discerned here and there with some musical versions–such as the *Exsultet* at the Easter Vigil–more elaborate than others. Once again, the 'book' emerges as a much more subtle compilation than would seem to be the case. Alongside the text to recite, there are stage directions in red, the 'rubrics', and if you were lucky, some miniatures not only to interpret the meaning but also to tell you what was supposed to be done next. The interaction of priest or bishop with such books was full of potential–as well as pitfalls. The interaction is, at its best, subtle and can be illustrated in two further ways: the 'book' and the life cycle, and the 'book' and the building.

The Book and the Life Cycle

All these service books together amount to a considerable foundation on which to build an organized Christian life within the confines of the church catholic. Some aspects have a provisional air, particularly the vernacular material, because vernaculars have a habit of changing, and they changed faster before the invention of printing or the much more frequent travelling that characterizes modern life. But above and beyond these variations, there is a discernible stability in the official texts of the Mass, the daily offices, the pastoral offices, the processional litanies, and the episcopal services of the church. Complex as the relationship was between these books and those involved, whether 'active' celebrants or 'passive' laity, through them we can begin to see what it was to live a Christian life.

Late medieval piety had as one of its foundation stones the view, worked out in full by the twelfth-century French theologian Peter Lombard, that there were seven sacraments: baptism, penance, confirmation, mass, marriage, ordination, and extreme unction. Not everyone was a candidate for all; one could not be married and ordained at the same time, and we have already seen that it took until the end of the thirteenth century in England (over a hundred years after Peter's death) for confirmation to be required before one could receive communion. One could argue, as did the reformers, about the sacramental status of confirmation, and whether or not anointing the sick with oil really could be focused in practice on the dying. Nonetheless, this scheme did provide, at least in ideal terms, something of a basis for a Christian 'life cycle', even though it was not complete in itself.

So the Christian life begins with the 'churching' of the mother: this was a short office that took place in the church building, probably in the presence of the priest and few others, using the form of service contained in the Manual. The next stage was baptism: as we have noted, this was in effect an amalgam of rites designed for an adult candidate preparing to be baptized, followed by the baptism itself. The form of service was again taken from the Manual, with rites and gestures that remained unchanged, and whose meaning may have been obscure to some but was observed as part of the established custom of the church. It was, to all intents and purposes, a private service for the family and friends. If, as was often the case, the newborn was at risk, a slightly shorter form was used; if the danger was severe, a midwife could baptize by using a short vernacular form and no more, as prescribed in the Manual.

We now enter unfamiliar territory, because it is hard to gain a universal picture of what happened in the instruction of the young and in confirmation itself. Priests were constantly urged to teach them the basics of the Christian faith, which included the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments, which, together with the *Ave Maria,* godparents were instructed to teach their godchildren. The confirmation service was so short that it is unlikely that a bishop would need to refer to the words of the text in the Pontifical. Moreover, dioceses were often so large that the age of confirmation would be determined as much by when the bishop was available as how old the candidate was.

The marriage rite, also found in the Manual, was a service that struggled for public recognition through the Middle Ages, since private ('clandestine') marriages were technically legal until the Council of Trent. Common law marriages were frequent, and in some marriage rites, it was even suggested that children born before the marriage were 'legitimized' in the eyes of the church if they knelt under the canopy that was held over the man and the woman when the nuptial (marriage) blessing was pronounced at the altar. Being married in church was an elaborate exercise, since it involved the priest blessing the bridal pair in their bedchamber afterwards, together with a solemn admonition, laid down in the book, that they should abstain from marital relations for three nights.

For those not embarking on matrimony and intent on an ecclesiastical career, holy orders beckoned. Here the Pontifical provides a step-by-step gradation all the way from the tonsure to ordination as a bishop. On occasions when a church was being built, or a new

chapel or altar added, the Pontifical again came to the rescue and drew even more attention to the role of the bishop as the personal expression of the wider church. Sickness and death went so frequently hand in hand that the Manual reappeared for the forms of service for visiting the sick, together with confession, and communion (taken from church, where it was reserved); extreme unction; and the various services associated with burial described earlier.

But the life cycle had, at least ideally, at its heart the Mass, whether celebrated with full ceremonial at the high altar of a cathedral or at a side-altar in a small village. Whichever it was, the Missal provided the texts. Yet how did the devout layperson participate, beyond observing the movement of the service from one part to another or using one of the vernacular books of devotions that were available? In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council in Rome laid down that every person should make confession to a priest at least once a year, and this became, in effect, another gateway to receiving communion. Such 'private' confession had become increasingly popular but required clergy who knew how to advise the laity – hence the confessor's handbook. It is doubtful that many parishes had one, and in all likelihood the clergy learned from their own experience what kind of penance should be given to people who confessed different kinds of sins, that is, how many recitations of the Lord's Prayer or *Ave Maria*. It is as if the Missal provided a certain level of relationship with the ordinary, daily worshipper, but when communion was to be received, the confessor's handbook intervened. Once again, the eucharistic book was about different levels of access, the vernacular devotions providing passive (frequent) participation and the confessor's handbook direct (usually occasional) access.

The Book and the Building

In order to place the 'book' in the widest possible context, it is not enough to describe these service books and place them within the life cycle of the faithful Christian. For the late Middle Ages, it is essential as well to see them in the context of architectural space. Obviously there is no such thing as a typical church building at the eve of the Reformation, but we can still put together some kind of picture. (*See* Illustration 10, p. 107.)

As one approaches a medieval church, the lych-gate at the entrance to the burial ground that surrounded it was the place where the priest met the funeral party when the dead person was received into church the day before the funeral. Here the priest would wait, book in hand, ready to recite the portions of the rite contained in the Manual. In England, many parish churches had a porch, and it was here that the first part of the marriage service, with the vows and the blessing and giving of the ring, took place. This explains why some porches seem to be larger than necessary, such as the porch of Salisbury Cathedral.

Near the door, too, another service would begin – the first part of the baptism rite, which was originally used with the adult catechumens. From there, it might be a short journey to the baptismal font, which was traditionally placed near the door in order to symbolize entry. The font was not placed as it was just for the sake of convenience; it was supposed to confront people with what it represented, the sacramental rebirth of the new Christian. Traditional respect for this position explains why, for example, later sixteenth-century directions kept reminding people of the importance of using these fonts for baptism rather than a 'bason' placed conveniently near the congregation.

Once inside the church, Mass might have been celebrated at side-altars for various purposes, including a Mass for the dead, or it might have been offered at the high altar as a nuptial celebration for a newly wed couple who had made their vows at the porch. Or Mass could have been sung in the Lady Chapel, a frequent and valued part of English medieval piety. For all these different contexts, the Missal met every conceivable demand. But if one looked towards a side-aisle, a priest might be found sitting in a chair while some devout person kneeled to make a private confession; here a confessor's handbook would be the

inspiration for pastoral advice. If the church was a great cathedral or an abbey, it might be time for Sunday High Mass to begin, with the nave a sweep of colour and movement as the procession moved in time with the repeated refrains of the litany – following the texts contained in the Processional. Or, if the bishop was making a visit, the Pontifical would provide the necessary text, whether for an ordination or the consecration of an altar or chapel. Finally, if the Mass was to be a requiem for the departed, the service would end with a procession of mourners to the graveyard outside, with the service once again taken from the Manual.

Therefore worship 'by the book' for the pre-Reformation priest or layperson was about more than reading a text or hearing it spoken or chanted aloud. The 'book' may have been one of the official texts provided by the church or an unofficial vernacular collection of devotions. Perhaps it was something read or adapted (or even partly made up) by the priest for a couple making their marriage vows. Perhaps it was a parish priest scratching his head for the right words from a dimly remembered handbook, counselling a peasant in floods of tears making his confession. Or a new bishop, not sure of what to do next in the consecration of a new church, a young clerk nervously beginning his life in holy orders, or a seven-year-old being 'catechized' by the local priest about the Lord's Prayer. And all of this taking place within a setting of stained glass windows illustrating the life of Christ, a reredos (screen) behind an altar depicting the life of the saint to which the chapel was dedicated, or the liturgical colours and vestments of the church season. The world of these prayer books was a rich world – and it was to show remarkable vitality in surviving, at least in part, the first Book of Common Prayer in 1549.

Cranmer and Common Prayer

Gordon Jeanes

The Book of Common Prayer owes its character above all to one man: Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1533 to 1556. While the liturgy of the Prayer Book is sometimes described as 'timeless', it is in fact rooted firmly in the time of the Reformation and in Cranmer's personal views and character. Other people contributed material to the Prayer Books of 1549 and 1552, and there were substantial and important revisions later, especially in the book of 1662. But the overall character of the Book of Common Prayer as shaped by Cranmer remained, and to a large extent shapes Anglican devotion to the present day.

Thomas Cranmer was born in 1489. He studied at Jesus College, Cambridge where he became a fellow around 1515. He resigned his fellowship to marry, but was reappointed after his wife's death. He was ordained by 1520 and became a Doctor of Divinity in 1526, holding a lectureship in biblical studies. We should not presume that he entertained any sympathies with the European Reformation at this stage; what evidence we have locates him among the more conservative groups in Cambridge. He seems to have envisaged the supreme authority in the church to be a General Council rather than the papacy, but this hardly amounted to the anti-papal polemic he espoused later, let alone support of German or Swiss reform.

By 1527 Cranmer had become involved in diplomatic business, first on an embassy to Spain and then among the theologians involved in the negotiations for the divorce of Henry VIII from Catherine of Aragon. This involved his first published work in English, a translation of a Latin publication backing Henry's case in seeking his annulment. In 1532 Cranmer was sent on an embassy to the Emperor Charles V and embarked on a long tour of Europe in the wake of the imperial court. They visited Nürnberg, where Cranmer saw the Lutheran Reformation for himself and was sufficiently interested to find out more details of their services. Also he became friends with the reformer Andreas Osiander, whose niece Margaret he secretly married. This act, illegal in England for a priest, is the first clear evidence of his sympathy with the continental Reformation. But before he returned to England he learned that he had been nominated by Henry as Archbishop of Canterbury in succession to the deceased William Warham. He was consecrated on 20 March 1533 and was active thereafter with Henry and the King's vicegerent, Thomas Cromwell, in removing the papal supremacy in England and in subsequent reform of the church.

Henry demanded subservience from his ministers, and while Cranmer was more outspoken than most, his own desire for reform was constrained by the royal policy he had to follow. Official religious teaching in Henry's reign was determined by a series of doctrinal statements that took the form of sets of 'articles'. The Ten Articles of 1536 show links with Lutheran doctrine through the Wittenberg Articles, draft forms of agreement between England and the Lutherans. The contents of these articles were included in the Bishops' Book (*The Institution of a Christian Man*) of 1537. But neither of these was wholehearted in its support for Lutheranism. Traditionalist teaching on the sacrament of penance was maintained, and differences between traditional and Lutheran teaching were glossed over. Like many

such statements of faith, they could reveal more by what they omitted than what they determined or opposed.

In June 1539 the door to Lutheran reform was slammed shut by a new formulary, the Six Articles, which affirmed traditional teaching in such matters as transubstantiation, communion in one kind, auricular (private) confession, clerical celibacy, and monastic vows. Subsequently Cromwell was executed, Cranmer isolated. In 1543 the King's Book (*A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*) replaced the Bishops' Book as the benchmark of doctrine in England. A traditional understanding of salvation, grace, and the sacraments was maintained, although it is possible to exaggerate the reaction of the 1540s as much as the reform of the 1530s. Cranmer was able to pursue reforms in one way or another. He issued a new English litany in 1544, and towards the end of Henry's life was asked, as part of an agreement with France, to draft a Communion service to replace the Mass. This project never got any further, owing to the death of Henry and the French king. But the accession of Edward VI in January 1547 allowed the archbishop and the Council to proceed with reform with little hesitation.

Before turning to his liturgical achievement, it should be noted that this was by no means the sum total of Cranmer's plans for reform. He worked to suppress what he saw as idolatrous images and superstitious practices. He tried to bring continental reformers to England, succeeding in the case of Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr Vermigli, whom he sent to represent the new theology in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. His project for a reformed canon law never prospered, but he did issue the Forty-two Articles as a statement of doctrine, together with a Book of Homilies and a Catechism to bring that doctrine to the parishes, which suffered from a desperate shortage of preachers. He wrote *A Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ,* setting out his own theology of the Eucharist, and then *An Answer to a Crafty and Sophistical Cavillation devised by Stephen Gardiner,* defending his first book. His relationship with other members of Edward's government was not always good; he was aware of the difficulties of pursuing reform during the king's minority and was suspicious of the temptation for nobles to enrich themselves under the pretext of reforming the church.

Cranmer's Liturgical Work

There are suggestions that Cranmer was engaged in drafting services in the late 1530s, but nothing was published. As early as 1536 Hugh Latimer, in a sermon to Convocation, had called for the services of baptism and matrimony to be conducted in English. In 1538 it was stipulated that a Bible should be placed in every church, that the creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments should be recited in English, and that no one should be admitted to communion without having learnt them. A surviving draft form of the Daily Office seems to date from this period: the service was in Latin, but there was already an emphasis on the people being instructed by the readings, which suggests that vernacular scripture reading was envisaged.

Two issues were uppermost in all these moves: comprehension and the formation of a Christian people and society. In his preface to the Great Bible of 1540, Cranmer speaks of the good effect of Bible reading as a social as well as an individual good:

> In the scriptures be the fat pastures of the soul. . . . He that is ignorant, shall find there what he should learn. He that is a perverse sinner, shall there find his damnation to make him to tremble for fear. He that laboureth to serve God, shall find there his glory, and the promissions of eternal life, exhorting him more diligently to labour. Herein may princes learn how to govern their subjects; subjects obedience, love and dread to their princes: husbands, how they should behave them unto their wives; how to edu-

cate their children and servants: and contrary the wives, children, and servants may know their duty to their husbands, parents and masters.

In 1543, Tudor rationalization ordered that 'this realm shall have one use': the rite of Sarum. But thus far it was simply one medieval rite supplanting others. 1544 saw the publication of the first service in English: the Litany. Processions had been a major feature of worship on Sundays and holy days. Particular processions – at Candlemas, and especially on Rogation Day, when the procession would also be a 'beating of the bounds' of the parish – were major events. It was customary for the government to order special processions of intercession in times of emergency. These were based on the Rogation processions, which had a penitential flavour; the Litany was sung, and the seven penitential psalms as time allowed. The 1544 injunction was connected with an invasion of France. But on this occasion Cranmer provided a translation and simplification of the Latin form of procession. The penitential psalms at the beginning were omitted. Much else was simplified, and many of the petitions of the Litany were conflated. In particular the long list of saints whose prayers were invoked in the traditional Litany was replaced by a threefold invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the angels, and all the saints. Among the collects at the end, one was introduced from the Byzantine liturgy: the so-called Prayer of St Chrysostom, which was to become a classic of Prayer Book spirituality – an example of Cranmer's wide reading and ability to adapt from many traditions. The new Litany was to be used for the Rogation and Lenten processions. Cranmer attempted an English version of the procession for Sundays and festivals, but this came to nothing. In October 1545 the Litany was ordered to be used at all processions, but from August 1547 the procession itself was discontinued, leaving the Litany to be sung kneeling in church. While it is in itself a magnificent piece of writing, it is also all that is left to mark the place of what had been a popular, celebratory practice that put to liturgical use the spatial world outside the walls of the church.

Reform Under Edward VI

Other reforms, small but significant, were ventured during the last years of Henry's reign. Another draft of the Daily Office, more conservative than the first, is dated to this period, and in 1546 Cranmer secured the abolition of various ceremonies and customs as superstitious. But it was the death of Henry and the accession of Edward VI in January 1547 that allowed the English reformers to move forward. The Book of Homilies, which contained a theology amenable to the Reformation, was published in July of that year. The royal injunctions in August, which banned the processions, also ordered that the epistle and gospel at Mass should be read in English rather than in Latin. In the following January many traditional ceremonies of Candlemas and Holy Week were forbidden. Most important, however, was the 'Order of the Communion', which made provision for vernacular communion devotions within the Latin Mass, consisting of exhortations, confession and absolution, and what would come to be known as the Comfortable Words and the Prayer of Humble Access, along with a formula to be used at the administration of communion (*see* 'The Prayer of Humble Access [1548]'). Communion was now to be given in both kinds; that is, lay people were allowed to receive the consecrated wine as well as the bread. There was also provision for additional consecration of the cup, perhaps because the small chalices of the time were inadequate for congregational use, or to allow for communities unfamiliar with the practicalities. All these items, except for the last, would later appear in the Prayer Book.

While the country was becoming accustomed to the new communion devotions, Cranmer and his colleagues were completing a draft of the first complete English Prayer Book. In September 1548 there was a conference of representative senior clergy at Chertsey Abbey. It is hard to imagine this group examining the whole text of the new Prayer Book; rather, the meeting seems to have been intended to reach consensus on points of principle ahead of

The English Litany, 1544

The book in which the first English Litany was published began with a long exhortation, to be read before processions, and continued with the 'note' below, explaining the new form and instructing lay people how to take part. It is notable for what was probably the first use of the phrase 'common prayer'. The Litany proper followed; this excerpt has the opening invocations and the first section of suffrages, omitting the musical notation.

As these holy prayers and suffrages following, are set forth of most godly zeal for edifying and stirring of devotion of all true faithful Christian hearts: so is it thought convenient in this common prayer of procession to have it set forth and used in the vulgar tongue, for stirring the people to more devotion: and it shall be every Christian man's part reverently to use the same, to the honour and glory of almighty God, and the profit of their own souls. And such among the people as have books, and can read, may read them quietly and softly to them self, and such as can not read, let them quietly & attentively give audience in time of the said prayers, having their minds erect to almighty God, & devoutly praying in their hearts, the same petitions which do enter in at their ears, so that with one sound of the heart and one accord, God may be glorified in his church.

And it is to be remembered, that that which is printed in black letters is to be said or sung of the priest with an audible voice, that is to say, so loud and so plainly, that it may well be understanded of the hearers: And that which is in the red [*here, in italics*], is to be answered of the choir soberly and devoutly.

The Litany

O God the Father of heaven: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.
O God the Father of heaven: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

O God the Son, redeemer of the world: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.
O God the Son, redeemer of the world: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

O God the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.
O God the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, three persons and one God: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.
O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, three persons and one God: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

Holy Virgin Mary, mother of God our Saviour Jesu Christ.
Pray for us.

All holy Angels and Archangels and all holy orders of blessed spirits.
Pray for us.

All holy Patriarchs, and Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, & Virgins, and all the blessed company of heaven:
Pray for us.

Remember not Lord our offences, nor the offences of our forefathers, neither take thou vengeance of our sins: spare us good Lord, spare thy people, whom thou hast redeemed with thy most precious blood, and be not angry with us for ever:
Spare us good Lord.

From all evil and mischief, from sin, from the crafts and assaults of the devil, from thy wrath, and from everlasting damnation:
Good Lord deliver us.

From blindness of heart, from pride, vainglory, and hypocrisy, from envy, hatred and malice, and all uncharitableness:
Good Lord deliver us.

From fornication and all deadly sin, and from all the deceits of the world, the flesh, and the devil:
Good Lord deliver us.

From lightning and tempest, from plague, pestilence and famine, from battle and murder, & from sudden death:
Good Lord deliver us.

From all sedition and privy conspiracy, from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities, from all false doctrine and heresy, from hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word and commandments:
Good Lord deliver us.

The Prayer of Humble Access (1548)

In 'The Order of the Communion' this prayer is to be said by the priest, kneeling, 'in the name of all them that shall receive the communion'. It was included in the first Book of Common Prayer, and with slight changes of wording in later revisions. Its name derives from the 1637 Scottish Prayer Book.

We do not presume to come to this thy table (O merciful Lord) trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies: we be not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy table: but thou art the same Lord, whose property is always to have mercy: grant us therefore gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, in these holy Mysteries, that we may continually dwell in him, and he in us, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood.

a debate in Parliament. Later, in a letter to Queen Mary, Cranmer avers that the conference was unanimous in agreeing to adopt the vernacular. Unfortunately, unanimity in eucharistic doctrine was more difficult to achieve, and disagreement between the divines spilled into public view in the House of Lords debate in December. Nevertheless, the new Prayer Book was passed by Parliament on 21 January, and was required to be in use by Whitsunday, 9 June 1549.

Despite considerable opposition to the new liturgy in many parts of the kingdom, reform continued apace. An Ordinal was produced in 1550, and in November of that year the Council ordered the removal of altars from churches: henceforth communion was to be administered from a table. Occasional references point to committees working on a revised edition of the Prayer Book through 1550 and 1551. Martin Bucer, the Strasbourg reformer resident in Cambridge, wrote a critique of the whole book for the bishop of Ely, as did his Oxford counterpart, Peter Martyr Vermigli. Bucer's work survives, but it is not certain what influence it had on the revision. On 14 April 1552 Parliament passed the revised, second Prayer Book and ordered its use beginning on 1 November. Before this authorization came into effect, however, the publication of the new book was interrupted by a dispute over

The 'Black Rubric'

This declaration on the significance of kneeling was added to the 1552 Prayer Book after printing had begun; some copies do not include it. Omitted in 1559, it was restored—with small but important changes—in 1662. To emphasize that it is not strictly a rubric, and so ought not to be printed in red as true rubrics sometimes were, it came to be called the 'Black Rubric'.

Although no order can be so perfectly devised, but it may be of some, either for their ignorance and infirmity, or else of malice and obstinacy, misconstrued, depraved, and interpreted in a wrong part: And yet because brotherly charity willeth, that so much as conveniently may be, offences should be taken away: therefore we willing to do the same. Whereas it is ordered in the book of common prayer, in the administration of the Lord's Supper, that the Communicants kneeling should receive the holy Communion: which thing being well meant, for a signification of the humble and grateful acknowledging of the benefits of Christ, given unto the worthy receiver, and to avoid the profanation and disorder, which about the holy Communion might else ensue: lest the same kneeling might be thought or taken otherwise, we do declare that it is not meant thereby, that any adoration is done, or ought to be done, either unto the Sacramental bread or wine there bodily received, or unto any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood. For as concerning the sacramental bread and wine, they remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored, for that were Idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians. And as concerning the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ, they are in heaven and not here. For it is against the truth of Christ's true natural body, to be in more places than in one at one time.

whether congregations should receive communion kneeling or seated. In the end kneeling communion was maintained, but an explanation was added in the form of the so-called ‘Black Rubric’, which was appended to the book by order of Council (*see* ‘The “Black Rubric’ ” and Illustration 1). This declaration on kneeling was the clearest statement of eucharistic theology in the Prayer Book, denying that there is in the bread and wine of the Eucharist ‘any real and essential presence . . . of Christ’s natural flesh and blood’. The official life of the second Prayer Book was short: little more than a year later, Queen Mary’s Parliament restored the traditional liturgy. But for the most part use of the Prayer Book had been discontinued since her accession in July 1553.

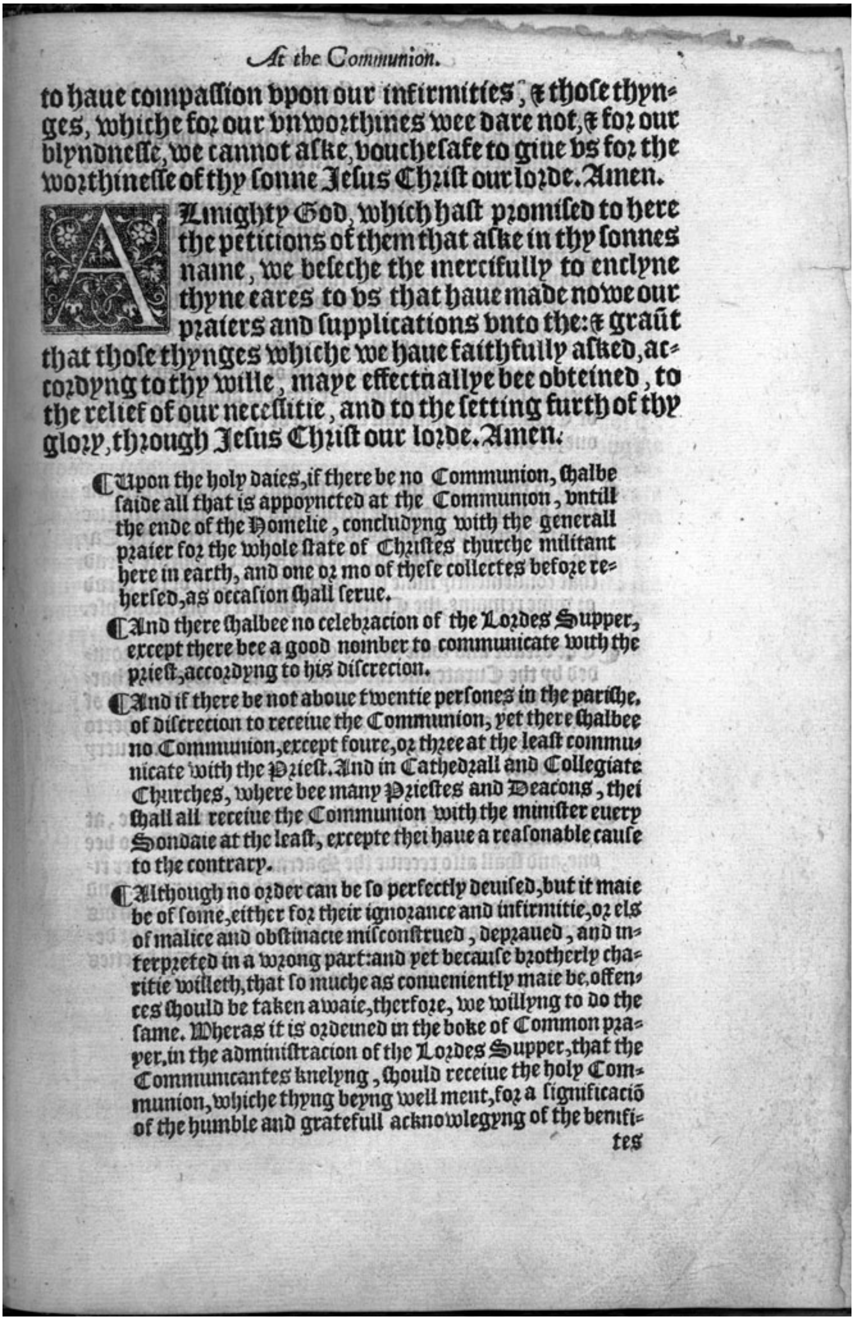
The Prayer Books of 1549 and 1552

When compared with continental Reformed liturgies, both of Cranmer’s Prayer Books retain a large amount of material from the traditional services and give the impression of a conservative reform. From the point of view of the greater part of the English population, unexposed and unsympathetic to reform, both books were radical, and closer examination revealed a major theological shift which was more ambiguous in the first book and more obvious in the second. It would seem that Cranmer had a deliberate policy of reform by planned stages through the two books.

The Prayer Book was entitled *The Book of the Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church after the Use of the Church of England* (*see* frontispiece). The title effectively gives three categories of service. By ‘common prayer’ was meant the provision for Morning and Evening Prayer throughout the year. The preface, which would seem from its position to explain the whole book, referred in its content only to those two services. A calendar and lectionary was included: a Bible (and Psalter) would be the only other books required.

Following the two daily offices were the epistles and gospels for use at Holy Communion on Sundays and holy days, together with the collects (also required for Morning and Evening Prayer) and introit psalms (omitted in 1552). Then came the order for Communion itself. The next set of services was arranged to reflect the life cycle, of baptism, confirmation, matrimony, visitation and communion of the sick, and the burial service. Only the Purification of Women (in 1552 more accurately entitled the Thanksgiving of Women after Childbirth) and the Ash Wednesday devotions (later named the Commination service) followed. This general arrangement leaves discreetly ambiguous which of the services count as sacraments – for reformers, only baptism and the Eucharist; for traditionalists, confirmation, matrimony, anointing of the sick, confession, and holy orders also – and which are mere ceremonies to be retained or abolished as seems fit.

We know something of the process of liturgical composition. The Chertsey Conference met before the authorization of the 1549 Prayer Book, and a committee was appointed for drawing up the Ordinal only one week before it completed its work. These were evidently final steps in a longer process. The Chertsey Conference discussed points of principle, and in the House of Lords debate on the Prayer Book concerned itself with eucharistic doctrine; it is hard to imagine detailed poring over texts in the manner of a modern revising committee. There was, however, considerable consultation earlier on. Questionnaires on matters of liturgical theology were sent to bishops and divines, and their replies survive. These must have had some effect on the process of drafting. Verbal reminiscences of the King’s Book in the 1549 Prayer Book may even have been a deliberate ploy to give the new liturgy an aura of respectability. Some parts of the new Prayer Books were probably contributed by others: Peter Martyr drafted an exhortation to communion; the ordinal was largely based on new work by Bucer. No doubt others helped as well. Nevertheless the work as a whole betrays both a strong editorial control and the pastoral and theological principles of Cranmer himself; and given his known interest in liturgical composition, it is sensible to see his hand throughout.


At the Communion.

to haue compassion vpon our infirmities, & those thynges, whiche for our vnworthines wee dare not, & for our blyndnesse, we cannot aske, vouchesafe to giue vs for the worthinesse of thy sonne Jesus Christ our lorde. Amen.

Almighty God, which hast promised to here the petitions of them that aske in thy sonnes name, we beseche the mercifully to enclyne thyne eares to vs that haue made nowe our praiers and supplications vnto the: & graũt that those thynges whiche we haue faithfully asked, accordyng to thy wille, maye effectuallye bee obteined, to the relief of our necessitie, and to the setting furth of thy glory, through Jesus Christ our lorde. Amen.

¶ Upon the holy daies, if there be no Communion, shalbe saide all that is appoyncted at the Communion, vntill the ende of the Homelie, concludyng with the generall praier for the whole state of Christes churche militant here in earth, and one or mo of these collectes before rehersed, as occasion shall serue.

¶ And there shalbee no celebracion of the Lordes Supper, except there bee a good nomber to communicate with the priest, accordyng to his discrecion.

¶ And if there be not aboue twentie persones in the parishe, of discrecion to receiue the Communion, yet there shalbee no Communion, except foure, or three at the least communicate with the Priest. And in Cathedrall and Collegiate Churches, where bee many Priestes and Deacons, thei shall all receiue the Communion with the minister euery Sondaie at the least, excepte thei haue a reasonable cause to the contrary.

¶ Although no order can be so perfectly deuised, but it maie be of some, either for their ignorance and infirmitie, or els of malice and obstinacie misconstrued, depraued, and interpreted in a wrong part: and yet because brotherly charitie willeth, that so muche as conueniently maie be, offences should be taken awaie, therfore, we willyng to do the same. Wheras it is ordeined in the boke of Common prayer, in the administracion of the Lordes Supper, that the Communicantes knelyng, should receiue the holy Communion, whiche thyng beyng well ment, for a significaciõ of the humble and gratefull acknowlegyng of the benifi-

tes

1. The 'Black Rubric' in a 1552 Prayer Book

Some copies of Edward VI's second Book of Common Prayer had already been printed when the order to add a declaration 'touching the kneeling at the receiving of the Communion' was issued. The text of this 'Black Rubric', as it would later be called, consequently had to be inserted on a separate leaf. In the copy illustrated here, which was printed after the last-minute change took effect, the declaration begins near the bottom of the page, after the third of the rubrics that follow the Communion service.

Benton Collection, Rare Books and Manuscripts Department, Boston Public Library.

Cranmer seems to have preferred to work from an earlier text, not only in writing prayers and exhortations but even in prefatory material. The academic search for his sources has been derided, and of course the results must remain largely hypothetical, but with Cranmer it is a much more fruitful approach than with most composers of liturgy. First we see an innate conservatism which makes full use of the traditional English service books: the Missal, the Manual and Pontifical, and the Breviary as well as vernacular material in the Primers (*see* Stevenson, 'Worship', pp. 10–16). At first glance, a contemporary reader may well have supposed the 1549 Prayer Book to be a translation and rationalization of the old services, both of which would have been widely welcomed. Other traditions were included: a certain number of texts come from the Greek Orthodox and the old Spanish (Mozarabic) rites. Many would have seen these as being properly catholic but not popish, a real advantage in a country which under Henry had espoused Catholicism without the Pope. Then there were contemporary sources: Cardinal Quiñones' work on the Daily Office; a wide range of Lutheran texts, including some by Luther himself; and local orders such as those from Albertine Saxony and Brandenburg–Nürnberg. A very important source was the still-born reform of the church in Cologne by its archbishop, Hermann von Wied, in 1543, which drew considerable comment from all quarters. But whatever the source, the material was handled in a way that reveals the editor's concerns and views, and often the changes are more revealing than the imitations.

Cranmer's conservative use of sources generally produced a type of service which encouraged more congregational participation than did some other contemporary rites, retaining as he did comparatively short prayers and a large number of congregational responses. Also the musical aspect of liturgy was largely retained, though less so by 1552 (*see* Leaver, 'Noted', pp. 39–42). Musically the greatest loss was of hymnody, reflecting Cranmer's own acknowledged lack of compositional skill. His literary style is discussed elsewhere, but here some comments are appropriate on its importance for the theology and spirituality of the Prayer Book. While Cranmer could produce the most majestic phrases and seem to imply much by them, he could also be deliberately vague. At times his language resembles a kind of verbal incense that offers an attractive religious haze but no clarity of meaning. This may well have contributed to the way in which the Prayer Book has served as a vehicle of prayer and worship over many centuries and in many cultures. In his own time, this ambiguity served the purpose of obscuring his radical theology: in several places a close reading of the text reveals that much less is going on than meets the eye! Also the composition misses things we might wish for. Commentators have observed that in his translations and adaptations Cranmer substitutes the obedience of servants for the privileges and joy of God's children. The piety is genuine, but it is often in a more subdued tone from that of the originals.

Cranmer's theology has been much studied, though his style does not allow easy answers. He had his own position, which developed over the years, and was no mere disciple of others. Probably he was sympathetic to Lutheran views in the late 1530s, but by the time the Prayer Books were published he was closer to the views of the Reformed theologians like Bucer and Bullinger. In any case some basic principles underlie his liturgical work.

The reformation of the church and the correction of abuses

Behind the Prayer Book lay the perceived need to reform the church. The authority of the papacy had already been annulled in England, but the reformers felt the need now to remove what they saw as the effects of popish corruption on church life. Idolatry had to be extirpated and ignorance dispelled by teaching in the true faith. The doctrine of the Mass as a sacrifice to God had to be replaced by the evangelical teaching of its being a service of thanksgiving for the unique sacrifice of the cross and a spiritual communion with Christ. What was derided as a magical attitude to sacraments and ceremonies needed to be enlight-

ened by a true knowledge of God's word in scripture. Purgatory and the abuses connected with it were to be rooted out.

A Christian society

In many ways the society envisaged by Cranmer was simpler than the one he grew up in. Of the two great powers of medieval society, church and monarchy, the former was by the end of Cranmer's career totally subservient to the latter. Papal authority was excluded, the abbeys dissolved, and the bishops and convocations totally subservient to the king. But this was no mere secularism. The supremacy of the monarch was that of a 'godly prince' who orders society and the lives of subjects. Obedience, the proper response of the people, was inculcated through the liturgy. Within the local community too the liturgy had a narrower focus. The remembrance of the dead, formerly prominent in the services and the furnishings of churches, was all but extinguished. The saints were evicted, except for some of the ones who appear in the Bible, and these few were retained as examples to be followed, not because their prayers could benefit worshippers. In the public discourse of the liturgy, the deceased and infants tended no longer to be spoken *to* but spoken *of*, reference to them now being almost entirely in the third person.

Public worship as communicating the true faith and forming the faithful

The new liturgy was the centrepiece of the Reformation in England. Foreign reformers were surprised at the comparative lack of priority given to preaching and education. Cranmer seems to have expected that the services of themselves would form people in the faith. First and foremost, the vernacular reading of the Bible and of the services was meant to give everyone familiarity with the tenets of Christianity. The congregation was expected to pay attention and participate in the service through the responses. The medieval custom of saying private prayers during the service was strongly discouraged. The ability to recite the Lord's Prayer, the creed, and the Ten Commandments was required of communicants, and confirmation, the normal gateway to receiving Holy Communion, was accompanied by the Catechism, which taught these texts.

The Prayer Book services themselves had prefaces and exhortations that summarized authorized teaching (*see* 'Exhortation at the Visitation of the Sick [1549]'). These were supplemented by the Book of Homilies, which compensated for the dearth of licensed preachers. Ever since the Bible had been made widely available in English, how to interpret it

Exhortation at the Visitation of the Sick (1549)

The Order for the Visitation of the Sick prescribed in the two Prayer Books of Edward VI begins with versicles and responses, followed by two prayers and a lengthy exhortation. A rubric provides that 'if the person visited be very sick', the minister may use the following shortened form of the exhortation, which is about a third of the whole.

Dearly beloved, know this, that Almighty God is the Lord over life, and death, and over all things to them pertaining, as youth, strength, health, age, weakness, and sickness. Wherefore, whatsoever your sickness is, know you certainly, that it is God's visitation. And for what cause soever this sickness is sent unto you; whether it be to try your patience for the example of other, and that your faith may be found, in the day of the Lord, laudable, glorious, and honourable, to the increase of glory, and endless felicity: or else it be sent unto you to correct and amend in you, whatsoever doth offend the eyes of our heavenly Father: know you certainly, that if you truly repent you of your sins, and bear your sickness patiently, trusting in God's mercy, for his dear Son Jesus Christ's sake, and render unto him humble thanks for his fatherly visitation, submitting yourself wholly to his will; it shall turn to your profit, and help you forward in the right way that leadeth unto everlasting life.

became an even thornier issue than it had been, and the homilies promoted the new 'correct' interpretation. With lengthy readings from scripture in Morning and Evening Prayer, there was a strong didactic element throughout the services. Finally, the importance of education was underlined by the public teaching of the Catechism to children on Sundays before Evensong.

Sacraments as signs

How, according to Cranmer, does worship bring worshippers into relationship with God? An important key to understanding this question is his affirmation that a sacrament is the 'sign of an holy thing'. It signifies or points to what it represents, but must not be confused with it. Thus baptism is 'a figure of our burial', even though it is not the case that 'every man be corporally buried in deed when he is baptised'. So likewise the physical body and blood of Christ, if they are signified by the sacrament of the Eucharist, need not be present–and, for Cranmer, they are not. They are present spiritually, to the elect. Worship expresses and nourishes relation to God but does not determine it: that is God's work alone.

Grace, predestination, and election

Ashley Null has shown how central to Cranmer's thought is the doctrine of justification by God's predestined grace. In justification God grants faith and love to the one who is redeemed–faith, which claims the righteousness of Christ, on the basis of which the sinner is pardoned; and love, in grateful response to God. Although this doctrine was not stated explicitly in Cranmer's Prayer Books, it underlay their theology throughout. And while the liturgy was that of a Christian society under a Christian monarch, Cranmer had no illusions that every individual was a faithful Christian elected by God to salvation.

Sacraments signify grace, but confer it only in the case of the elect

Cranmer adopted a position, which was commonly held in Reformed (as opposed to Roman Catholic and Lutheran) churches, that an 'unworthy' recipient of the sacrament, in effect one who is not one of God's elect, receives the outward form of the sacrament, being washed in baptism or eating and drinking the elements at the Communion service, but receives no grace as a result. Water, bread, and wine remain empty signs. Only the elect, redeemed by God's will and love, receive the grace as well as the sacramental symbols. Faith, as a gift of God, unites the outward sign and the inward grace, and the sacrament is then described as truly efficacious:

> Would you resemble a knave playing in a prince's coat, in whom nothing is inwardly wrought or altered, unto a man being baptised in water, who hath put upon him outwardly water, but inwardly is apparelled with Christ, and is by the omnipotent working of God spiritually regenerated and changed into a new man? Or would you compare him that banqueteth at a feast to represent an anniversary, or triumph, unto that man that in remembrance of Christ's death eateth and drinketh at his holy supper, giving thanks for his redemption, and comforting himself with the benefit thereof? . . . The marvellous alteration to an higher estate, nature, and condition, is chiefly and principally in the persons, and in the sacramental signs it is none otherwise but sacramentally and in signification. (*Answer to Gardiner,* 2)

The distinction between the sign and the signified, between the sacrament and the grace, pervades the Prayer Book. One way or another, the theme of its prayers is that the recipient of the sign may also receive the grace signified.

With this proviso, Cranmer was happy to use figurative or 'sacramental' language that might seem to imply that *everyone* received the grace prayed for. For example, in the baptism service the priest says, 'Seeing . . . that these children be regenerate', although Cranmer himself would have applied that assertion spiritually only to the elect, and figuratively to others. Similar language can be found in the funeral service, suggesting that the deceased is one of the elect whatever his or her actual character or lifestyle. This use of language, sometimes difficult to follow, would cause controversy in years to come.

Morning and Evening Prayer; the Litany

Cranmer's concerns and methods are exemplified in the structure and wording of the services appointed in the two Prayer Books of which he was the principal architect. English translations of some of the Latin daily services were already to be found in the Primers, semi-official devotional books published for the use of the laity. These provided texts for Cranmer to use and improve upon. He was much influenced both by Lutheran orders and by a revision of the Daily Office by the Spanish Cardinal Quiñones. But the structure of the services was Cranmer's own, and they exemplify his concern to simplify the complications of the traditional office and to establish the centrality of scripture.

The whole service was in English, the many offices (which tended anyway to be said joined together) being reduced to Morning and Evening Prayer. After the introduction, which in Morning Prayer included Psalm 95, the entire Psalter was recited in order over the course of each month. A chapter from the Old Testament, and another from the New, were read at each service. Both offices had a canticle after each reading: at Morning Prayer the *Te Deum* or *Benedicite* following after the Old Testament reading, then the *Benedictus* after the New; at Evening Prayer, the *Magnificat* and *Nunc dimittis*. The Apostles' Creed was said with the Lord's Prayer, suffrages, and collects. Hymnody disappeared. In 1552 both of the daily offices were prefaced by a lengthy exhortation, confession, and absolution. Lengthy intercession was served by the Litany, taken from Cranmer's 1544 form minus the invocation of saints, which was to be used on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays after Morning Prayer. Thus the service became predominantly one of education and prayer, intended to ground a Christian population in the knowledge and practice of their faith. Cranmer expected a congregation to attend the services daily and to profit from them.

Holy Communion

The Eucharist in Cranmer's Prayer Books kept much that had belonged to the medieval service books, and would have seemed conservative by the standards of other reforms on the Continent. For example, the collect, epistle, and gospel for each Sunday maintained the overall structure for the proclamation of scripture and (where there was preaching) its exposition, whereas in many Reformed churches the readings were fewer and longer, to allow for systematic exposition in the sermon. In the 1549 Prayer Book even the title of the service carried an air of compromise between the traditional and the reformed: 'The Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass'. Much of the traditional apparatus of the medieval rite was retained: the stone altars were still in place, the clergy wore traditional vestments, and the clerks sang much of the service (*see* Leaver, 'Noted', p. 40). At the time, the immediate impression would have been one of somewhat stark simplicity, and of course accessibility in that the service was now in English rather than in Latin.

After the Lord's Prayer and Collect for Purity (survivors of the traditional priest's preparation prayers), the clerks would sing the introit psalm appointed for the day, the *Kyries,* and the *Gloria*. The priest would say the collect of the day, followed by a collect for the king. The epistle and gospel were read, then the creed sung. A sermon or reading from the Book of Homilies would follow; then, after an exhortation to devout communion, the offertory.

Here the new emphasis of the reform became clear. In the medieval Mass, the offering was focused on the bread and wine that were to be consecrated as the body and blood of Christ. In the rite of 1549, the language of offering was curtailed so as to refer only to offering thanks and praise for Christ's one sacrifice, and the offertory was solely a collection for the poor. The congregation would move into the chancel and place their money in the 'poor men's box' which was near the high altar. Again, in the traditional rites everyone would remain for the whole Mass but receive communion very rarely, perhaps only at Easter, reckoning their participation to be in prayerful attendance on the consecration and offering of the body and blood of Christ. In the new service, communion was inseparable from participation.

After the offertory, those not receiving communion were expected to leave. Communicants would remain in the chancel, gathered near the altar for the whole of the eucharistic prayer and communion. If there were no communicants, the service was to end at this point, the priest saying one of the collects printed at the end of the rite. That is how it generally did end, despite the reformers' hopes that people would receive communion more frequently, and the abbreviated service became known as Ante-Communion.

The eucharistic prayer in the 1549 Prayer Book was quite long. Based on the medieval canon of the Mass, it began with the *Sursum corda,* preface, *Sanctus,* and *Benedictus.* Then prayers of intercession brought together similar items scattered through the old canon; they also replaced the traditional vernacular 'bidding of the bedes' that formerly had come after the sermon. The words of institution, widely regarded as words of consecration, were prefaced by the prayer, 'with thy holy spirit and word, vouchsafe to bl✠ess and sanc✠tify these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved son Jesus Christ'. This is a classic example of Cranmerian ambiguity: despite the high language, and even the signs of the cross made over the bread and wine, Cranmer in his own writings made it clear that to bless something was only to set it apart for a holy use. The bread and wine will now 'be unto us' the body and blood of Christ, that is, represent them. As he said in his *Defence* (I.16), 'This spiritual meat . . . is received with a pure heart and a sincere faith. . . . And this faith God worketh inwardly in our hearts by his Holy Spirit, and confirmeth the same outwardly to our ears by hearing of his word, and to our other senses by eating and drinking of the sacramental bread and wine.'

To confirm this Reformed theology, Cranmer directed that there be no elevation of the bread after the words of institution. This had been the high point of the medieval Mass, at which the consecrated bread, now the body of Christ, was worshipped by the congregation. By omitting it, Cranmer struck at the heart of traditional devotion and made the theology of the new rite unmistakable. Just as the offertory had removed all sense of offering the bread and wine, so the eucharistic prayer removed all sense of offering the consecrated bread and wine to God, and replaced it with making a memorial of Christ's death and resurrection, together with the offering of praise and thanksgiving and the self-offering of the worshippers. Often the language evoked that of the medieval canon, but its theology was very different. The only sacrifice was that of Christ on the cross, 'who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world'.

The service continued with the Lord's Prayer and communion devotions, repeated with little change from the 1548 'Order of the Communion'. The words of administration, 'The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life', were deliberately ambiguous. They could be understood either as referring to the bread then administered, or (following Cranmer's own theology) as a prayer for spiritual communion, asking that the communicant receiving the bread might also receive by faith the body of Christ. Unlike the 1548 'Order of the Communion', there were no directions for additional consecration if the wine should run out. The service concluded with a thanksgiving prayer and blessing.

Despite protests against this new service, in the 1552 Prayer Book it was revised more radically, to make the Reformed theology more explicit. In the meantime stone altars had been removed and replaced by communion tables, which were directed to be placed in the chancel, lengthwise, so that communicants in the chancel stalls could kneel around. The priest was to stand on the north side of the table, and the medieval Mass vestments were replaced by the surplice.

The first half of the service, now entitled 'The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion', had changed little. The main difference was the removal of the sung items. Instead of the introit psalm and *Kyries* (both were gone) and the *Gloria* (it was moved to the end of the service), the Ten Commandments were recited by the minister, with responses by the people, as a kind of litany. After the collection for the poor (the language of offertory was suppressed) came the intercessions, much as they had been found in the 1549 eucharistic prayer but now as a separate prayer 'for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth': prayer for the departed was no longer included! The intercessions being in this position had the double advantage for Cranmer that they would be said whether or not there was a communion (which was becoming increasingly rare through lack of communicants) and that they were not associated with the communion and its medieval sacrificial connotations.

The remainder of the service was radically reshaped to focus clearly on communion and leave no room for traditional theology or spirituality. First came the confession, absolution, and Comfortable Words; then the *Sursum corda,* preface, and *Sanctus,* which with their theme of lifting the worshippers' hearts on high appealed to the Reformed theology of meeting Christ spiritually in heaven. The priest then said the Prayer of Humble Access in the name of the communicants, asking for grace to receive communion rightly. The prayer that followed would later, in the 1662 Prayer Book, be entitled the Prayer of Consecration, but it had no such title in 1552. Properly speaking, it was a prayer of invocation for the communicants, rather than a prayer of blessing the bread and wine. Its key phrase asked that 'we, receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood.' The words of institution followed, as a warrant and remembrance. The communion followed immediately – there was no 'Amen' – and the new words of administration starkly eliminated any description of the bread and wine: 'Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving'; 'Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful'.

As in the 1549 rite, there was no provision for additional consecration. Since, for Cranmer, nothing happens to the bread and wine, extra could be added without further prayer or ceremony. Moreover, a note provided that any bread or wine left over from the communion could be taken by the minister for his own use. Although they had been set apart for a holy use in the service, Cranmer ascribed no holiness to them in themselves, and saw no reason why they could not be used domestically after the service just as well as before. Communion was followed by the Lord's Prayer and one of two alternatives: either a thanksgiving prayer, as in the first Prayer Book, or a prayer offering praise, thanksgiving, and self-oblation in words which in that book had belonged to the eucharistic prayer. The *Gloria* was said or sung before the blessing. Its new position may be a reminiscence of Jesus and the disciples singing a hymn at the end of the Last Supper.

Baptism

The core structure of the eucharistic service – invocation prayer, administration of the sacrament, Lord's Prayer, and thanksgiving prayer – was parallel to that of the baptismal service. This formal feature emphasizes that there are two dominical sacraments: Holy Communion was no longer, as in traditional theology, seen as the chief sacrament, different from all others, and at the same time a new understanding of baptism was given liturgical expression.

In the Middle Ages baptism was celebrated soon after a child's birth on any day of the week. A baby born of a noble family would be baptized with public pomp, and a bishop might be present to confirm the child at the same time. The church service of baptism was lengthy, complicated, and repetitious, being a conflation of a long series of rites administered in the late Roman Empire to adult converts, and entirely in Latin with the exception of an exhortation to the godparents. But since baptism was regarded as absolutely essential for salvation, if there was any risk at all to the health of the child the midwife would baptize it immediately.

For Cranmer, the pressing need was to simplify the baptism service and make it accessible to understanding. On the one hand, he wished to define its importance as a dominical sacrament, equal to the Eucharist, but on the other hand, given his Reformed theology, he did not believe it to be absolutely necessary for salvation. He would have held that it was ordinarily necessary, and that anyone who spurned the sacrament of salvation would be reckoned to have rejected the grace; but since he believed that salvation depended on God's prior election and grace, omission of the sign of baptism did not affect the child's hope of salvation. And he wanted to make it clear that baptism was a sign of the whole Christian life, and not simply a removal of original sin, as it was often taken to be. Accordingly, he directed that baptism should ordinarily be celebrated on Sundays or feast days, at Morning or Evening Prayer, when the congregation might witness the event and call to mind their own baptism. There was provision for emergency baptism at home in case of necessity, but in 1552 it was emphasized that this was permissive.

The 1549 service of Public Baptism seems to have been largely based on Luther's baptism service, itself a simplification of the medieval rite. It began at the church door, with a prayer for salvation based on the theme of Noah's deliverance from the flood. The child was signed with the cross on the forehead and breast to represent faith and obedience to Christ, but references to the candidate's having a personal faith (a relic of the ancient baptism of adults, of which Luther approved with regard to infants) were replaced so as to emphasise the faith of the congregation. They were bidden to pray for the child being baptized, and also to call to mind and appropriate in faith their own baptism. The medieval rite had also contained numerous prayers of exorcisms; these were reduced to one prayer in 1549. A different theme now came to the fore. A prayer, another ancient one, picked up the theme of God *receiving* the child, and this was continued through the gospel reading (Jesus blessing the children and saying that anyone who receives the kingdom of God must receive it like a child) and the following exhortation to the congregation, affirming Christ's acceptance of children. (We may see polemic against early Anabaptist teaching here.) The Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed were then recited as core texts of the Christian faith.

Then the service moved indoors to the font. There the devil, the world, and the flesh were forsaken, and belief in God attested through the words of the Apostles' Creed (again!). The child was baptized, then clothed in a white garment and anointed. A final exhortation on the duties of godparents concluded this office, and the congregation would return to the main service to which the baptism had been added. For the most part the baptism itself represented a simplification of the medieval rite. It left a few of the many symbolic actions and repetitive prayers of the original. As with Holy Communion, it was a very conservative form, by the standards of the day, including even a blessing of the water of the font, which was to be used at least monthly. The content of this blessing, compared with the eucharistic rites of 1549 and 1552, illustrates Cranmer's theology of the two dominical sacraments.

In 1552 there was further simplification of the baptism service. The whole office was now to be held at the font. The exorcism and the post-baptismal robing and anointing were omitted. The sign of the cross was moved from the beginning to immediately after the baptism—a change that would lead to confusion down the years as to what constitutes baptism, as many have been taught that the sign of the cross, not washing with water, is the distinctive baptismal sign. The recitations of the Lord's Prayer and creed in the early part of the

The Structure of Holy Baptism in the First and Second Prayer Books

1549	1552
At the church door	*At the font*
exhortation	exhortation
'Noah' prayer	'Noah' prayer
naming by godparents	
signing of candidate's forehead and breast	
prayer for receiving of candidates	prayer for receiving of candidates
exorcism of unclean spirit	
salutation and gospel (Mark 10)	gospel (Mark 10)
exhortation on the gospel	exhortation on the gospel
Lord's Prayer	
Apostles' Creed	
prayer for the Holy Spirit	prayer for the Holy Spirit
procession to the font	
At the font	
exhortation to godparents	exhortation to godparents
renunciation of devil, world, and flesh	renunciation of devil, world, and flesh
affirmation of Apostles' Creed (by articles)	affirmation of Apostles' Creed (entire)
affirmation of willingness to be baptized	affirmation of willingness to be baptized
blessing of font*	
petitions for those to be baptized*	petitions for candidates
salutation and	
prayer for those to be baptized*	prayer for candidates
naming of each candidate	naming of each candidate
dipping (three times) of each candidate	dipping of each candidate
clothing with chrisom	
anointing with prayer	signing with the cross, reception into the congregation
	Lord's Prayer
	prayer of thanksgiving
exhortation to godparents	exhortation to godparents

**If the water in the font has been changed.*

service were omitted; the latter was now used only after the rejection of devil, world, and flesh, and the former recited after the administration of the sacrament, in a position parallel to the Lord's Prayer in Holy Communion. Likewise in parallel, an invocation prayer for the recipients of the sacrament was inserted, the words having been used in the 1549 blessing of the font, and a thanksgiving prayer completed the rite.

Confirmation

Confirmation in the Prayer Book changed enormously, not in the rite itself but in its context. Before the Reformation people were confirmed whenever a bishop was available, and the service was seen as conferring grace for the Christian life after baptism. Cranmer adopted the view of fellow reformers, such as Bucer and Calvin, that in the early church confirmation provided an opportunity for the baptized to profess their own faith. Historically this was wrong, but pastorally it was appropriate in an age now sensitive to the issue of

a personal affirmation of faith. It was on this point, for example, that the Anabaptists had criticized the baptism of infants.

The Prayer Book service was preceded by the text of the Catechism, which was to be taught regularly in church on Sundays. The child would rehearse and accept the baptismal promises made by his or her godparents. Then followed the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, along with a discussion of duty to God and neighbour. These formularies were meant to be known to everyone as a qualification for receiving communion, but on communion itself the Catechism had no teaching until 1604, perhaps because the topic was too tendentious in the first years of the Reformation. The confirmation service itself was very brief, and was modelled on the traditional rite. The bishop presided. In 1549 the only substantive change was that the oil of chrism was omitted. After praying for the 'inward unction of thy Holy Ghost', the bishop made the sign of the cross on the child's forehead and laid his hand on the head. In 1552 the signing was omitted altogether, leaving just the hand-laying. Reference in a new prayer to following the example of the apostles (Acts 8) is satisfying but, again, historically tendentious. The prayers also made it clear that what is asked for is not a new gift of the Holy Spirit – that is granted already by God – but the daily increase of the Spirit throughout the person's life.

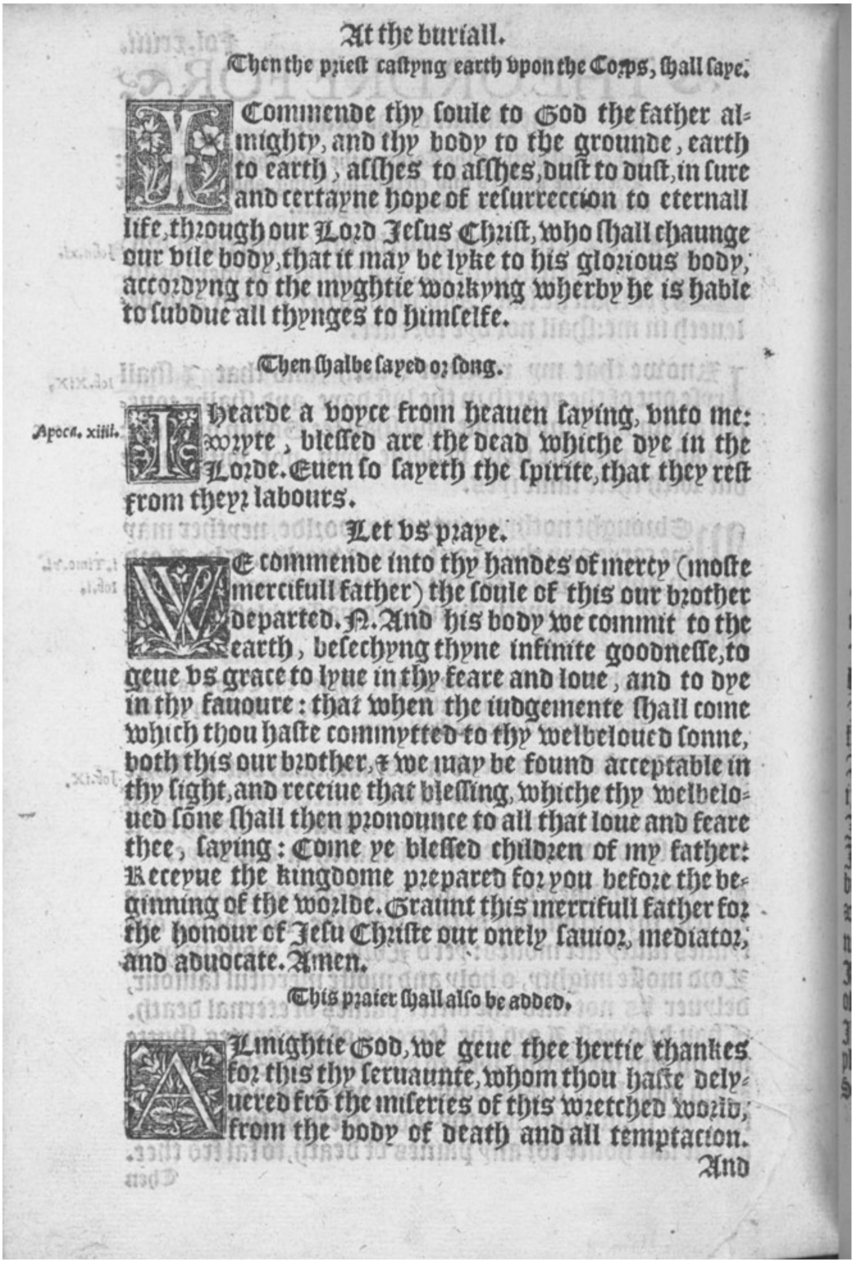
Marriage

The marriage service was altered very little from its medieval predecessors. The vows had previously been said in English and were carried through with minimum change. The first part of the service – an exhortatory preface, provision for objections, and the vows – was conducted in the nave of the church, not the porch as before. Then the couple would move into the chancel for the prayers. It remained the requirement that the couple then receive communion. Theologically the service made it clear that marriage was not a sacrament dispensed according to the rules of the church, but an ordinance of God regulated by scripture. Hints of sacerdotalism in the old service were played down: the true ministers were the couple. The use of the ring was retained, but it was not blessed – the couple were blessed, in line with Cranmer's thinking that blessing pertains to people, not things. The opening exhortation, setting out teaching on marriage, was somewhat traditional in giving its reasons as the procreation of children, the avoidance of fornication, and mutual support – in that order (*see* p. 515). Bucer in his *Censura* wanted the third reason to come first but his advice was not taken up until the twentieth century. Overall Cranmer produced a service which rationalized the medieval form, was richer in content than many Reformed counterparts, and (apart from a few infelicitous phrases) has retained popular affection ever since.

Visitation of the Sick; Confession

The modern reader can only wonder at the stamina of the sick in former times. Even the 1552 form, which was much abbreviated from 1549, would tax many a healthy person. Both forms included brief prayers, a lengthy exhortation, an examination of the faith and conscience of the sick person, and if necessary the writing of a will. The sick person might wish to make a special confession, and in 1549 a form of absolution was given for the priest to use in this instance and also 'in all private confessions'. In 1552 the reference to private confessions was omitted. Evidently Cranmer had no wish to give sacramental status to what he no longer regarded as a sacrament. Likewise, the 1549 rite provided for anointing of the sick, with a strict distinction between the outward anointing of the visible oil and the inward anointing of the Holy Spirit, but 1552 omitted it altogether.

Communion of the sick in 1549 could be administered either directly from a celebration of Holy Communion elsewhere (reservation of the sacrament was forbidden), with a brief form of the communion devotions, or with an abbreviated celebration in the house. In 1552


At the buriall.

Then the prieſt caſtyng earth vpon the Corps, ſhall ſaye.

I Commende thy ſoule to God the father almighty, and thy body to the grounde, earth to earth, aſſhes to aſſhes, duſt to duſt, in ſure and certayne hope of reſurreccion to eternall life, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who ſhall chaunge our vile body, that it may be lyke to his glorious body, accordyng to the myghtie workyng wherby he is hable to ſubdue all thynges to himſelfe.

Then ſhalbe ſayed or ſong.

Apoca. xiiii.

I hearde a voyce from heauen ſaying, vnto me: wryte, bleſſed are the dead whiche dye in the Lorde. Euen ſo ſayeth the ſpirite, that they reſt from theyr labours.

Let vs praye.

WE commende into thy handes of mercy (moſte mercifull father) the ſoule of this our brother departed. N. And his body we commit to the earth, beſechyng thyne infinite goodneſſe, to geue vs grace to lyue in thy feare and loue, and to dye in thy fauoure: that when the iudgemente ſhall come which thou haſte commytted to thy welbeloued ſonne, both this our brother, & we may be found acceptable in thy ſight, and receiue that bleſſing, whiche thy welbeloued ſone ſhall then pronounce to all that loue and feare thee, ſaying: Come ye bleſſed children of my father: Receyue the kingdome prepared for you before the beginning of the worlde. Graunt this mercifull father for the honour of Jeſu Chriſte our onely ſauior, mediator, and aduocate. Amen.

This praier ſhall alſo be added.

ALmightie God, we geue thee hertie thankes for this thy ſeruaunte, whom thou haſte delyuered frõ the miſeries of this wretched world, from the body of death and all temptation.

And

2. The Burial Office in the First Book of Common Prayer

Much of the wording on this page from a 1549 Prayer Book changed when the service for the burial of the dead was revised. Here the soul of the deceased is commended to God by 'the priest casting earth upon the corpse', and again in the prayer that follows the sentence beginning 'I heard a voice'. These commendations were both omitted in the 1552 Prayer Book, together with the prayer that starts at the bottom of the page.

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even this was curtailed; only a celebration in the house was provided for, and that only if other people were willing to receive communion as well. ‘Private’ celebrations could not be allowed. If the conditions for a ‘public’ celebration could not be fulfilled, the sick were reminded that by true faith, repentance of sins, and thanksgiving for God’s mercy, they spiritually ate and drank the body and blood of Christ even without receiving the sacrament.

The Burial of the Dead

The funeral rites were curtailed radically from their traditional antecedents, omitting the service in the house and much of the processions. The Prayer Book of 1549 provided only for a procession through the churchyard to the church or grave, burial, a service in church, and Holy Communion. In 1552 even that was abbreviated by omitting the psalms from the church service and making no provision for communion. The longest part was the reading of 1 Corinthians 15, setting out the Christian hope of the resurrection.

In recent years it is perhaps this part of Cranmer’s reform that has attracted the most stringent criticism. Theologically he was intent on removing prayer for the departed, in particular any reference to purgatory. In 1549 he was happy to commend the soul of the departed to God, but in 1552 the prayer looked firmly to the accomplishment of the number of the elect, and to express the hope that ‘we with this our brother and all other departed in the true faith . . . may have our perfect consummation and bliss’. The presumption of the liturgy was that the death is a blessing and something to thank God for. The sentences of the procession and burial expressed a sense of mortality, but nowhere do we find the pain of loss or grief.

The death of Edward VI and the accession of Mary in July 1553 brought the end of Cranmer’s hopes for reform. He protested against the restoration of the Latin Mass, but the tide was against him at every level of the state. Arrested and tried for his part in promoting Lady Jane Grey’s claim to the throne, he was not executed but kept in prison for a heresy trial. He signed several recantations, and seems to have been regarded by the authorities as something of a ‘show convert’ to Marian Catholicism. However, when it was clear that he would be burned for heresy in any case he renounced his recantations, affirmed his evangelical faith, and when he came to the stake on 21 March 1556, famously held his hand in the flames saying, ‘This hand hath offended’. He died too soon to witness Mary’s decline and to anticipate the return of the Prayer Book under Elizabeth only two years later.

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The Prayer Book 'Noted'

Robin A. Leaver

A few months after the publication of the Book of Common Prayer in 1549 a collection of musical settings of its services was issued as *The booke of Common praier noted* (1550). This was the work of the organist of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, John Merbecke, who also spelled his name as 'Marbeck' and 'Marbek'. Merbecke was also an important composer even though only a small handful of his compositions survive today. His polyphonic Mass *Per arma justicae* is an accomplished, large-scale setting found in the Forrest-Heyther part-books, prepared for Cardinal College (later Christ Church), Oxford, around 1530, that also include some of the finest masses of the period, such as those by Robert Fayrfax, John Taverner, Christopher Tye, and John Sheppard.

The Latin Mass and Daily Office had customarily been supplied with monophonic chant. There were several chant anthologies associated with the Sarum rite – *Graduale* for the Mass, *Antiphonale* for the Daily Office, *Processionale* for litanies, as well as the priestly chant found in the Missal – available in manuscripts and, since the beginning of the sixteenth century, more commonly in printed editions. Lutheran churches in Germany continued to use chant forms in their reformed orders of worship, though elsewhere in Protestant Europe the tendency was to restrict music in worship to congregational psalmody – those churches in sympathy with the reforms of Zurich banished all forms of music. The English reformers were not as radical, and they intended the new vernacular services be sung in much the same way as the old. Such chants were to be less florid, however, so that the text could be clearly heard – a common concern expressed by such humanists as Erasmus, who had complained many years earlier that much music obscured the liturgical text in English worship. This concern for audibility is confirmed by the rubric that follows the *Venite* in the 1549 Prayer Book: 'Then shalbe read .ii. Lessons distinctely with a loude voyce, that the people may hear. . . . And (to the ende the people maye the better heare) in suche places where they doe syng, there shall the lessons be song in a playne tune after the maner of distincte readyng: and lykewyse the Epistle and Gospell.'

That the 1549 Book of Common Prayer should be given suitable simple chant forms was in a sense the continuation of a principle established by the publication of the vernacular Litany in 1544, which had been issued with a simplified form of Sarum chant. This music conformed to Archbishop Cranmer's principle, expressed in a letter to King Henry VIII in 1544, that such chant should be 'devoute and solempne' and 'not full of notes, but, as nere as may be, for every sillable, a note'. Cranmer's letter continues by referring to audibility and current practice, which in a sense sets the agenda for Merbecke's *Booke of Common praier noted*, 'so that it may be song distinctly and devoutly, as be in the Matens and Evensong, Venite, the Hymnes, Te Deum, Benedictius, Magnificat, Nunc dimittis, and all the Psalmes and Versicles, and in the Masse, Gloria in excelsis, Gloria Patri, the Crede, the Preface, the Pater noster, and some of the Sanctus and Agnus'.

Since Merbecke's chant forms are similarly syllabic, it has been frequently suggested that he was responsible for the simplified Sarum chant of the 1544 Litany. But there is no documentary evidence to support the hypothesis. The 1544 Litany chant could well have been the

work of Archbishop Cranmer himself. His letter to the King quoted above calls for the type of simple chant that Luther had employed in his *Deutsche Messe* (1526). Cranmer had first-hand experience of the continued use of chant forms in Lutheran worship in Germany in the early 1530s. He is known to have stayed with Andreas Osiander, who was then working on the final stages of the Brandenburg–Nürnberg Church Order, issued in 1533, which included syllabic chant within its liturgical provisions. Although it is not known who adapted the chant for the 1544 Litany, it did provide Merbecke a model for when he came to create his collection of musical settings of the Prayer Book services.
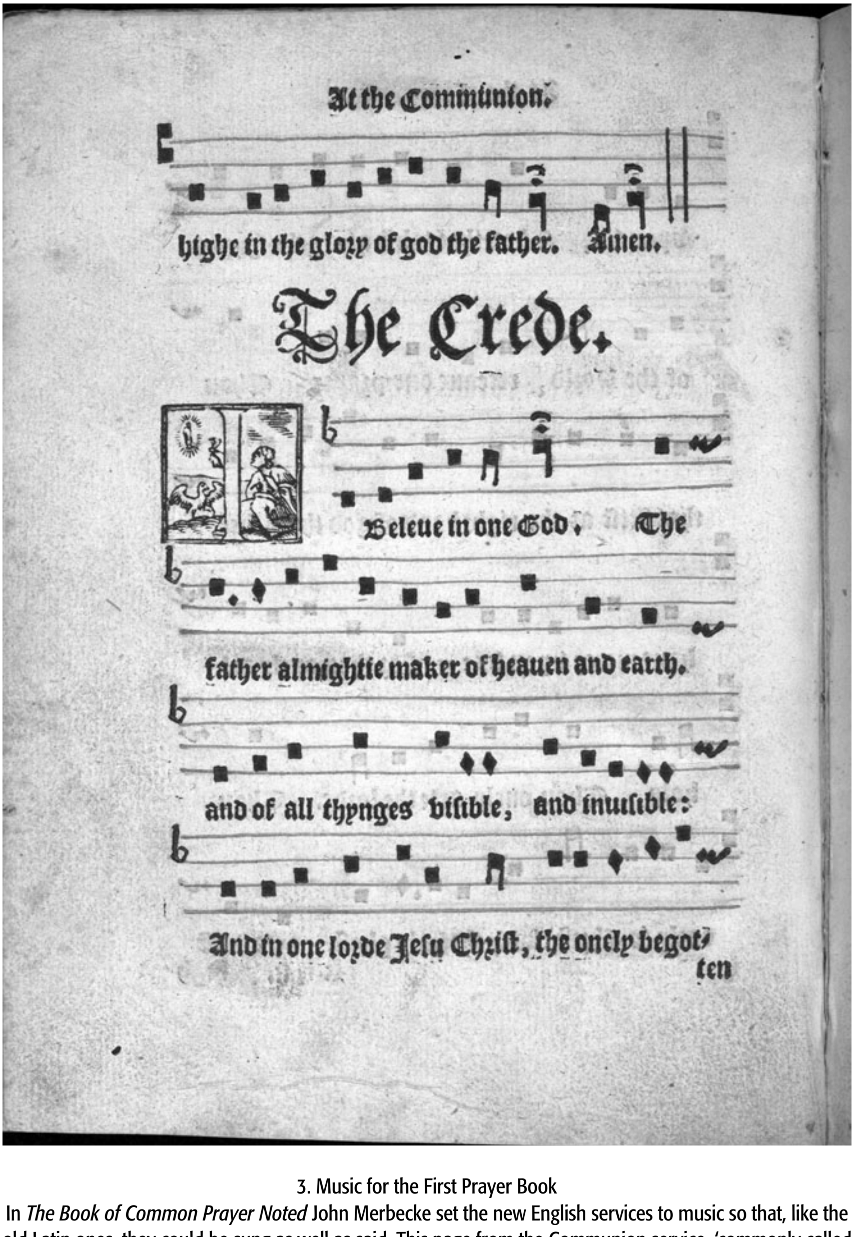
In September 1548 the important committee that compiled the final form of the first English Prayer Book met in Chertsey Abbey, on the Thames between Hampton Court and Windsor Castle, under the chairmanship of Archbishop Cranmer. The committee met for most of the month and some of its members made at least one excursion to Windsor Castle during the deliberations. It is possible that the origins of *The booke of Common praier noted* can be traced to the work of this committee, though Merbecke must have already been known to Cranmer. It is significant that Merbecke, the primary Windsor musician, produced the book and that Richard Grafton, one of the royal publishers of the 1549 Prayer Book, published it, which suggests that it had semi-official status and thus perhaps was connected with the 1548 Prayer Book committee.

Like the Book of Common Prayer, which replaced numerous Latin liturgical books with one comprehensive collection of vernacular services, Merbecke's was a single musical source that contrasts with the variety of chant books that were necessary for the Latin Sarum rite. But his was not a complete edition of the Prayer Book and included only those texts that required chant melodies.

The 1549 Book of Common Prayer lacked the Psalms, which encouraged Robert Crowley to publish a metrical Psalter later the same year. That the intention was for prose psalms to be sung with the new services was demonstrated by the publication of *The Psalter or Psalms of Dauid . . . as thei shalbe song in Churches . . . Herunto is added diuerse thynges . . .* (London, 1549). The 'diverse things' were 'all that appertein to the clerkes to say or syng', that is, those texts of the 1549 Prayer Book services that were to be said (or sung) by someone other than the priest, such as the parish clerk in the smaller churches or the clerks ('singing men') in cathedrals or collegiate chapels. This collection of texts (without music), often referred to as *The Clerk's Book,* did not include all the Prayer Book services but mostly only those texts spoken or sung by the clerks, such as responses to versicles, the *Kyrie, Gloria,* and so on. Merbecke's book is effectively the musical counterpart of *The Clerk's Book,* supplying the necessary chant for the sung portions of the 1549 Book of Common Prayer. It is clear that Merbecke did not have congregational singing in mind, although the book was revived for this purpose in the nineteenth century. As the 1549 rubrics direct, the texts that he set to music would have been sung by the 'singing men' of cathedrals and collegiate chapels, but not in smaller parish churches where everything would have been spoken. The relatively few copies of the single edition that survive suggest that the print run was not particularly large, which again points to its particular rather than general use.

Most of the priest's prayers and such items as the Apostles' Creed and lesser litany throughout the book are assigned a simple monotone. Elsewhere the notation is mensural (rhythmic) rather than free plainsong. The rhythmic patterns of the English words are carefully observed in the simple syllabic declamation, and there is a tendency towards word-painting. For example, in the Nicene Creed 'bur-i-ed' is notated as three syllables and given a final descending fifth, and 'ascended into heaven' is assigned an appropriate rising sequence of notes.

Merbecke's settings for the Nicene Creed, offertory sentences, *Agnus Dei*, and post communions for the Holy Communion service are for the most part newly composed. In the canticles at Matins and Evensong, some of which are given different settings, he used the ancient psalm tones, or, in the case of the *Te Deum,* a simplified Ambrosian melody. Elsewhere



3. Music for the First Prayer Book

In *The Book of Common Prayer Noted* John Merbecke set the new English services to music so that, like the old Latin ones, they could be sung as well as said. This page from the Communion service, 'commonly called the Mass', shows the end of the *Gloria in excelsis* and the beginning of the Creed. The simple style of Merbecke's settings is evident; almost never is more than one note given to any syllable. Following a tradition much older than printing, the staff-lines are red.

Benton Collection, Rare Books and Manuscripts Department, Boston Public Library.

simplifications of Sarum chant are found, such as the settings in the Burial Communion, which are simplified forms of the Sarum *Missa pro defunctis*.

The textual and structural changes of the 1552 Book of Common Prayer (though the rubric concerning the chanting of biblical lections was not removed) rendered Merbecke's book obsolete. It was never revised or reissued in the final year of Edward VI's reign; it was totally redundant during the Catholic reign of Mary, when Latin rites and their chants were reintroduced; and it was never reissued for use with the 1559 Prayer Book. Elizabethan composers – together with many others in later generations – continued to use the same forms as Merbecke's versicles at Matins and Evensong with their multivoiced settings of the responses. Apart from this connection the volume became an item of antiquarian interest rather than a collection of practical liturgical chant, though to judge from manuscript additions to the copy owned by diarist Samuel Pepys, it may have been used in the later seventeenth century. But this would have been for private rather than public worship.

From the later eighteenth century the presence of Roman Catholic embassy chapels in London, which were effectively open to the public, raised awareness of Roman Catholic church music, especially Gregorian chant. Moreover, a significant number of plainchant manuals and anthologies, also from the mid-eighteenth century, were published and circulated in England. Thus even before the Tractarian movement of the nineteenth century, Gregorian chant had made its mark, though it was considered exclusively as the liturgical music of the Latin rites of Roman Catholicism. That awareness was broadened after 1829 by the Catholic Emancipation Act, which allowed English Catholics freedom of worship.

Anglican Tractarians, and more particularly their Anglo-Catholic successors, took as their ideal for the worship of the English church the practices of the late medieval period. William Palmer had demonstrated in his *Origines Liturgicae* (Oxford, 1832) that the Prayer Book services were substantially based on the Latin services of the Sarum rite. As the earlier Latin services came to be regarded as the ideal form of worship, it was natural therefore for interest to arise for the associated liturgical music, which formed an integral part of these orders. In the same way that the Latin rites provided the foundation for the English services of the Book of Common Prayer, so the Latin chant needed be adapted to the vernacular liturgical texts. Merbecke's book, which had been issued in connection with the first Anglican Prayer Book, therefore provided the model. John Jebb drew attention to Merbecke's settings as early as 1841. William Dyce issued an edition of the Prayer Book with monodic chant into which nearly all of Merbecke's settings were incorporated, modified for use with the 1662 services: *The Order of Daily Service, the Litany, and Order of the Administration of the Holy Communion, with Plain-Tune, According to the Use of the United Church of England and Ireland* (London, 1843). In an appendix Dyce severely criticized Merbecke for not giving authentic, unaltered versions of the ancient melodies. The following year Merbecke's book was reprinted (a fine quasi-facsimile) by Pickering, and in 1845 still another (a rather poor engraving) was issued by Rimbault. Thomas Helmore took up the cause of plainchant for the English church, and the fact that he was directly influenced by Merbecke is seen in his choice of titles. On the one hand they recall Merbecke's *Booke of Common praier noted;* on the other, they indicate that he thought of his work as completing what Merbecke had begun, since he provided liturgical chant for those parts of the Prayer Book that Merbecke had either ignored or only partially set. Helmore's titles include: *The Psalter Noted* (London, 1849), *The Canticles Noted* (London, 1850), and, with John Mason Neale, *The Hymnal Noted* (London, 1851).

By this time Merbecke's settings were regularly sung in St Margaret's Chapel, London (with accompaniments by Richard Redhead), and in St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, where Merbecke had served some three hundred years earlier. Helmore included Merbecke's settings in his *Manual of Plainsong* (London, 1850, with many reprints and editions), as did Sir John Stainer in his *Cathedral Prayer Book* (London, 1891).

The settings of Merbecke – especially those of the Communion service – have been widely sung congregationally since the mid-nineteenth century. The Parish Communion movement, with its stress on a weekly celebration of the Eucharist, contributed to the widespread use of these settings in the twentieth century. Many different editions of Merbecke's Communion service have been issued, edited and with accompaniments, by such composers as Charles Villiers Stanford, Basil Harwood, George C. Martin, Martin Shaw, Sydney H. Nicholson, and Walford Davies, among others. This use has spread far beyond the confines of Anglicanism and these settings continue to appear in the hymnals of many different denominations throughout the world, including Lutheran, Presbyterian, Reformed, Moravian, and Roman Catholic.

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From Elizabeth I to Charles II

Bryan Spinks

During her comparatively brief reign, Mary Tudor had attempted to restore the English church to the state in which it had been in 1530, prior to her father's legislative break with Rome and her brother's establishment of a Protestant faith. Since the religious orders and many places of pilgrimage had for the most part been destroyed, and since former church lands had come into lay ownership, this was an impossible task. Furthermore, with the Council of Trent in session, the Catholic Church itself was changing and so there could be no restoration of the pre-1530 English church. In any case, the attempt came to an end with Mary's death on 17 November 1558.

Her half-sister Elizabeth, who had conformed outwardly but was brought up in the Protestant household of her stepmother, Catherine Parr, succeeded to the throne. Within six months Mary's restoration was halted and dismantled. An Act of Uniformity was read in the House of Commons on Tuesday, 18 April and concluded in the Lords on 28 April; attached to the bill was a Book of Common Prayer which, for all intents and purposes, was that of 1552. The precise details of the circumstances surrounding its gestation remain unclear. In his study of Parliament and the 1559 settlement of religion, Norman Jones noted that Elizabeth the politician and Elizabeth the person can never be disentangled. In matters of religion she was Protestant. Although it is difficult to tell exactly which brand of Protestantism Elizabeth favoured, it is obvious that she would not tolerate a church independent from the state–particularly a church under a Roman pontiff who regarded her as illegitimate and not a rightful heir to the English throne. Thus royal supremacy was at the very centre of both her political and religious policy. The emergence of the 1559 Book of Common Prayer is therefore intricately bound to the political manoeuvres of the first months that secured Elizabeth as undisputed monarch of England.

The first few months of Elizabeth's succession were fraught with difficulty owing to a number of factors. First, there were political uncertainties. Would the Pope attempt to disqualify Elizabeth on grounds (from Rome's perspective) of illegitimacy? Would Spain or France attack England? Second, the Marian hierarchy seemed hostile to her and various Protestant factions from the Continent returned, each vying for their particular concept of a Reformed church. Elizabeth relied on her advisor, Sir William Cecil, and his circle of family and friends, in formulating a way through these uncertainties and problems. Above all she had to act within the law, and to do nothing prior to appropriate legislation.

Within the first weeks of her succession, Elizabeth received four documents (at least, four have survived) giving her advice on future policies. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton sent a letter in which he advised a discreet beginning, and suggested advisers, some of whom were conservative Catholics and others who were known for Protestant sympathies. Armagill Waad addressed to her a document entitled 'Distresses of the Commonwealth with the Remedy Therin', which set out the nation's problems and advised caution. Richard Goodrich, a seasoned lawyer, compiled 'Divers Points of Religion Contrary to the Church of Rome', which listed the legal precedents for the limiting and curtailing of papal authority in the nation. However, it is the anonymous 'Device for the Alteration of Religion' that is

chiefly regarded by historians as pertinent to the 1559 Book of Common Prayer. This document, written by someone highly placed within the church in 1558, called for a committee of divines to draw up reforms for the church. Scholars dispute the extent to which this advice was adopted and used as a blueprint, but it certainly foreshadowed what was to unfold in the following months. What did begin to emerge, however, was the need to make a settlement that would ensure no invasion by either Spain or France and the desire to be free of papal authority. On matters of religion, however, the nation was more divided. An independent Catholic Church, as in the days of Henry, was probably what many anticipated. However, Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Ely, informed one of the secretaries of Cardinal de Granville that he had no friends in the new council, and predicted the fall of the 'old religion' in England.

Already by 17 December 1558 there were rumours that Elizabeth was using an English litany in her royal chapel. That Christmas she requested the bishop of Carlisle to refrain from elevating the host at Mass and, when he declined to do so, the Queen retired after the singing of the gospel. A royal proclamation was sent to the Lord Mayor of London on 28 December. It was concerned with unlicensed preaching, but also declared that preaching should be confined to the epistle and gospel of the day, and that the Ten Commandments were to be recited in the vulgar tongue 'without exposition'. However, it also allowed for the litany 'used at this present in her majesty's own chapel', and for the Lord's Prayer and creed in English. Nothing new was to be done 'until consultation may be had by parliament, by her majesty'. Richard Jugge hurriedly printed 'The Letanye, vsed in the Quenes Maiesties Chappel' to allow those with a Protestant taste to take advantage of this permission. At her coronation on 15 January 1558/9, Elizabeth chose to be escorted into Westminster Abbey by the choir of the Chapel Royal, singing the English litany, rather than by monks with torches. There was no elevation of the host, and the consecration was in English. Certainly by Easter Elizabeth was receiving communion in two kinds rather than one, as was the Catholic practice. The preachers selected for Lent to preach before the Queen tended to be those named in the anonymous 'Device', and were clearly Protestant in sympathy.

As noted above, it was necessary for Elizabeth and her advisors to proceed within the legal system. The first step was for Parliament to pass a new Act of Supremacy, removing the English church from papal control. A bill to this purpose was introduced into the Commons on 9 February 1558/9. It is uncertain whether this bill also included reform of the liturgy. However, a second, new bill of supremacy was introduced on 21 February, and did incorporate a provision for ordering services and a Prayer Book. Two days later it passed after a stormy debate. According to Il Schifanoya, an Italian living in London, the Commons passed a bill forbidding Mass to be said or Holy Communion administered 'except at the table in the manner of Edward VI'. The daily offices were not to be performed in church, priests were permitted to marry, and the sacraments were abolished, with heavy penalties for lack of conformity.

In response, the clergy of the Convocation of Canterbury drew up a protestation of faith, reaffirming the real presence in the Eucharist, transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the Mass, and papal supremacy, and they insisted that it was the church, not the state, which defined matters of dogma. The bishop of London delivered the document on 3 March to the Lord Keeper, Nicholas Bacon, who apparently did nothing further. The bill passed to the Lords and was read on 28 February, where it met with stiff opposition; on 13 March it was given to a committee of Lords. The committee appears to have been quite conservative as regards the religious intentions of the bill, and reduced it to a skeleton; the supremacy was acceptable, but not the Protestant proposals. When the much-altered bill came for its third reading on 18 March the Commons was in a quandary, since to reject it would mean that the Pope was still head of the English church; to pass it would be to allow the supremacy of the Queen, with Catholic services. A proposal to permit the Edwardian services as an alternative came to nothing. The bill as amended by the Lords passed on 22 March. A proclamation printed the same day but never issued suggests that provision

The 'Ornaments Rubric', 1559

And here is to be noted, that the Minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the church, as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of king Edward the VI according to the act of Parliament set in the beginning of this book.

should be made to use something similar to the 1548 'Order of the Communion', an English vernacular devotion inserted in the Latin Mass.

However, as Parliament recessed for Easter events gathered speed. A disputation was arranged between the bishops and other Catholic representatives and a carefully selected group of Protestant divines. As with most disputations in this era, it was already slanted towards a Protestant victory. The dispute never got past the second day. The bishops refused to follow the order prescribed by the moderator, Lord Keeper Bacon, and later that day all the Catholic disputants were arrested. This severely weakened the numerical opposition in the Lords, along with conservative morale. A new supremacy bill was introduced into the Commons on 10 April 1559 and was completed by the 29th. This new bill styled the monarch 'supreme governor' of the church, rather than 'supreme head'. On 18 April a new Act of Uniformity was read in the Commons, and concluded in the Lords on 28 April. The book enacted by the bill was that of 1552, but with some significant, even if not totally explicable, alterations. The so-called 'Ornaments Rubric' was placed before Morning Prayer. It seems to have sanctioned Mass vestments as well as candles and altars, though it was never so invoked until the nineteenth century. The rubric concerning the position of the officiant at Morning and Evening Prayer was altered, and the 'Black Rubric' explaining the injunction to kneel for communion was removed. In the Communion service the words of administration from the 1549 Prayer Book were reintroduced and combined with those of 1552. In the Litany and in the ordination rites, deprecations of the Bishop of Rome were removed. The ordinal received no mention in the Act of Uniformity, and the legality of its use was challenged by Bishop Bonner in 1564. It was authorized by Parliament in 1566.

It has sometimes been asserted that Elizabeth would have been content with the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, but the Protestant support upon which she depended would settle for nothing less than the 1552. Given that on the Continent groups in Geneva had drawn up a rite based on Calvin's liturgy, and in Frankfurt had used a further protestantizing of the 1552 Book of Common Prayer, the 'Liturgy of Compromise', it may be that 1552 with minor modifications was indeed seen as a middle way. One of the difficulties in understanding the gestation of the Elizabethan book is the ambiguity regarding the Queen's own religious commitment. In her chapel, despite protests and acts of clerical sabotage, she insisted on retaining a cross and candles on the Communion table. Although the Mass vestments–chasubles–were later collected and confiscated by the royal commissioners, the cope and surplice remained the prescribed vesture for Communion in cathedrals and collegiate chapels. Although a wooden table was to replace the stone altars, it was to remain in its altar position except when in use. The Queen also ordered the bread at Communion to be 'of the same fineness and fashion round, though somewhat bigger in compass and thickness, as the usual bread and wafer, heretofore named singing cakes'. All these represent a more conservative stance than that of 1552.

A further puzzle is the issue in 1560 of the *Liber Precum Publicarum*, the Latin Prayer Book for use in colleges. This translation frequently reverts to forms that had appeared in the Latin edition of the 1549 book. Many instances can be explained as editorial preference for an already existing translation, but by no means all. It reproduced the 1549 rubrics allowing reservation of the sacrament, and made provision for a requiem celebration of Commu-

nion. The differences would no doubt have been lost on most English lay people, but Cambridge and Oxford scholars, who were taught in Latin, could spot them. In 1568 Archbishop Parker attempted to enforce the Latin version at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, but scholars complained that it contained the Pope's dregs. A new Latin translation was made in 1571 that was a more accurate reflection of the 1559 English text. It remains a matter of debate whether these cumulative factors witness to Elizabeth's preference for a more catholic liturgy than that passed in 1559. For many of her more godly subjects, however, even the 1559 Book of Common Prayer was too close to Rome for comfort.

Trends During Elizabeth's Reign

Although the 1559 Prayer Book might have been viewed by Elizabeth as a *via media,* a middle way, not all Protestants felt it was sufficiently Protestant in nature and some agitated for further reform. These, whom older historians labelled 'Puritans' but more recent historians have called the 'godly', felt that too much 'popishness' remained in the Elizabethan church, including some of the formulas and responses in the Book of Common Prayer, ceremonies such as the sign of the cross in baptism, and use of the surplice and of a ring in marriage. Bishop John Jewel wrote in 1562 that the surplice was a 'vestige of error' that ought to be removed, and in the same year the Convocation of Canterbury failed by one vote to abolish its use. In 1572 an 'Admonition to the Parliament' drew an unfavourable comparison between the rites of the 1559 Prayer Book and those of the early church.

Many of the godly wished for something nearer the 'Liturgy of Compromise' used in Frankfurt in 1555 by the English exiles, or the form of prayers compiled by John Knox, William Whittingham, and other English exiles in Geneva in 1556. Since no further official revision was forthcoming, some of the godly ministers took matters into their own hands

From *An Admonition to Parliament,* 1572

The *Admonition* was an anonymous two-part manifesto, in the form of an open letter, that demanded various changes, including the elimination of bishops and other church dignitaries, and condemned 'popish abuses yet remaining in the English Church'.

Now to the second point, which concerneth ministration of Sacraments. In the old time, the Word was preached, before they were ministered: now it is supposed to be sufficient, if it be read. Then, they were ministered in public assemblies, now in private houses. Then by ministers only, now by midwives, and deacons, equally. But because in treating of both the sacraments together, we should deal confusedly: we will therefore speak of them severally. And first for the Lord's supper, or holy communion. . . . They took it with conscience. We with custom. They shut men by reason of their sins, from the Lord's Supper. We thrust them in their sin to the Lord's Supper. They ministered the Sacrament plainly. We pompously, with singing, piping, surplice and cope wearing. They simply as they received it from the Lord. We, sinfully, mixed with man's inventions and devices. And as for Baptism, it was enough with them, if they had water, and the party to be baptized faith, and the minister to preach the Word and minister the sacraments. Now, we must have surplices devised by Pope Adrian, interrogatories ministered to the infant, godfathers and godmothers, . . . crossing and such like pieces of popery, which the church of God in the Apostles' times never knew (and therefore not to be used), nay (which we are sure of) were and are man's devices, brought in long after the purity of the primitive church.

To redress these, Your Wisdoms have to remove (as before) ignorant ministers, to take away private communions and baptisms, to enjoin deacons and midwives not to meddle in ministers' matters, if they do, to see them sharply punished. . . . That people be appointed to receive the Sacrament, rather sitting, for avoiding of superstition, than kneeling, having in it the outward show of evil, from which we must abstain. That Excommunication be restored to its old former force. . . . And finally, that nothing be done in this or any other thing, but that which you have the express warrant of God's Word for.

with *ad hoc* emendations to the Book of Common Prayer, omitting things that they deemed leftovers from popery. Some did so with episcopal permission – Richard Greenham of Dry Drayton, Cambridgeshire, had the bishop's permission to dispense with the surplice and omit the sign of the cross – and others did so out of conscience. Some more audacious or subtler ministers issued their own editions of the Book of Common Prayer which omitted certain words and ceremonies that the godly found unacceptable. In 1572 a bill was introduced into Parliament that would have empowered bishops to license clergy to omit parts of the Prayer Book in order to increase the length of the sermon, and to use the liturgical rites of the French and Dutch 'Stranger' churches in London and other towns in England. These churches, established in the time of Edward VI, were allowed to use the liturgies of their homeland – Valerand Poullain's *Liturgia Sacra* of 1551 and the Dutch liturgies of Marten Micron and of Petrus Datheen. The bill, however, was quashed by royal intervention. In 1584 Dr Peter Turner introduced a bill that would have allowed the Waldegrave 1584 edition of the Genevan Form of Prayers to be used, and in 1587 Peter Wentworth and Anthony Cope presented a similar bill that would have allowed use of the 1586 Middleburg edition of this liturgy. As in 1572, both bills were quashed after royal displeasure was made known. Elizabeth would allow no change.

With her death in 1603 and the succession of James VI of Scotland to the throne, the godly felt that their prayers had been heard. The Church of Scotland was presbyterian in polity and used the *Book of Common Order,* which was a version of Knox's Genevan service book of 1556. It had no ring in marriage, no cross in baptism, and few versicles and responses. Their hope was that James would either replace the Book of Common Prayer with a similar rite, or revise it to meet their misgivings.

The Hampton Court Conference and the 1604 Book of Common Prayer

During his royal procession from Scotland to London, James was presented with the Millenary Petition, which requested a reform of church and liturgy. Among other reforms it requested the elimination of confirmation, the cross in baptism, and the use of cap and surplice. Examination should go before the Holy Communion, which should include a sermon, and services themselves were to be shorter. Church music and hymns should be more edifying, and the Lord's Day free from profanity. Above all, it urged 'that there be an uniformity of doctrine prescribed; no popish opinion to be any more taught or defended; no ministers charged to teach their people to bow at the name of Jesus; that the canonical scriptures only be read in the Church' (Cardwell, 130–31). James decided to refer the matters raised to a Conference, which eventually met at Hampton Court in January 1604. The prime movers of the Millenary Petition, Stephen Egerton and Arthur Hildersham, were notorious Nonconformists and were not invited. The petitioners were represented by Laurance Chaderton of Cambridge, John Rainholds of Oxford, John Knewstubbs, rector of Cockfield, Suffolk, and Dr Thomas Sparkes, rector of Bletchly. The established church was represented by eight bishops, seven deans, and two doctors of divinity. Also in attendance was Patrick Galloway, minister of Perth.

A number of accounts of the Conference have survived, but none is sufficiently clear as to what exactly was agreed, or how this related to the final revised Book of Common Prayer. The Church of England's official account was that of William Barlow, dean of Chester, and known as 'The Summe and Substance of the Conference'. However, there are several other accounts, some anonymous, as well as notes made by Laurance Chaderton, and a letter from Patrick Galloway to the Edinburgh presbytery. Barlow's account suggests that James had little time for the concerns of the petitioners. The other sources paint a slightly different picture. What appears to be the case is that on a number of liturgical and ceremonial issues James agreed with the petitioners, but showed little sympathy with their wish for a presbyterian system, their apparent disdain of episcopacy, and their ideas for Reformed discipline.

The first day's Conference began with a meeting with James and the establishment representatives, and although James was critical of placing too much emphasis on the saving significance of baptism, he agreed that only minor alterations should be made to the Prayer Book. On the second day the four representatives of the petitioners joined the 'round table' discussion on some of the Articles on Religion, and certain things in the Book of Common Prayer, including its provision for readings from the Apocrypha. A list of emendations were agreed, but the implementation was left in the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of London and Chichester. According to Barlow, the Conference agreed that:

> . . . to the Absolution shall be added the word of pronouncing remission of sins.
> That to Confirmation shall be added the word of catechizing, or examination of the children's faith.
> That the Private Baptism shall be called the Private Baptism by the ministers and curates only.
> That an uniform short catechism be made. . . .
> That a translation be made of the whole Bible, as consonant as can be the original Hebrew and Greek; and this to be set out and printed without any marginal notes, and only to be used in all churches of England in time of divine service.
> That such apocrypha as have any repugnance to canonical scripture shall be removed and not read.
> The words of marriage to be made more clear.
> The cross in Baptism was never counted any part in baptism, nor sign effective, but only significative. (Cardwell, 214–15)

The changes authorized in the letter which the archbishop and bishops sent out, however, did not correspond with the list of agreed emendations at the Conference. The changes actually made included altering the title of confirmation and limiting the administration of private baptism to ordained ministers, and so excluding midwives from baptizing. The Catechism was enlarged by additions on the sacraments, taken from the catechisms of Alexander Nowell, and four lessons from the Apocrypha were replaced by Old Testament lessons. The most important implementation was the undertaking of a new translation of the Bible, which resulted in the 1611 Authorized Version.

In addition to the Hampton Court agenda, some new prayers of thanksgiving were added, as well as new prayers for the royal family. New canons issued in March 1604 also had an indirect impact on the Prayer Book. They gave directions for the further recital of the words of institution if the elements of bread and wine ran out, explained the significance of the continued use of the cross in baptism, and continued the use of the surplice. Furthermore, church furnishings must include a font and a decent Communion table that was to be covered with a carpet of silk and a fair linen cloth at the time of the ministration. Certainly the results fell far short of the hopes of the petitioners. However, historian Peter White suggests that foundations of the Jacobean *via media* were laid at Hampton Court; the provisions were to entice the moderate godly to stay, and to isolate them from their radical and potentially Nonconformist brethren. Furthermore, it would seem that, as in Elizabeth's reign, certain bishops turned a blind eye to those who in conscience could not use certain of the ceremonies in the book.

The Early Seventeenth Century

The assumption and hopes of the signatories of the Millenary Petition were that James I, having been raised in the presbyterian Scottish church, would initiate reforms to bring the Church of England more into line with the Church of Scotland. In reality, James did the reverse. He restored the office of bishop in the Church of Scotland and, in 1610, had three of

them consecrated by English bishops. He instructed John Spottiswoode, Archbishop of Glasgow, to draw up a list of requirements that included Articles, a Public Confession of Faith, provision for election of bishops, a revision of rites for baptism, communion, and marriage, and the composition of a rite for confirmation. This agenda was presented to the General Assembly in 1616. The Articles proposed confirmation by bishops, the celebration of holy days, private baptism, private communion, and kneeling for reception of communion. These Five Articles were not endorsed by the General Assembly of 1617, but Spottiswoode introduced them into the Perth Assembly, which adopted them under duress in 1618. Meanwhile, in 1616 four people, including Patrick Galloway of the Hampton Court Conference, were asked to begin revising the Scottish liturgy. Three successive drafts have survived from the period 1616 to 1619. At some stage the committee was joined by William Cowper, who became bishop of Galloway, and he seems to have been responsible for the last two drafts. Nothing came of these proposals, mainly because many ministers were critical of, and refused to accept, the Five Articles, particularly kneeling for communion. The Scottish practice was to sit at the table in successive sittings. Since James and the bishops were facing so much opposition over the Articles, any plans to introduce a new liturgy were abandoned.

James was an astute monarch who tried to keep a balance in both churches. In the Church of England the prevailing theology was what has been termed 'International Calvinism'. Although the Church of England had bishops, retained much of the ecclesiastical structure of the medieval church, and used a liturgy that was clearly derived from the Catholic rites, most divines regarded themselves as sharing the general theological position of the Reformed churches. However, a number of divines associated with Bishop Lancelot Andrewes began to distance themselves from continental Reformed theology, particularly on predestination. In his private chapel, Andrewes developed his own Nonconformist ways. Whereas the godly clergy disliked certain ceremonies and liturgical formulas, and omitted them, Andrewes added ceremonial (he burned incense in his chapel) and added some formulas. Towards the end of his reign, James promoted a number of divines who were protégés of Andrewes and gathered around Bishop Richard Neile of Durham. This 'Durham House' group preferred the authority of the ancient church fathers to the Reformation fathers, and looked more to the 1549 Book of Common Prayer than to the 1552/1559/1604 Prayer Books for their inspiration.

After James's death, under his son Charles I, this group continued in the ascendant and their insistence on more conformity in ceremonial began to provoke opposition from the more radical godly clergy. In their role as bishops, members of this group, which included William Laud, later Archbishop of Canterbury, began to enforce the use of the surplice and the sign of the cross in baptism, and encouraged the 'railing' of the Communion table so that it was always placed where the medieval altar had stood. The practice from Elizabethan times was that, when not in use, the table stood where the old altar had stood; when there was a communion, it was pulled out, positioned lengthwise, and people knelt around it. The strict enforcement of the rubrics and the railing of the table were seen by many of the godly as symptoms of creeping popery. Meanwhile, in Scotland, the bishops under Charles once more attempted to introduce a new liturgy. This time it was to be not a revision of the *Book of Common Order* of John Knox, as the drafts of 1616–1619 had been, but a version of the Church of England 1604 Prayer Book. However, at some time in 1636, Bishop James Wedderburn made substantial changes and reintroduced material from the 1549 Prayer Book, which was perceived by the Scottish bishops to be closer to ancient forms. The more radical ministers of the Church of Scotland saw it as a move closer to Rome and thought it was sponsored by the Church of England bishops. Although Archbishop Laud had been consulted, and although the proposed Scottish liturgy was nearer his own theological convictions, he was not responsible for the book, even though posterity (wrongly) called it 'Laud's Liturgy'.

The new Scottish book was published in 1637, but was met with orchestrated opposition characterized in folklore in the story of Jenny Geddes hurling a stool in protest in St Giles's,

King Charles I (?) on Set versus Extemporary Prayer

This excerpt is from *Eikon Basilike: The Portraiture of His Sacred Majesty in His Solitudes and Sufferings,* which was published as the work of Charles I in 1648, shortly before his execution. The authorship of the book is uncertain. It was most likely compiled, if not written, by John Gauden, later a bishop; but the king himself seems to have provided material—how much, no one knows.

I could never see any reason why any Christian should abhor, or be forbidden to use, the same forms of prayer, since he prays to the same God, believes in the same Saviour, professeth the same Truths, reads the same Scriptures, hath the same duties upon him, and feels the same daily wants for the most part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church. . . . Nor is God more a God of Variety than of Constancy. Nor are constant forms of prayer more likely to flat and hinder the spirit of prayer and devotion than unpremeditated and confused variety to distract and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest, discreet and humble use of ministers' gifts, even in public, the better to fit and excite their own and the people's affections to the present occasions, yet I know no necessity why private and single abilities should quite jostle out and deprive the Church of the joint abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men, such as the composers of the Service-Book were; who may in all reason be thought to have more gifts and graces enabling them to compose with serious deliberation and concurrent advice such Forms of Prayers as may best fit the Church's common wants, inform the hearers' understanding, and stir up that fiduciary and fervent application of their spirits . . . [than] any private man by his solitary abilities can be presumed to have. . . .

Edinburgh, and shouting, 'Villain! Do you say mass at my lug (ear)?' Events quickly escalated in 1638 to the formation of the National Covenant and the expulsion of bishops from the Church of Scotland. A Scottish army was raised and invaded England, which in turn led to the Civil War, with the eventual execution of Charles I and the establishment of the Commonwealth and Protectorate under Oliver Cromwell. During this time bishops were removed from the Church of England also, and a semi-presbyterian system came into place. The Book of Common Prayer of 1604 was replaced by *A Directory for the Public Worship of God*, generally called the Westminster Directory, in 1645. This liturgy was a compromise between the moderate presbyterian English and Scottish clergy, and the more radical English Independents and the radical party of the Church of Scotland, neither of whom wished to be tied to any set liturgy, whether English or Genevan in origin. The *Directory* thus provided only a structure for the services, with an outline of what the minister might say in his prayers and exhortations. A law was passed outlawing the use of the Book of Common Prayer. A fine of forty shillings was to be imposed for failure to use the *Directory,* and for using the prohibited Prayer Book, a fine of £5 for the first offence, £10 for the second, and a year in prison for a third. However, recent studies have shown that the illegal Book of Common Prayer was used much more widely than once thought. As the *Directory* gave wide latitude, some clergy authored their own adaptations and liturgical compositions, such as Robert Sanderson's *Liturgy in the Times of Rebellion*, and Jeremy Taylor's *Collection of Offices*, 1658. The first was an abbreviation of the Prayer Book forms, with some of Sanderson's own material; in the second, Taylor drew on eastern and medieval western liturgical sources for his services.

The Making of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer

In the year that Taylor published his *Collection of Offices*, Oliver Cromwell died, and during the next two years the army and Parliament paved the way for the restoration of the monarchy under Charles II. In 1660 Charles issued the Declaration of Breda, in which he promised to grant liberty to tender consciences, and many of the presbyterian-minded Church of

Jeremy Taylor's Liturgy

During the Interregnum, when worship according to the Book of Common Prayer was made illegal, Taylor, who would later become bishop of Down and Connor, and Dromore, published his *Collection of Offices or Forms of Prayer* as 'a charitable ministry to them, who are not permitted to use those which were appointed formerly'. The services include daily morning and evening prayer, family prayers, and 'An Office or Order for the Administration of the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper', which contains this prayer, reminiscent of the Prayer Book's Prayer of Humble Access.

O God, who, by thy unspeakable mercy, hast sent thy only begotten Son into the World, that he might bring the wandering sheep into his fold, turn not away from us miserable sinners, who worship and invocate thee in these holy mysteries. For we do not approach to thee in our own righteousness, but in the hope and confidence of that glorious mercy, by which thou hast sent thy holy Son to redeem miserable and lost mankind. We humbly beseech thee to grant, that these mysteries, which thou has ordained to be ministries of salvation to us, may not become an occasion of our condemnation, but of pardon of our sins, of the renovation of our souls, of the sanctification and preservation of our bodies, that we may become well pleasing to thee our God, in the obedience of our Lord Jesus, with whom, and with thy Holy Spirit, thou reignest over all, one God, blessed for evermore. Amen.

England clergy presented him with an address in which they asked him not to restore the Book of Common Prayer without modification of some of the ceremonies. In a reply entitled *His Majesty's Declaration to all his living subjects of his kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, concerning ecclesiastical affairs* (the Worcester House Declaration, 25 October 1660), Charles said that the Book of Common Prayer was 'the best we have seen', but promised to appoint an equal number of learned divines of both persuasions to review it and make what alterations were deemed necessary. True to his word, on 25 March 1661 a royal warrant set up a commission to review and deliberate on liturgical reform. The warrant was to run for four months, but by that time the political and ecclesiastical climate was very different from when Charles first issued the Declaration of Breda. Then the presbyterians were in control; now the episcopate had been restored, and the election of the Cavalier Parliament resulted in a body that neither needed nor was willing to gratify any of the parties it held responsible for the events of 1637 to 1658.

The divines assembled in April at the Master's Lodge of the Savoy for a series of deliberations known as the Savoy Conference. There were twelve commissioners on each side, together with nine deputies to take the place of commissioners who were absent through age, sickness, infirmity, or any other reason. Among the bishops were Gilbert Sheldon, bishop of London and later Archbishop of Canterbury, who steered the final settlement and was no friend of the presbyterian party; Robert Sanderson, who was regarded as a moderate; and John Cosin, who had spent some time worshipping with the French Reformed church. John Pearson, Anthony Sparrow, Bryan Walton, and John Gauden were also among the bishops' group, and these too were regarded as moderate. Among the presbyterian-minded clergy were Edward Reynolds, now bishop of Norwich, Richard Baxter, Anthony Tuckney, who was Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and John Lightfoot, the biblical commentator. However, although the Archbishop of York, Accepted Frewen, was the senior bishop, he gave way to Sheldon, who had little interest in any compromise.

The bishops announced that they were content with the 1604 Prayer Book, and invited the presbyterian side to list their objections. The presbyterians thus drew up what are called the 'Exceptions' against the Book of Common Prayer. This was a tactical error in many ways, since they compiled a list similar to the Millenary Petition and countless other godly documents. The result looked like an unreasonable list of petty points, which was precisely what the bishops hoped for. It consisted of eighteen 'general' and seventy-eight 'particular' exceptions, including such familiar objections such as kneeling for communion, the ring in

marriage, the sign of the cross in baptism, the use of the term 'priest', and the inclusion of the *Benedicite* from the Apocrypha in Morning Prayer. In addition, Baxter undertook to draw up a supplemental liturgy, which could be used by the godly clergy as an alternative to the forms of the Book of Common Prayer and is known as the Savoy Liturgy. This latter seems to have similarities to the account Baxter gave of his own previous use and interpretation of the Westminster Directory when he was the incumbent at Kidderminster. Baxter, who was offered, but turned down, the see of Hereford, was a leading spokesperson for the presbyterian side, but was renowned for being argumentative and contentious, and his presence along with Sheldon's was a guarantee of failure. The bishops replied to the Exceptions and, as might be expected, rejected most of them. For example, on the 1604 rubric requiring notice to be given by parents for the baptism of their child, 'over night, or in the morning', the Exceptions noted: 'We desire that more timely notice may be given.' The bishops replied: 'The time appointed we conceive sufficient.' The bishops grudgingly accepted one or two of the points made in the Exceptions, but on the whole rejected the objections as petty and unreasonable. The presbyterian party drew up a response, but the Conference ended without any concrete achievement.

The work of a liturgical settlement now shifted from the Savoy Conference to the meeting of Convocation that resumed in November 1661. While locked in the Tower, Bishop Matthew Wren had drafted proposed revisions of the 1604 liturgy, known as the 'Advices', and John Cosin, bishop of Durham, had also drafted alterations in a Prayer Book of 1619, now known as the 'Durham Book', which looked back to the 1637 and 1549 rites. It is unlikely that either Parliament or Convocation would endorse a liturgy that resembled the proposed 1637 Scottish Prayer Book, which had sparked off the events that led to the Civil War, but they were equally unwilling to make concessions to the presbyterians, who had dismantled the church. William Sancroft, Cosin's chaplain, had the task of copying proposals from the Durham Book together with those few Exceptions that had been accepted by the bishops at the Savoy Conference, and these were entered into what is called the 'Fair Copy'. As Convocation emended these in debate, the emendations were entered into the 'Convocation Book', which was a folio Prayer Book printed in 1636. This in turn was copied to be attached to the Act of Uniformity, and is known as the 'Annexed Book'.

Official revision began on 21 November, and the policy seems to have been to rush the work through as quickly as possible, the task being completed in twenty-two days. A committee was appointed to work on the revised text, and their work was debated by Convocation each day between eight and ten in the morning. One contemporary witness recorded:

> Dr *Allen* of *Huntingdonshire*, and Clerk in the Convocation, earnestly laboured with the then Bishop of *London*, afterwards Archbishop, that they might so refine the Liturgy, that no sober Man might make Exception. He was wished to forbear, for what should be, was concluded on or resolved. . . . There were no debates to speak of; the greatest that I could hear of was between the *Cambridge* Professor Dr *Gunning* and the *Oxford* Professor Dr *Creed*, about (a hard point indeed) *the Age of Children to be Confirm'd*. (Pearse, 28, 32)

The committee consisted of eight bishops, but much of the work was done by Wren, Cosin, and Sanderson. Words found in Wren's 'Advices' and Cosin's 'Durham Book' did find their way into the revision. The committee's work was further modified in the limited discussions allowed in Convocation. Concessions to the Durham House theology tended to be in the alteration of rubrics rather than text. For example, a concept of consecration of the elements, ambiguous in earlier books, is now made clear by rubrics. In addition to revising the 1604 services, new services were also added. These included a rite for adult baptism, reflecting both the neglect of infant baptism in the Interregnum period and missionary work in the colonies of America. There was also a form of service for use at sea–partly instigated by the

From the Preface to the 1662 Prayer Book

According to Izaak Walton's famous *Lives,* the Preface was drafted, if not wholly written, by Robert Sanderson, who at the Restoration had been made Bishop of Lincoln and had been a leading participant, on the episcopalian side, at the Savoy Conference.

It hath been the wisdom of the Church of England, ever since the first compiling of her Publick Liturgy, to keep the mean between the two extremes, of too much stiffness in refusing, and of too much easiness in admitting any variation from it. . . .

Our general aim therefore in this undertaking was, not to gratify this or that party in any their unreasonable demands; but to do that, which to our best understandings we conceived might most tend to the preservation of Peace and Unity in the Church; the procuring of Reverence, and exciting of Piety and Devotion in the publick Worship of God; and the cutting off occasion from them that seek occasion of cavil or quarrel against the Liturgy of the Church. . . .

And having thus endeavoured to discharge our duties in this weighty affair, as in the sight of God, and to approve our sincerity therein (so far as lay in us) to the consciences of all men; although we know it impossible (in such variety of apprehensions, humours and interests, as are in the world) to please all; nor can expect that men of factious, peevish, and perverse spirits should be satisfied with any thing that can be done in this kind by any other than themselves: Yet we have good hope, that what is here presented, and hath been by the Convocations of both Provinces with great diligence examined and approved, will be also well accepted and approved by all sober, peaceable, and truly conscientious Sons of the Church of England.

presbyterians issuing, in 1645, 'A Supply of Prayer for Ships'. At one point the *Benedicite* had been removed as a concession to the presbyterians, but it was brought back in a later debate. One of the complaints of the godly was about the lack of prayers for thanksgiving. Bishop Reynolds was the author of the new General Thanksgiving (*see* p. 71), and he seems to have based it on the prayer of thanksgiving at communion outlined in the Westminster Directory. Geoffrey Cuming made the case that Reynolds had himself composed a liturgy around 1661, and thus already had this in draft form. Robert Sanderson's vocabulary is also evident in many places, and although it cannot be verified, the biographer Izaak Walton attributes the preface to him. The preface does enshrine what the Restoration church envisaged its liturgy to represent, which was the mean between two extremes.

On 21 December 1661 the Prayer Book was signed by the Convocations, and with only a few further alterations, it was annexed to the Act of Uniformity, which was given the royal assent on 19 May 1662. The book was to come into use no later than 24 August, St Bartholomew's Day, 1662. The contemporary diarist John Evelyn recorded:

> Being the *Sonday* when the Common-prayer booke reformed, was ordered to be used for the future, was appointed to be read: & the *Solemn League & Covenant* to be abjured by all Incumbents of England, under penalties of loosing their Livings &c: our *Viccar,* accordingly read it this morning, and then preached an excellent Sermon on I Pet:2.13. pressing the necessity of obedience to *Christian Magistrates*, & especialy *Kings*: There were strong Guards in the City this day, apprehending some Tumult, many of the *Presbyterian* Ministers, not conforming.

Some 936 ministers were ejected for refusal to subscribe to the book.

Within the established church, it became common to refer to the 1662 Prayer Book as an 'incomparable' liturgy, though there was in fact little to compare it with. As the British settled elsewhere in the world, this book went with them. An abortive attempt at revision was made in 1689, and in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was never any shortage

of proposals for revision. In England the book would remain at least in law, though not in practice, the only liturgy of the Church of England until the 1960s.

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Early Translations

J. Robert Wright

According to David Griffiths's monumental *Bibliography of the Book of Common Prayer 1549–1999*, by the year 1999 the Book of Common Prayer had been translated into some 199 distinct languages (from Acholi to Zulu), for a total of some twelve hundred editions in both classical and vernacular tongues. The earliest of these are the Latin translation of 1551, the French of 1553, the Welsh of 1567, and the Greek of 1569, to be followed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by translations into Irish-Gaelic, Arabic, Italian, Hebrew, and Manx.

Even before the days of the missionary expansion of the British Empire, there were early demands for Latin and Greek translations on scholarly grounds and for academic purposes, at times related to various translations of the Bible, and such translations were also needed for apologetic purposes in order to explain the reasons for the English Reformation. Given the assumption in Britain of the sixteenth century that there should be 'but one use' of worship according to one accepted text, the existence of linguistic minorities under the jurisdiction of the British crown created needs or demands for translations into languages other than English. This was so especially for the French in Calais (still under England at the time of Edward VI but lost in 1557–1558) and the Channel Islands (where free forms of worship on a Calvinist model were common), as well as for the Welsh in Wales and the Marches. In addition to such pragmatic reasons, as Griffiths points out, there was also a doctrinal motivation for other translations from the outset, for they do reflect the Anglican ideal of 'synthesis': conducting worship from one prescribed text and yet reproducing that text in other languages in order to allow comprehensible worship in a plurality of tongues. The situation was different in Ireland, however, where the Reformation was less successful and was widely seen as an attempt by the English crown to extend its control.

In view of the strong protest registered in the preface to the very first Book of Common Prayer of 1549 that 'the service in this Church of England (these many years) hath been read in Latin to the people, which they understood not', it was ironic that the first non-English language into which the Prayer Book was translated was Latin. The first translation in Latin appeared in 1551, done by Alexander Alesius, a Scotsman employed for that purpose by Thomas Cranmer and a Lutheran professor of theology at Leipzig. At places it merely transferred entire sections from the medieval Latin service books, a feature disapproved by the reformer Martin Bucer but understandable in that the medieval Latin texts were the ones that educated people still knew well, whether they had accepted the Reformation or not. The first version in French appeared in 1553, and as Griffiths points out, both are reputed to have circulated on the Continent in order to demonstrate the nature and extent of the English Reformation but sent a mixed message because the first Latin Prayer Book was based on the 1549, which was more Catholic in tone, whereas the first French Prayer Book, just four years later, was based upon the decidedly Protestant English Book of 1552.

King Edward VI's first Act of Uniformity (1549) had permitted the college chapels at Oxford and Cambridge to use Greek, Latin, or Hebrew for any of the new Prayer Book services except Holy Communion, and Queen Elizabeth I in 1560 extended that permission to the

Communion itself and to include the collegiate schools of Winchester and Eton, at the same time exhorting clergy to make use of the Latin version for their private prayers. A revision of Alesius was produced about the same time by the Cambridge reformer Walter Haddon, who took even greater liberties with the text that he was supposedly translating, but there is debate among scholars as to whether this Latin version of 1560 is evidence of an intended doctrinal conservatism on the part of the Queen. In 1571 the first accurate Latin translation was produced, based upon the English text of 1559.

The next major Latin translation (1670), authorized and even necessitated by the Act of Uniformity of 1662, was based upon the definitive English Prayer Book of 1662 and was edited by Jean Durel, a native of the French-speaking island of Jersey who had lived in France. Durel had recently been appointed chaplain to the French (but Anglican) congregation established by Charles II at the Royal Chapel of the Savoy in London, near the Strand. Considered the most authoritative Latin translation, an original work in its main lines and drawing upon the pre-Reformation Sarum Breviary and Missal for its psalms, canticles, epistles, and gospels, it is said to have undergone seven editions between 1670 and 1701. Of course the definitive text always remained the English, not some Latin 'original', but the English text continued to evolve, and often the translators offered words, phrases, and meanings in their Latin or other languages that were obviously not literal translations.

Only one further Latin version of significance need be noted in this survey of the early developments, namely the Bagster Polyglot of 1821ff. Samuel Bagster and Sons (of evangelical background) had already established a reputation for publishing the Bible in versions that displayed many tongues (hence called 'polyglot'), and the Bagster Prayer Book offered eight translations in parallel type settings arranged for ease of comparison, including English (that of 1662), Latin (a version dating from 1720) as well as Greek (both classical and modern), French, Italian, German, and Spanish. Bagster also produced editions in Latin alone, and in other single languages. In dedicating his work to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bagster recorded his hope 'that Foreigners might be led to form a more just estimate of the purity of our doctrine;–and that our Youth may be enabled to study some of the Ancient and most important Modern Languages of Europe in a book, which has confessedly obtained the first rank among uninspired compositions'.

The year 1890 seems to have been the sole occasion when the eucharistic rite of the American Book of Common Prayer was translated into Latin, at least before the advent of the world wide web. It was published by William Bright and Peter Medd, priests and fellows of University College, Oxford, the former subsequently becoming Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History there. Actually an expanded version of an earlier work of 1865, this volume in an appendix offered Latin translations of several Anglican eucharistic rites, including that of the (first) American Prayer Book of 1789. All told, in the Latin language alone, surveying all versions and editions and publishers, the Griffiths bibliography lists a total of forty separate entries.

The other honoured language of the classical world is Greek, and a diglot translation, in both Latin and Greek, was produced as early as 1569 by William Whitaker, later the master of St John's College in Cambridge. In 1638 the first complete Greek translation was done by Elias Petley, based upon the 1604 English Prayer Book and published by Richard Whitaker, the son of William, and reflecting an interest in Anglican-Orthodox union being promoted by Archbishop Laud and the Greek Patriarch Cyril Lucar. The definitive Greek version, however, came in 1665 on the basis of the definitive English of 1662, and it was the work of James Duport, Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge and dean of Peterborough. There were several subsequent publications of that text, often bound with the Greek Bible and intended for use in schools. A translation into modern Greek was made for Bagster in 1820, and a new rendering that employed Eastern Orthodox liturgical language appeared in 1923. The Griffiths bibliography lists eleven separate entries in the Greek language, total. Moreover, in all these various versions, whether Greek or Latin, there is no strict consistency as to how such

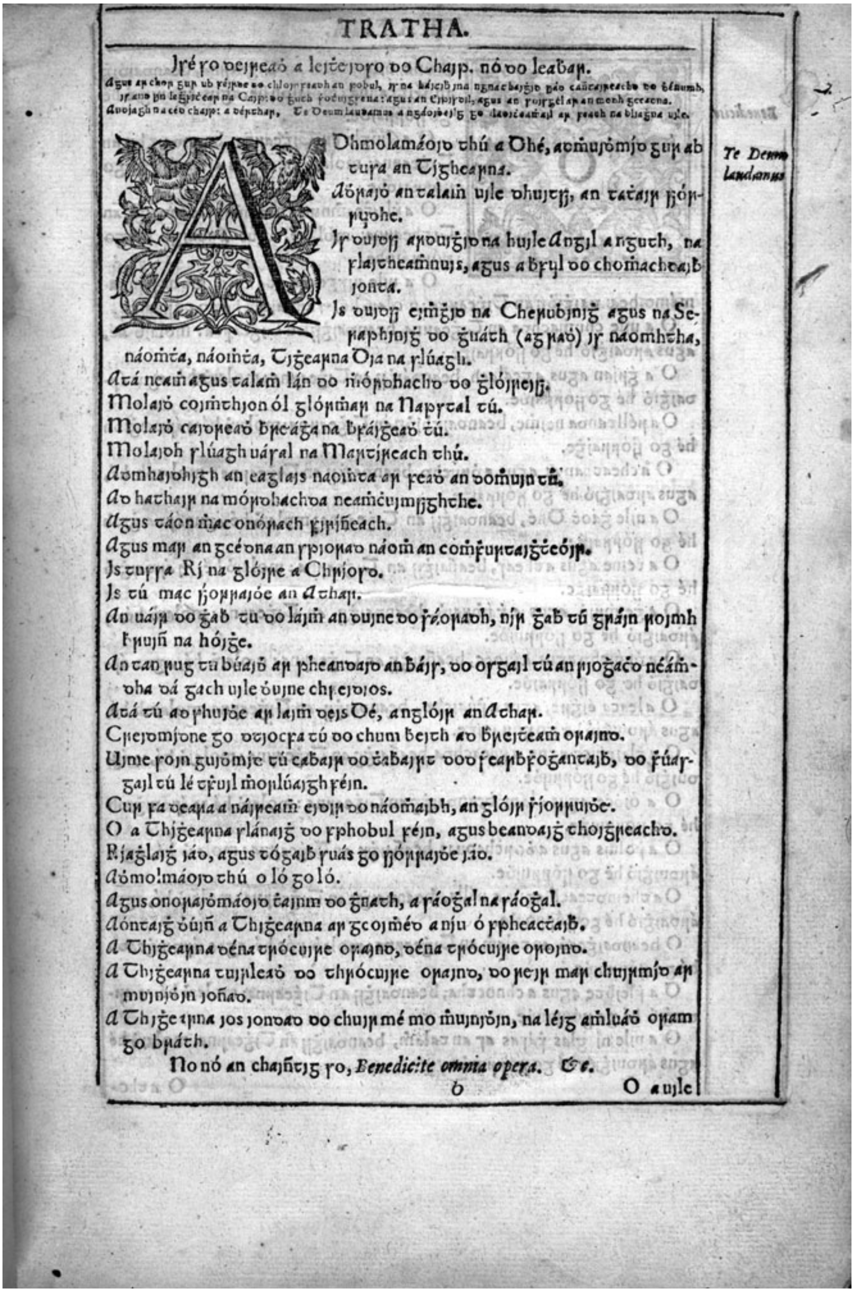
words as 'priest', 'presbyter', or 'minister' are to be translated, and the confusion has given rise to much unnecessary theological speculation. It must also be noted that the omission of the word 'holy' from the description of the church at the end of the Nicene Creed in the English of 1549 and thereafter was not continued in several of the early translations, such as the Greek of 1638, Latin of 1560 and 1669, the earliest French texts, and still others, that all print it.

Of the earliest translations into modern European languages, very little is known of the first two French translations (1553), which relate to the English text of 1552, but the third, based upon the Prayer Book of 1604, was rendered in 1616 by Pierre de Laune, minister of a Reformed church in France who had emigrated to Norwich. It was originally commissioned by King James I to promote a marriage between the Prince of Wales and a French princess. With the advent of the 1662 English Prayer Book, a new French version was clearly needed and this task, like that for the new Latin book of 1670, was assigned to Jean Durel, who produced a conservative revision that was sanctioned by royal ordinance forbidding the use of other versions and granting Durel the exclusive privilege of printing it. This edition (1665/67) became and remained the standard Prayer Book in French for over a century. By the year 1700 there were seven Huguenot congregations in London and nine elsewhere licensed by the bishop of London to use it, and eventually this use was extended to other French-speaking Anglicans, such as in Dublin, Québec, and the Carolinas. Durel for his efforts was made a prebendary of Salisbury, dean of Windsor, and dean of Durham.

A French-English diglot of 1717 seems to have been related to the ecumenical reunion consultations between Archbishop William Wake and some of the doctors of the Sorbonne. Some French versions were issued by the Church of Ireland for the use of its Huguenot congregations. Still another in French was related to the struggle for Haitian independence from France in the early nineteenth century. The first French translation of the American Prayer Book appeared in 1803, especially related to the former Huguenot church of Saint-Esprit in New York, which affiliated with the Episcopal Church in the early nineteenth century, and a second translation was produced by Antoine Verren, its rector in 1831. All told, Griffiths gives details of some seventy-eight different Anglican Prayer Books in the French language. Most of them typically include a French translation of canon 30 of the Synod of Canterbury province that met in London in 1603, defending the use of the sign of the cross in baptism but denying its sacramental efficacy (Canons of 1604).

Parliament in 1563 had passed 'An Act for the Translating of the Bible and Divine Service into the Welsh Tongue', which prepared the way for the first Welsh Prayer Book of 1567, of which only one complete copy survives. It was translated by William Salesbury, a scholarly Welsh lawyer and lexicographer. This legislation was incorporated into the Act of Uniformity of 1662, the translation now to be supervised by the four Welsh diocesan bishops and the bishop of the nearby diocese of Hereford where Welsh was also widely spoken. As Griffiths remarks, this provision was the closest to a civil regulation for accuracy in any of the early non-English translations. Various subsequent editions followed, including, in 1664, the definitive Welsh translation of the English text of 1662. The Welsh bishops continued to exercise their periodic checks until 1841, and Griffiths counts and describes a total of seventy-four different numbered Prayer Books in the Welsh language down to 1999. The Welsh Prayer Books were frequently bound up with copies of the Bible and, like the French Prayer Books, often with a metrical Psalter.

This has been a story whose ending points to a future, but a few postscripts can be offered. The first complete Irish-Gaelic version was printed in 1608, using a font of Irish characters supplied by Queen Elizabeth I (*see* Illustration 4), the translator being William Daniel who soon became Archbishop of Tuam, but the next was not for over a century, the delay possibly owing either to Irish resistance or to English neglect or both. An Irish-English diglot appeared in 1712, produced by John Richardson, an Anglican priest in Ireland, for the 'conversion of the Popish natives'. There had been reluctance to translate into Scottish-Gaelic


TRATHA.

Is é so deireadh a léiġeas do Chaip. nó do leabhar.

Agus ar chor gur ab réirde do chloisfeadh an pobul, is na háitibh ina ngnáthaighid rád cantaireachd do dhéanumh, is ann ro léiġthear na Caip: do ġuth fosuighthe: agus an Epistil, agus an soisgéil ar an modh gcéadna.
A ndiaigh na céd chaip: a deirthar, Te Deum laudamus a ngaoidheilg go laoitheamhail ar feadh na bliaghna uile.

Te Deum laudamus

A Dhé molamaoid thú a Dhé, admhuighmid gur ab tusa an Tighearna.
Adhraid an talamh uile dhuit, an tathair sior-ruidhe.
Is duitsi admhuiġid na huile Aingil a nguth, na flaitheamhnuis, agus a bfuil do chomhachtaibh ionta.
Is duitsi eimhġid na Cherubinig agus na Seraphinig do ġnáth (ag rádh) is naomhtha, naomhtha, naomhtha, Tiġearna Dia na slúagh.
Atá neamh agus talamh lán do mhórdhacht do ġlóire.
Molaid coimhthionól glórmhar na Naspstal tú.
Molaid cuideachd bhreaġa na bfáiġeadh tú.
Molaidh slúagh uásal na Mairtíreach thú.
Admhaidhigh an eaglais naomhtha ar fead an domhuin tú.
Ad hathair na mórdhachda neamhchuimsighthe.
Agus taon mhac onórach firinneach.
Agus mar an gcéadna an spiorad naomh an comhfurtaigtheóir.
Is tusa Rí na glóire a Chríosd.
Is tú mac síorruidhe an Athar.
An uair do ġabh tu do láimh an duine do shaoradh, níor ġabh tú gráin roimh bhruinn na hóiġe.
An tan rug tu búaidh ar pheannaid an bháis, do osgail tú an rioġacd neamhdha dá gach uile duine chreidios.
Atá tú ad shuidhe ar laimh deis Dé, an glóir an Athar.
Creidmid ne go dtiocfa tú do chum beith ad bhreitheamh orainn.
Uime sin guidhmid tú cabhair do thabhairt dod shearbhfoġantaibh, do fhúasgail tú lé t'fhuil mhorlúaigh féin.
Cuir fa deara a náireamh eidir do naomhaibh, an glóir fhíorruidhe.
O a Thiġearna slánaiġ do phobul féin, agus beannaiġ thoighreacht.
Ríaġlaiġ iád, agus tóġaibh suás go síorruidhe iád.
Admolmaoid thú o ló go ló.
Agus onoraidhmaoid thainm do ġnath, a saoġal na saoġal.
Aontaiġ dúinn a Thiġearna ar gcoimhéd aniu ó phpeacthaibh.
A Thiġearna déna trócuire orainn, déna trócuire orainn.
A Thiġearna tuirleadh do thrócuire orainn, do réir mar chuirmid ar muinighin ionnad.
A Thiġearna ios ionnad do chuir mé mo mhuinighin, na léig amhluadh orm go bráth.

No nó an chaintic so, *Benedicite omnia opera.* &c.

b O a uile

4. The Prayer Book in Irish
The Book of Common Prayer was not translated into Irish until 1608, when the volume illustrated here was published. Both its literary style and its typeface have been much admired. This page, from the office of Morning Prayer, shows the whole of the canticle *Te Deum* ('We praise thee, O God').
BENTON COLLECTION, RARE BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS DEPARTMENT, BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.

partly to avoid controversy with the Scottish Presbyterians, among other reasons, but this was overcome in 1794. The Prayer Book appeared in Manx as early as 1765, but its editions were few and its reception not overly enthusiastic, the 'official explanation' according to Griffiths being that the clergy of the Isle of Man were bilingual and preferred to make their own extemporary translations. And the first German translation (Frankfurt-am-Oder, 1704) was sponsored by King Frederick I of Prussia in an interesting and ambitious but unsuccessful attempt to unite the Lutheran and Reformed churches of Germany under one episcopacy in communion with the Church of England. More complete translations in Arabic and Hebrew began to be printed in the earlier nineteenth century, primarily for missionary activity and the use of converts. Irish-Gaelic, Scottish-Gaelic, and Manx, as Griffiths observes, were all Celtic languages that appeared to the English Anglicans then to be on the wane, but the future of Prayer Book translations would take its energies from imperial expansion, global mission, and enculturation.

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The 'Liturgy of Comprehension'

Charles Hefling

The Prayer Book restored to use in 1662 was to all intents the same as the one restored at the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Many small improvements had been made, but none was of much doctrinal significance. The revised book did almost nothing to meet the objections that had been raised again and again by those who looked to the Continent for their standard of reformed Christianity. It was not, in that regard, an inclusive book, nor was it meant to be. Many English Protestants found themselves unable to conform to what it required them to do and say and listen to, and whether Nonconformist worship should be tolerated became a pressing political issue, to which the Roman Catholic sympathies of Charles II and James II added further complications. With the accession of William III in 1688, the situation changed. Almost at once, advocates of a more comprehensive (but non-Roman) ecclesiastical establishment prevailed on the King, himself a Dutch Calvinist, to appoint a commission charged with preparing, among other things, 'alterations and amendments of the liturgy' to be presented to Convocation and then, if approved, to Parliament. The unstated agenda included, in the first place, making the Prayer Book more acceptable to Nonconformists, particularly those who were not in principle opposed to a national church, and who might be drawn back into the Anglican fold if their liturgical scruples were put to rest. 'By reason of the variety of tempers and capacities of men in a National Church, the public services appointed for them should be so formed as not to be too strait for them in indifferent matter, that they may be easy in the communion of such a church, and have no temptation to separation.' So said the commission's secretary, Thomas Tenison, who would later become Archbishop of Canterbury, and whose views were evidently shared by most though by no means all of the appointed commissioners.

The commission had plenty of material to draw on, including previous proposals and unofficial drafts. After only two months and twenty sessions they were ready to present what has come to be known as the 'Liturgy of Comprehension'. Not everyone, however, was convinced that comprehension was desirable in principle or expedient in practice, and when Convocation met, late in 1689, it was in no mood to deliberate on matters of liturgy. Absent from the House of Bishops were several of its strongest members, who had been suspended from office for declining to violate their sworn allegiance to the exiled James II. Not many months had passed since episcopacy itself was abolished in Scotland. These and other circumstances overshadowed Prayer Book revision, to which the lower house had anyhow made its opposition plain. The commission's proposals were put aside without being considered at all, to await a more auspicious season – which never arrived.

Had the changes they proposed been made, the only part of the Book of Common Prayer to remain unaffected would have been the forms of prayer for use at sea, which were themselves new. Perhaps the most important amendments are those bearing on ceremony. The notorious 'Black Rubric', for example, is expanded so that those intending to receive communion may 'declare that they are verily persuaded in conscience that they cannot receive it kneeling without sin', in which case the minister of their parish is to arrange for them to take the sacrament in some other posture. Similarly, although use of the surplice is evidently still

Collects in the 'Liturgy of Comprehension'

1662	1689 (proposed)
	The Second Sunday after the Epiphany **Epistle: Romans 12:6–16**
Almighty and everlasting God, who doest govern all things in heaven and earth, mercifully hear the supplications of thy people, and grant us thy peace all the days of our life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen*.	Almighty and everlasting God, who dost govern all things in heaven and earth; mercifully hear the supplications of thy people, and so rule and guide us that we may do our duties faithfully in the several places and relations: constantly abhorring that which is evil and cleaving to that which is good, being fervent in spirit, serving the Lord, rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation, and continuing so instant in prayer, that we may enjoy thy peace all the days of our life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*
	The Sunday after Ascension-Day **Epistle: 1 Peter 4:7–11**
O God the King of glory, who hast exalted thine only Son Jesus Christ with great triumph unto thy kingdom in heaven: We beseech thee, leave us not comfortless; but send to us thine Holy Ghost to comfort us, and exalt us unto the same place whither our Saviour Christ is gone before, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. *Amen*	O God the King of Glory, who hast exalted thine only Son Jesus Christ with great triumph unto thy Kingdom in Heaven, and yet didst not leave thy Apostles comfortless; Vouchsafe, we beseech thee, to give us thy Holy Spirit to guide and comfort us, that, being sober and watching unto prayer, and above all things having fervent charity among ourselves, we may be exalted unto the same place whither our Saviour Christ is gone before, who liveth *etc*.
	The Nineteenth Sunday after Trinity **Epistle: Ephesians 4:17–32**
O God, forasmuch as without thee we are not able to please thee; Mercifully grant, that thy Holy Spirit may in all things direct and rule our hearts; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen*.	O God, forasmuch as without thee we are not able to please thee: Mercifully grant that thy Holy Spirit may in all things direct and rule our hearts, and renew us in the spirit of our mind: that putting away all bitterness and wrath, anger and malice, and every other evil affection, and being kind one to another, tender hearted, forgiving one another, even as thou, O God, for Christ's sake hast forgiven us, we may comfortably look with an assured hope for the day of redemption from all evils, unto eternal life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen*.

required, bishops are also given permission to waive the requirement for conscientious objectors. Much the same sort of compromise is written into the rubrics that call for godparents and the sign of the cross at baptism, while in the marriage service the bride's ring is said to be 'used only as a civil ceremony and pledge'. The Puritan or godly party had been complaining about all these since Elizabeth's day. They found the canticles disagreeable as well—*Magnificat*, *Nunc dimittis*, and *Benedictus* because they were too particular, *Benedicite* because it comes from the Apocrypha, the *Te Deum* because it is not scriptural at all. In the 1689 proposals these are all optional, psalms being provided as alternatives. The Litany, although its 'vain repetitions' discommended it on biblical grounds, is not struck out; but the vices it prays for deliverance from are more numerous. Lying, swearing, cursing, drunkenness, gluttony, sloth, adultery, rash censure, and misspending of time have been added.

Other additions to the 1662 text include a new versicle for Morning and Evening Prayer: 'Enlighten our minds O Lord', to which the response is 'That we may understand the great things of thy law'. In the suffrages after the Lord's Prayer, 'Give peace in our time, O Lord' has a new response. Instead of 'Because there is none other that fighteth for us', it reads: 'That we may serve thee without fear all the days of our lives'. More extensive, and more interesting, are the changes in the collects. Woven into several that were Cranmer's own compositions, such as those for the first two Sundays of Advent, are allusions to the corresponding epistle, which in the Communion service is read immediately afterwards. The collects added in 1662 follow this precedent. The 1689 proposals take it to extremes. In many cases, as Timothy Fawcett notes, 'It is almost as if the Commission had sat round a table, with the Prayer Book open in front of them, and welded phrases from the Epistle into a coherent Prayer.' Nor can these much-revised collects be criticized, as the old ones were, for having only one petition. They dwell frequently and at length on sins to be avoided and virtues to be sought. As to whether the overall result is preferable to the conciseness of the medieval examples that Cranmer sought to emulate, there can be more than one opinion.

Likewise debatable is whether the commission's aborted project would have achieved its conciliatory goal. By providing alternative ways for members of the same church to worship, the 'Liturgy of Comprehension' in some sense anticipated twentieth-century developments in Anglican liturgical practice. But such was not the temper of the times. Tenison, who decided not to make the proposals public, came to think that 'they would give no satisfaction to either side, but be rather a handle for mutual reproaches, for one side would upbraid their brethren for having given up so much; while the other would justify their nonconformity, because those concessions were too little'. In this case, it seems, a *via media* was not the way forward. Even Bishop Burnet of Salisbury, who championed the comprehension of Nonconformists within the Church of England, considered that 'the providence of God was displayed in the proceedings which led to a refusal to make alterations in the Liturgy'. Yet the commission's efforts were not wholly ineffectual. Although the proposals were not published until much later, they were leaked at the time, and thus made their way into 'Latitudinarian' Prayer Books that were privately printed in the eighteenth century. In 1786 the first draft of a Prayer Book for the American church praised the divines of 1689, 'than whom . . . the Church of England was never, at any one time, blessed with either wiser or better since it was a church'. Although their 'great and good work miscarried at that time', not a little of it found a place in the Book of Common Prayer of the new Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

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The Shape of the Classical Book of Common Prayer

J. Neil Alexander

The Book of Common Prayer has a unique and unmistakable shape. At its core is a fivefold set of liturgical texts: the daily offices, the Litany, the Holy Communion, the pastoral offices, and the ordinal. Each liturgical text is for use in public worship and to be followed by both clergy and congregation on Sundays and holy days. Auxiliary components, such as the Psalter, the calendar of the church year, and tables setting forth the scriptures to be read on various occasions, complete the book.

The classical Prayer Book, as it is enshrined in the 1662 revision of the Church of England, was not without its detractors at the time of its appearance, and a variety of revisions since that time could certainly be shown to have made significant improvements upon it, both liturgically and theologically. It was the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, however, that made its way around the globe as the British Empire extended its reach, and it was this same book that Anglican missionaries – catholic, broad, and evangelical – took with them to shape the church's worship around the world. In looking at the shape of the 1662 book, first we shall examine the five types of liturgical services that form its core and then, more briefly, note the auxiliary materials that were added to enrich and enhance it.

Liturgical Services

The Orders for Morning and Evening Prayer

Morning and Evening Prayer are the backbone of daily prayer in the Anglican tradition. In the ancient church, daily services of psalms and prayers were a complement to the eucharistic liturgies for Sundays and holy days. The term 'office' derives from the Latin term meaning 'duty' or 'obligation'. It was one's duty, one's office, to offer psalms and prayers to God daily. These short 'offices' marked the beginning and ending of the day and sanctified by prayer the living of one's life.

On the eve of the Reformation, there were three morning offices, Matins, Lauds, and Prime; two evening offices, Vespers and Compline; and three 'little hours' distributed through the middle of the day. In creating the Prayer Book offices, Cranmer combined parts of the morning offices to create Morning Prayer, and of the evening offices to create Evening Prayer, or Evensong.

The singing or recitation of the Psalter remained the heart of the Prayer Book offices of Morning and Evening Prayer. In Cranmer's revision, daily readings from the scriptures became a more substantive part of the daily offices. Each reading is followed by a biblical canticle. Following the readings and canticles, the office concludes with the Lord's Prayer, collects, and thanksgivings.

The Title of the Prayer Book

1549	1552, 1559	1662
The Book of the Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Cermonies of the Church after the Use of the Church of England	The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies in the Church of England	The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church according to the Use of the Church of England together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, Pointed as they are to be Sung or Said in Churches and the Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons

The Litany

The Litany is a responsorial form of supplication normally sung in procession. Litanies often possess a penitential quality and were often sung in procession in times of war or national disaster as well as during penitential seasons. Cranmer, for example, created the English version in 1544, at the request of Henry VIII, when the crown was at war with both Scotland and France. The Litany received increasing use on Sundays and feasts throughout the realm, and it was included by Cranmer in the 1549 book. It was moved in the 1552 book to a position between the daily offices and the Holy Communion, the place it holds in the shape of the 1662 book. This position provided for the convenient use of the Litany as a regular feature of Sunday worship, sometimes added to Morning Prayer, at others times in anticipation of the Holy Communion, sometimes with several hours separating the two services. In 1571, the Archbishop of York removed the time delay, so the typical Sunday service included Morning Prayer, Litany, and Ante-Communion as one continuous rite.

The Order of the Ministration of the Holy Communion

This is the eucharistic rite of the 1662 book, and it was the liturgical service on those Sundays and holy days on which Holy Communion was to be celebrated. In the early decades of the English Reformation, the Latin Mass still had its faithful adherents, not the least of whom was the King, and an evangelical reform of the Mass was slow in coming. Cranmer created his reformed rite in English so that, for the first time, English-speaking Christians could experience the liturgy in their native tongue. The rite made stronger provision for preaching, and his revision of the eucharistic prayer shifted the theological emphasis more clearly to the saving work of Christ on the cross. From its beginning in the 1549 book, its classical formulation in 1662, and its continuing revision, the Anglican eucharistic rite has been the source of incessant debate between those who interpret it from a more catholic perspective and those of a more reformed evangelical view. The fact that this rite can be so widely embraced and interpreted is perhaps its greatest strength.

The Ministration of Publick Baptism of Infants to be Used in the Church, The Ministration of Private Baptism of Children in Houses, and The Ministration of Baptism to Such As Are of Riper Years and Able to Answer for Themselves

The first is a public rite of Holy Baptism for infants and children, to be used on Sundays and holy days, in the presence of the congregation. The service usually took place at Morning or Evening Prayer following the lessons. Three godparents (two of the same sex as the child, one of the opposite sex) receive the exhortations and make the baptismal promises on the child's behalf. At the time of the water bath, it is assumed that the child will be dipped in the water, unless the child is weak, whereupon the water will simply be poured.

The second of these rites was for the private baptism of infants in the home when circumstances required. The first rubric of the rite sets forth the intention of the church that baptisms be public and held at the church, and this rite is provided only for extenuating circumstances. The rite begins immediately with the baptism and then continues with prayers, certifications, questions, and exhortations to ensure that everything has been properly accomplished.

The third rite is quite similar to the public rite for infant baptism with the necessary adjustments made for those who are able to answer for themselves. In the mid-sixteenth century, the majority of persons would be baptized as infants as soon after birth as practicable. This rite, however, was a response to new requirements. Missionaries were being dispatched to 'the new world', where adult converts to the faith required baptism. The influence of the Anabaptist tradition – those who practiced believers' baptism as opposed to infant baptism – meant that an increasing number postponed baptism until the age of discretion.

The Order of Confirmation or Laying on of Hands Upon Those that are Baptized and come to Years of Discretion

Confirmation had long been a post-baptismal rite that was focused in the laying-on of hands by the bishop and prayers for the Holy Spirit. The exact relationship of the episcopal hand-laying to the meaning of Holy Baptism had shifted a number of times through the centuries. Most notable, perhaps, is the shift that took place in the late Middle Ages and was taken up by the reformers, who saw confirmation less as a post-baptismal rite and more as a pre-eucharistic rite marking the completion of one's formation in the Catechism and subsequent admission to Holy Communion. In the Prayer Book tradition, the meaning of the term 'confirm' shifted from the bishop 'confirming' the Holy Spirit in the life of the baptized, to the candidate 'ratifying and confirming' his or her own personal faith. The sign of the cross was eliminated and the prayer for conferral of the Holy Spirit was now framed in terms of 'strengthening' and 'increasing' the Holy Spirit.

Confirmation had fallen on hard times during the Commonwealth, and at the time of the Restoration most Puritans would have been pleased to eliminate confirmation altogether, at least as a rite that requires a bishop. The Episcopalians prevailed, however, and the rite in the 1662 book remained largely unchanged from its earlier version.

Auxiliary Materials

The Form of Solemnization of Matrimony

In early Anglican practice, marriages took place on Sundays between Morning Prayer and the Eucharist. During the preparation of the 1662 book, the Puritans raised objections to such services taking place on Sundays because of the raucous nature of some of the less religious practices that gather around marriage. The Episcopalians, by contrast, wanted a somewhat more ceremonially enriched service. Neither side prevailed, and the 1662 rite is largely unchanged from previous Prayer Books.

The 1662 rite is a single-ring ceremony, the woman only receiving a ring, the man bearing no public sign of his marriage. The rite also requires that Holy Communion be received by the bride and groom at the time of their marriage or as soon thereafter as possible.

The Order for the Visitation of the Sick, and The Communion of the Sick

In the late Middle Ages, there was a discernible shift in the rites for the sick from healing to penance. Prayers for healing were replaced by prayers of confession, and sin and illness came to be closely associated in popular piety. The rite for the Visitation of the Sick stands in continuity with this perspective. It is an exhortatory rite, deeply penitential, and sets forth a strong connection between sickness and sin, and the need for hearty repentance in order to regain health and wholeness.

In the 1662 book, the communion of the sick was not simply the delivery of the preconsecrated elements of Holy Communion. It was, more generally, a celebration of the Holy Communion in the home. It was to include, in addition to the minister and the sick person, at least two others, preferably more, creating some sense of the community of faith. The rubrics make an exception to this only in the case of severe communicable diseases, in which case the minister and the sick person celebrate alone.

The Order for the Burial of the Dead

This liturgical order provided texts for a graveside service, although it was customary for the burial to follow the morning office or a celebration of the Holy Communion. The rubrics also indicate that the unbaptized, the excommunicated, or those who had taken their own life cannot be buried using this rite. In the 1549 book, the burial often took place first, after which the congregation returned to the church for the burial office and the Holy Communion. In the 1552 revision, the provision for Holy Communion was omitted and the rite was shortened. In the 1662 book, the principal changes were the addition of two psalms, Psalms 39 and 90, which appeared first in clandestine rites during the Commonwealth. In contrast to the Roman tradition that provided for a ceremonial casting of dirt upon the coffin, or the Reformed tradition that provided no such ritual action at all, the Prayer Book rubric reads, 'the earth shall be cast upon the Body by some standing by', a practice that has been maintained in most of the Anglican tradition to the present day.

The Thanksgiving of Women after Child-Birth, commonly called The Churching of Women

This rite has its origins in the ancient rites of purification after childbirth. Earlier prayer books entitled this rite 'The Order of the Purification of Women'. The shift from purification to churching denotes a move away from notions of ritual uncleanness after childbirth to the woman's reentry to the church after having been away to give birth. In the 1662 book, the priest exhorts the woman to give thanks for safety in childbirth. The woman then recites Psalm 116 (Psalm 121 in earlier Prayer Books), the *Kyrie*, and the Lord's Prayer. The minister then offers prayer, the customary offerings are made, and, if possible, Holy Communion is received.

The Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, according to the Order of the Church of England

The first Anglican Ordinal was prepared in 1550 and has been substantially unchanged in subsequent Anglican Prayer Books until the twentieth century. The 1550 Ordinal provided rites for setting apart the three major orders of ministry–bishops, priests, and deacons–but

refers to ordination only with respect to the ministry of priest. This is clearly an influence of the continental Protestant traditions which had generally reduced historic Catholic orders to a one-office ministry of word and sacrament. Although most Anglican theology would continue to speak of three orders of ministry, using the term ordination only with respect to one office underscores this Protestant influence. The use of the terms 'making deacons' to denote this 'inferior office', and 'consecrating bishops' to denote this 'superior office', weakens the clarity and integrity of both the diaconate and episcopate.

As the 1662 book was being prepared, the Puritans wanted to adopt this position and revise the Ordinal along more Protestant lines. The reaction was severe and the Episcopalians saw to it that the Ordinal received only minor revisions. Unquestionably the most important aspect of the 1662 ordinal is the directive that requires episcopal ordination for all clergy.

The Title-Page

In the Prayer Book tradition the title-page is a summary of the contents of the book. In the 1662 book, the title reads: *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of the Church of England, Together with the Psalter or Psalms of David Pointed as they are to be Sung or Said in Churches: And the Form or Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.* Of interest are the words 'Common Prayer'. The term refers first to the Daily Office and is a sign of Cranmer's passion to restore to regular use those offices of daily prayer that for too long had become the responsibility of the clergy and religious. In this sense, then, 'Common Prayer' is a reference to the daily offices as the heart of liturgical prayer. An expanded view holds that 'Common Prayer' refers not only to the Daily Office, but to all public rites of regular pastoral use – the Offices, together with the Litany and the Holy Communion – as distinct from those rites of more occasional pastoral use such as marriage, visitation of the sick, and burial. A still richer view, perhaps an unwitting result of Cranmer's program for liturgical revision, is that 'Common Prayer' signals the advent of a shift from the largely non-participatory and heavily privatized rites of the late Middle Ages to those of later times in which a higher level of congregational participation is anticipated.

The Preface

The 1662 preface is an important witness to the character of Anglicanism at a particularly difficult time in its history. Puritans and Episcopalians found few points of agreement in the conferences that led up to the 1662 book. Taken as a whole, however, the 1662 book is a monument in the art of Anglican give and take. This sense of claiming the centre is well expressed in the preface:

> Our general aim therefore in this undertaking was, not to gratify this or that party in any their unreasonable demands; but to do that, which to our best understandings we conceived might most tend to the preservation of Peace and Unity in the Church; the procuring of Reverence, and exciting of Piety and Devotion in the Publick Worship of God; and the cutting off occasion from them that seek occasion of cavil or quarrel against the Liturgy of the Church.

Concerning the Service of the Church

The second document in the 1662 book is a very slight revision of the 1549 preface under a new title. It has its origins in Cranmer's plans for the revision of the Daily Office and much of its contents date to 1535. The principal difference in the 1549 and 1662 versions of this document have to do with the addition of two paragraphs, first appended in the 1552 book, with

The Contents of the Book of Common Prayer

1549	1662
	The Preface ('It hath been the wisdom . . . ')
A Preface ('There was never . . . ')	Concerning the Service of the Church ('There was never . . . ')
	Concerning Ceremonies, why some be abolished, and some retained
	Rules to Order the Service
	The Order how the Psalter is appointed to be read
A Table and Kalendar for Psalms and Lessons, with necessary rules pertaining to the same	The Order how the rest of the Holy Scripture is appointed to be read
	A Table of Proper Lessons and Psalms
	The Calendar, with the Table of Lessons
	Tables and Rules for the Feasts and Fasts . . .
The Order for Matins and Evensong, throughout the year	The Order for Morning Prayer
	The Order for Evening Prayer
	The Creed of S. Athanasius
	The Litany
	Prayers and Thanksgivings upon several occasions
The Introits, Collects, Epistles, and Gospels . . .	The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels . . .
The Supper of the Lord and Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass	The Order of the Ministration of the Holy Communion
The Litany and Suffrages	
Of Baptism, both Public and Private	The Order of Baptism both public and private
	The Order of Baptism for those of Riper Years
Of Confirmation, where also is a Catechism for children	The Catechism
	The Order of Confirmation
Of Matrimony	The Form of Solemnization of Matrimony
Of Visitation of the Sick, and Communion of the same	The Order for the Visitation of the Sick, and the Communion of the Sick
Of Burial	The Order for the Burial of the Dead
The Purification of Women	The Thanksgiving of Women after Child-birth
A Declaration of Scripture . . . to be used the first day of Lent, commonly called Ash Wednesday	A Commination, or denouncing of God's anger and judgements against Sinners
	The Psalter
	Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea
	The Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons
	Articles of Religion
	A Table of Kindred and Affinity
Of Ceremonies omitted or retained	
Certain notes . . .	

respect to the obligation of the clergy to pray the daily offices. The text was only slightly emended in its 1662 version to make it clear that sickness was the only reason by which a member of the clergy could justify the failure to say the offices.

Of Ceremonies, why some be abolished, and some retained

This document was appended to the 1549 book and is an amplified version of sections taken from the Thirteen Articles of 1538. At that time, Cranmer was caught in the crossfire of

opposing viewpoints and carved out a centrist position: some ceremonies are excessive, while other ceremonies continue to have meaning, therefore, 'some abolished and some retained'. It was an appeal to *adiaphora*–things indifferent, matters upon which agreement is not necessary for the sake of the unity of the church. Some have seen this as an early statement of the Anglican *via media,* the casting of a middle way between extremes, a generation before that concept received its classical exposition from Richard Hooker.

The Order How the Psalter is Appointed to be Read

This order is an abbreviation of the rules for the use of the Psalter at the daily offices that appeared in earlier Prayer Books. Cranmer had set out a thirty-day rotation of the Psalms so that the entire Psalter could be recited each month. These instructions make allowances for those months with more or less days than thirty days, and for the distribution of Psalm 119 over several days due to its length.

The Order How the Rest of Holy Scripture is Appointed to be Read; A Table of Proper Lessons and Psalms; The Calendar, with the Table of Lessons, and Tables and Rules for the Feasts and Fasts throughout the Year

This order and the accompanying tables set forth the manner in which the scriptures are distributed through the church year, and are derived from Cranmer's earlier work on the reform of the Breviary. The order provides for the complete reading of the Old Testament at the Daily Office each year, and for a twice yearly reading of the New Testament. The first table sets forth the readings for the Sunday offices and for holy days, together with provisions for alternative psalms for certain feasts and fasts. A second table provides the calendar of the church year and the readings for daily Morning and Evening Prayer. Additional tables set the rules of precedence to distinguish between greater and lesser feasts through the course of the year, days of abstinence and fasting, and calculators to determine the date of Easter.

The Creed of Saint Athanasius (**Quicunque Vult**)

This late fifth-century creed, not the work of the Athanasius of Alexandria whose name it bears, gained in popularity through the Middle Ages. Often recited at the morning office, it was sometimes adorned with antiphons and concluded with the recitation of the *Gloria Patri*. It was included in the 1549 book, and its recitation was required on six principal feasts. Later revisions gradually increased the number of days on which it was to be recited, and by the 1662 revision, the so-called Creed of Athanasius was to be recited in place of the Apostles' Creed at the morning office on no fewer than fourteen Sundays and feasts.

Prayers and Thanksgivings upon several Occasions

The Prayer Book includes a section of prayers and thanksgivings for various uses to supplement the prayers set forth in the liturgical orders of the services and for separate use. In the 1549 book, two prayers–for rain and for fair weather–were included as well as a group of collects that could be used after the offertory on those Sundays on which the Holy Communion was not celebrated. Subsequent revisions continued to enrich this section of the book, largely in response to the Puritans who desired that the thanksgivings be significantly expanded. This section of the 1662 book was amplified yet again with a prayer for Parliament, additional prayers, and thanksgivings that followed the theme of the prayers. Of particular note, the 1662 book included the General Thanksgiving, a prayer of Bishop Edward Reynolds of Norwich that was inspired, at least in part, by a prayer of Queen Elizabeth I.

A General Thanksgiving

Almighty God, Father of all mercies, we thine unworthy servants do give thee most humble and hearty thanks for all thy goodness, and loving-kindness to us and to all men; [**particularly to those who desire now to offer up their praises and thanksgivings for thy late mercies vouchsafed unto them*]. We bless thee for our creation, preservation, and all the blessings of this life; but above all for thine inestimable love in the redemption of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ, for the means of grace, and for the hope of glory. And we beseech thee, give us that due sense of all thy mercies, that our hearts may be unfeignedly thankful, and that we show forth thy praise, not only with our lips, but in our lives, by giving up our selves to thy service, and by walking before thee in holiness and righteousness all our days; through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*

**This is to be said when any that have been prayed for desire to return praise.*

This prayer has become one of the enduring monuments of Anglican liturgical prayer. (*See* 'A General Thanksgiving'.)

The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, to be used at the Ministration of the Holy Communion, throughout the Year

This section contains the collects and readings for the Holy Communion arranged according to the requirements of the church year.

Collects are brief prayers unique to western liturgical tradition. In the Prayer Book tradition, approximately two-thirds of the collects are English translations of pre-Reformation Latin collects. The remainder are either new compositions or represent the considerable reworking of earlier materials.

Through much of liturgical history, the use of a collect signals the completion of a larger liturgical unit. The presider 'collected' both the people and their prayers so that the next part of the liturgy could proceed. In the Prayer Book tradition up through the 1662 book, only the collect before the readings was retained and it became, in common practice, the collect 'of the day', a practice that has its roots in the liturgical revisions of continental Lutheranism. This shift in the use of the collect, from the terminating prayer of a liturgical action to a short, variable prayer standing alone, sets the stage for the proliferation of collects for every conceivable need or occasion.

The readings assigned to the Sundays and feasts of the church year in the 1549 book are largely taken from the Sarum Missal. Relatively minor emendations were made in subsequent revisions up through the 1662 book. The 1662 book had only two readings, a gospel, and a first reading that was normally from the epistles or Acts. Readings from the Old Testament were sparse.

A Catechism, that is to say, An Instruction to be Learned of Every Person, before He be brought to be Confirmed by the Bishop

The Catechism is a method of religious instruction in question and answer form. It became extremely popular among the continental reformers who desired to increase the religious instruction of the laity. The 1529 *Small Catechism* of Luther is perhaps the premier example.

In the 1549 book, the Catechism included instruction on baptism, the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Holy Trinity. The section on the Ten Commandments was amplified in the 1552 book. The 1604 revision added instruction on the sacraments. The principal change in the 1662 book was that the text of the Catechism was

removed from the Confirmation service, given its own title, and placed between the services of Baptism and Confirmation.

A Commination, or denouncing of God's Anger and Judgements Against Sinners, with Certain Prayers to be used on the First Day of Lent, and at Other Times, as the Ordinary shall appoint

In the 1549 book, this service was designated 'The Firste Daie of Lente commonly called Ashe-Wednisdaye'. It was intended as an additional office to be placed after Morning Prayer and the Litany, before the Eucharist.

The Psalms of David

The Psalter has been essential to the shape of the Prayer Book tradition from the beginning. In the 1549 book, the psalms follow a slightly revised form from the Great Bible of 1540, itself a minor revision of that of Miles Coverdale of 1535. The aborted Scottish Prayer Book of 1637 adopted the Psalter from the Authorized Version of 1611, but when the framers of the 1662 book finalized their plans for revision, they reverted to the use of the Coverdale–Great Bible Psalter. Since 1662, a large number of corrections have been made to the Psalter in subsequent editions. The need for these corrections arose because Coverdale was not a scholar of Hebrew and therefore did not make his translation from the original language of the Psalms. Coverdale's translation was an English translation of the Latin Psalter, which had been translated from the Greek (Septuagint) Psalter, which had been translated from Hebrew. More recent revisions of the Prayer Book Psalter have translations into English directly from Hebrew.

Subsequent editions of the 1662 book made minor emendations and additions as new printings under the authority of new monarchs appeared. None, however, has changed the essential shape of the tradition: the daily offices, the Holy Communion, the pastoral rites, and the ordinal, together with the Psalter and the various auxiliary documents. In the twentieth century, nearly every province of the Anglican Communion revised the Prayer Book for its own use. Most such revisions have significantly enriched the inheritance, but all have substantially maintained the shape of the Book of Common Prayer that was initially moulded by Archbishop Cranmer, rendered 'classical' by the revision of 1662, and which continues to serve today as a common inheritance of Anglicans worldwide.

The State Services

Charles Hefling

Following the restoration of the monarchy, the calendar of the restored Prayer Book was revised to include three new red-letter days of national significance, commemorating the frustration of the Gunpowder Plot, or Papists' Conspiracy, of 1605 (5 November, popularly Guy Fawkes Day); the execution of Charles I (30 January); and the return of Charles II (29 May, which was also his birthday). A form of liturgical prayer was drawn up for each, and approved by Convocation. These services do not appear in the official 'sealed book' version of the 1662 Prayer Book, although a manuscript note says they are to be printed at the end of it. They were, in any case, so printed for nearly two hundred years, a royal warrant for annexing them to the Prayer Book being issued at the beginning of each reign.

As specimens of liturgical writing, the services for the 'state holy-days' are not especially noteworthy. They do however exemplify the *lex orandi lex credendi* principle by reflecting and inculcating a definite ecclesiology. In making them part of its annual round of worship, the Church of England declared itself to be a national church, different from the state in idea but not in extent, and at the same time a church that stood opposed to, and by, Roman Catholicism on the one hand and militant Puritanism on the other. The lessons to be read during these services were evidently selected so as to suggest a typological or prefigurative correspondence between events narrated in the Bible and events of recent church/state history. Thus the slaying of Saul, the Lord's anointed king, and David's lament over him appear in the lessons appointed for the service commemorating Charles I, as do Christ's betrayal and passion, to which the martyred king's sufferings are compared in one of the prayers. Similarly, the service for 5 November calls for reading the chapter of Acts that details the conspiracy to kill Paul and its discovery by his nephew.

The services themselves follow much the same pattern. They presume that after Morning Prayer, with the proper lessons they prescribe, the Litany will be said, followed by the Ante-Communion office, again with a special epistle and gospel. Instead of the *Venite* there is a 'hymn', pointed like the Psalter and made up of verses from several psalms and (in the service for 30 January) other biblical books. Two prayers take the place of the first collect at Morning Prayer, two or three more follow the Litany, and there are further prayers to be used in place of the variable collect in the Communion office, following the Prayer for the Church Militant, and at Evening Prayer. Although the rubrics refer to these prayers as collects, they do not follow the classical collect form, and some run to two hundred words and more. One of them praises God for the miraculous and gracious deliverance of King and Parliament at a time when they were 'by Popish treachery appointed as sheep to the slaughter, in a most barbaric and savage manner, beyond the examples of former ages'. In others the 'hellish malice' of 'bloodthirsty enemies' is recalled, together with the 'horror and astonishment' of recalling it.

Somewhat different from these three services, but printed together with them in the Prayer Book, is the service of thanksgiving on the anniversary of the sovereign's accession. In origin, it is the oldest of the state services. A number of 'occasional offices' and forms of

A Collect for the Fifth of November

A form of prayer with thanksgiving 'for the happy deliverance of the king, and the three estates of the realm, from the most traitorous and bloody intended massacre by gunpowder' was first enjoined in 1605. As included in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, the service ordered the following prayer (one of two) instead of the collect of the day at Morning Prayer.

O Lord, who didst this day discover the snares of death that were laid for us, and didst wonderfully deliver us from the same; Be thou still our mighty Protector, and scatter our enemies that delight in blood. Infatuate and defeat their counsels, abate their pride, assuage their malice, and confound their devices. Strengthen the hands of our gracious King Charles, and all that are put in authority under him, with judgement and justice, to cut off all such workers of iniquity, as turn religion into rebellion, and faith into faction; that they may never prevail against us, or triumph in the ruin of thy Church among us: But that our gracious Sovereign and his Realms being preserved in thy true Religion, and by thy merciful goodness protected in the same, we may all duly serve thee, and give thee thanks in thy holy congregation, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A Collect for the Thirtieth of January

This is the second of two prayers appointed to replace the first collect at Evening Prayer on the day commemorating the martyrdom of King Charles I.

Blessed God, just and powerful, who didst permit thy dear servant, our late dread Sovereign, to be this day given up to the violent outrages of wicked men, to be despitefully used, and at last murdered by them; though we cannot reflect upon so foul an act but with horror and astonishment; yet we do most gratefully commemorate the glories of thy grace, which then shined forth in thine Anointed, whom thou wert pleased, even at the hour of death, to endue with an eminent measure of exemplary patience, meekness, and charity, before the face of his cruel enemies. And albeit, thou didst suffer them to proceed to such a height of violence against him, as to kill his person, and take possession of his throne; yet didst thou in great mercy preserve his son, whose right it was, and at length by a wonderful providence bring him back, and set him thereon, to restore thy true Religion, and to settle peace amongst us: for which, we glorify thy name, through Jesus Christ our blessed Saviour. *Amen*.

prayer, usually intended to fit into Morning Prayer or the Litany, were issued during the reign of Elizabeth I, including one in 1578 to commemorate her accession. Similar forms were ordered for use in later reigns, and beginning with Anne they were regularly included in the Prayer Book.

Like the Accession Day service, the other state services were altered from time to time, notably after William III arrived in England in 1688 at the time of the Gunpowder Treason commemoration, which from then on included further thanksgiving for this deliverance from 'the attempts of our enemies to bereave us of our Religion and Laws'. The state holy days were the occasion for patriotic sermons, and during the eighteenth century they were sometimes observed, especially in London, with magnificent and well-attended services. By the middle of the next century, however, they seem to have fallen into desuetude in ordinary parish churches. Doubts about their authorization, criticisms of their Erastian air, and distress at the vehemence of their language led to debates in Convocation and Parliament with a view to discontinuing them altogether, although it was also urged that what had in effect been the canonization of Charles I ought not to be revoked. In 1859 a royal warrant brought an end to the official tenure of these services in the Book of Common Prayer, except the one for Accession Day. The idea of commemorating national history in the church's liturgy did not vanish entirely, however. The Episcopal Church in the United States had already put Independence Day (4 July) into its liturgical calendar, and the Prayer Books of newer Anglican provinces would later include similar observances.

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PART TWO

The Social and Cultural Life of the Prayer Book

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The Prayer Book and the Parish Church: From the Elizabethan Settlement to the Restoration

Judith Maltby

The Book of Common Prayer has a 'social' history as well as an intellectual history because *the church* has a social history as well as an intellectual history. During the first century of its existence, the Prayer Book was used, read, prayed, memorized, and acted out by ordinary parishioners and their priests throughout the country. Although the Prayer Book was initially very unpopular and condemned for its novelty (not least for its use of the vernacular), as Elizabeth's reign progressed, conformity to it became for many English people the most important and defining touchstone of their religious identity and of their church. Allegiance to a religious tradition shaped by the Book of Common Prayer would prove a powerful force in creating support for Charles I, who had been responsible for highly unpopular ecclesiastical policies when his three kingdoms erupted in civil war and rebellion, fuelled by polarized religious differences he had done much to foster.

Two insights from recent scholarship are essential for understanding the social history of the Prayer Book. The first is the dramatic shift in the perception of late medieval English Christianity. A generation ago, many scholars confidently stated that the medieval church failed to meet the religious aspirations of the laity – laity who were increasingly dissatisfied with the gap between the high rhetoric about the priesthood and the reality of their local practitioners. Eamon Duffy, among others, has transformed the way we see late medieval popular piety, revealing its complexity and richness, illuminating the way devotional practices met the intellectual and emotional needs of parishioners. He has slain, one might say, the notional dragon that the complex and rich symbolic world of late medieval Christianity could be dismissed as 'superstition'.

Secondly, most historians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries now contend that the 'Reformation' took a long time. Gone are the days when a textbook on the English Reformation could, as many have done, end with the Elizabethan Settlement. One might well say that reform was only getting started in 1559: religious change takes time to take root. In remote Cornwall in 1549, the first Edwardian Prayer Book was condemned as 'but like a Christmas game'. Over a century later, another Cornish commentator was claiming that love for liturgy, not for the King, had made the county so firmly Royalist in the Civil War.

In reflecting on the social history of the Prayer Book, the Reformation stops looking like a Rubicon, and we may question the stark 'before and after' pictures put forward by traditional Whig historians like A. G. Dickens, as well as revisionists like Eamon Duffy. A story of continuity and discontinuity needs to be told. Much changed, needless to say, but there are real points of continuity in parochial religion after 1559 with its medieval past. The Prayer Book and the way it was used by the laity – sometimes in conflict with their clergy – is an essential component in understanding that story. Eamon Duffy's view that 'Protestantism came to be constituted in large part by its NO to medieval religion' needs to be modified, if not set aside, just as he has rightly modified the traditional view of the beliefs and customs of late medieval Christians (Duffy, xiv).

Edward VI and Mary I (1547–1558)

The direct evidence for the actual *use* of either of the two Edwardian Prayer Books at the local level is rare but not nonexistent: the volume of diocesan and parochial records for the period before 1559 is slight by comparison to the Elizabethan and early Stuart period. In addition, the Prayer Book may not always have been used as intended. Bishop Hooper, for instance–in a complaint that sounds similar to later protests against Anglo-Catholic practices–charged in his visitation articles that some clergy sought to 'counterfeit the popish mass' by celebrating the reformed rite with pre-Reformation ceremonial.

It is important to remember the relative brevity of Edward's reign (1547–1553) and the small window it gave Archbishop Cranmer and his colleagues to embed the first fully vernacular liturgy into the parochial life of the nation. However, if the 1549 uprising in Cornwall and Devon, sometimes referred to as the 'Prayer Book Rebellion', gives us any clues, even in the remote southwest they had experienced enough of the first Edwardian Prayer Book to know they did not like it. In a remarkable set of Articles, the West Country rebels rejected point by point almost all of the substantive reforms of the Edwardian Reformation: vernacular worship, frequent receiving of communion with the priest and in both kinds, the Bible in English, are all decried by the rebels (*see* 'The Demands of the Western Rebels [1549]'). Ironically, what many Anglicans and non-Anglicans alike have come to see as Cranmer's 'magnificent prose' is dismissed by the western rebels as 'but like a Christmas game', that is, conducted in the language of profane, not sacred, activities. The Cornish were particularly exasperating, making the somewhat doubtful claim that as many of them were Cornish speakers, they did not understand 'this new English'. Archbishop Cranmer sarcastically retorted that surely there were more Cornish people who understood English than Latin: 'Had you rather . . . be like pies or parrots, that be taught to speak, and yet understand not one word what they say, than be true Christian men that pray unto God in heart and faith?' His lapse of pastoral sensitivity was perhaps brought on by the scale of the threat of the uprising to the fragile regime of the Protector Somerset, as well as their detailed rejection of the Edwardian, as distinct from the Henrician, Reformation (Fletcher and MacCulloch, 61–62, 151–52; MacCulloch, 429–30, 434–40).

Under Mary, evidence exists of the *continued* use of the Prayer Book in defiance of the government. The charges, as recorded in John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, against the London martyr Cuthbert Symson in March 1558 concluded:

> That thou, contrary to the order of this realm of England, and contrary to the usage of the holy church of this realm of England, hath at sundry times and places within the city and diocese of London, been at assemblies and conventicles, where there was *a multitude of people* [*my italics*] gathered together to hear the English service said, which was set forth in the latter years of king Edward the Sixth, and also to hear and have the Communion Book read, and the communion ministered, both to the said multitude, and also to thyself; and thou hast thought, and so thinkest, and hast spoken, that the said English service and Communion Book, and all things contained in either of them were good and laudable, and for such didst and dost allow and approve either of them, at this present. (Cited in Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, 42.)

Loyalty to the Edwardian liturgy was a point of controversy among the Protestant exiles on the Continent during Mary's reign. Living abroad exposed English Protestants to some of the more 'advanced' liturgies of Reformed Europe. Nonetheless, the future bishop of Salisbury, John Jewel, was dispatched to Frankfurt from Strasbourg and successfully brought the English community there back to the worship of the Prayer Book from its use of Genevan service.

The Demands of the Western Rebels (1549)

Item: We will have the Mass in Latin, as was before, and celebrated by the priest without any man or woman communicating with him. . . .

Item: We will have the sacrament of the altar but at Easter delivered to the lay people, and then but in one kind.

Item: We will that our curates shall minister the sacrament of baptism at all times, as well in the weekday as on the holy day. . . .

Item: We will not receive the new service, because it is but like a Christmas game, but we will have our old service of Matins, Mass, Evensong, and Procession in Latin not in English, as it was before.

And so we Cornish men (whereof certain of us understand no English) utterly refuse this new English.

Elizabeth I to the Civil Wars (1558–1642)

It is not the intention here to argue for the uncontested acceptance of the Book of Common Prayer in the parishes of England following the Elizabethan Settlement of 1559. The Puritan quarrels with the liturgy – its residual 'popery' and 'superstitious' dependence on outward forms – are well known and well rehearsed by historians. This Puritan mindset has perhaps never been more colourfully expressed than by an early seventeenth century Cheshire curate who remarked that 'I am perswaded that the reading of Common Prayer hath beene the meanes of sending many souls into hell.' That might seem criticism enough but the zealous curate continued, 'That the booke of Common Prayer doth stinke in the nostraills of god' and making the Puritan *de rigueur* comparison to popery, he concluded, 'That reading of Common prayers is as bad *or worse* [*my italics*] than the mumbling of the masse upon beades.' A generation earlier in the late 1580s, the separatist polemicist Henry Barrow saw little evidence of indifference towards the Prayer Book when he denounced a catalogue of popular attachments to Prayer Book rites from the observance of saints' days, Rogationtide

From the Homily on Common Prayer and Sacraments

Like nearly all the others in the Second Book of Homilies, published in 1562, the brief sermon from which these excerpts are taken was written by John Jewel, bishop of Salisbury and author of *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae,* a very influential defence of the Elizabethan Church of England.

Therefore brethren, I beseech you, even for the tender mercies of God, let us no longer be negligent in this behalf: but as a people willing to receive at God's hand such good things as in the common prayer of the Church are craved, let us join our selves together in the place of common prayer, and with one voice and one heart, beg of our heavenly Father all those things, which he knoweth to be necessary for us. I forbid you not private prayer, but I exhort you to esteem common prayer as it is worthy. . . .

For we are not strangers one to another, but we are the citizens of the Saints, and of the household of God [Ephesians 2:19], yea, and members all of one body [1 Corinthians 10:17, 12:12]. And therefore whiles our minister is in rehearsing the prayer that is made in the name of us all, we must give diligent ear to the words spoken by him, and in heart beg at God's hand those things that he beggeth in words. And to signify that we do so, we say Amen, at the end of the prayer that he maketh in the name of us all. And this thing can we not do for edification, unless we understand what is spoken. Therefore it is required of necessity, that the common prayer be had in a tongue that the hearers do understand.

processions, communion to the sick, the sign of the cross in baptism, godparents, churching of women, and baptisms by women, concluding 'which is a weariness to us to repeate, though not in you to use, tollerate, and defend'. Ironically, it is these very Puritan complaints about conformist worship which also give us some indication of its popularity and vitality (*see* Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, chaps. 1 and 2).

Sundays, Holy Days, and the Eucharist

Although one must not underestimate the dramatic impact of the Reformation on parish religion, neither must one lose sight of the points of continuity. Sunday attendance at church remained a keystone of parish life and the observances of holy days continued, although these were greatly reduced in number. Evidence is sketchy but a conforming parish's worship on a Sunday morning would probably have taken the form of Morning Prayer followed by Ante-Communion, that is the whole of the Communion service up to and including the Prayer for the Church Militant and possibly also including a sermon or a reading from the Book of Homilies. Holy days were reduced in number to about thirty, almost entirely in celebration of events in the life of Christ or saints mentioned in the New Testament, though there is evidence of continued commemoration of saints with local popularity or associations. Parishioners wanted these holy days to be marked and complained when the clergy neglected to do so. A conscientious minister might well catechize the youth in the afternoon before conducting Evening Prayer.

It would be a mistake however, as Eamon Duffy has shown us, to see the laity merely as passive participants in the liturgical offerings of the late medieval church. In the same way, post-Reformation laity were not simply ciphers, easily manipulated by the priestly caste. In 1604, a year into the reign of James I, a group of Cheshire parishioners used the system of diocesan church courts to complain to their bishop that their new curate was not allowing them to make the liturgical responses in the service enjoined by Common Prayer. The laity stated that 'for the manner of morninge prayer whereas divers of the parishe . . . have been used to helpe the parishe Clarke . . . read verse for verse' for the past forty years, they were now prevented from making the accustomed responses by the new minister. If they attempted to perform their part in the Prayer Book liturgy, the curate told them to 'hold their peace'. This shepherd clearly enraged his sheep. Some Puritans compared the antiphonal



5. The Prayer Book in Use: Catechizing
This illustration and the next three are details taken from elaborate woodcut borders that frame some of the pages in *A Booke of Christian Prayers* by Richard Day, first published in 1578. Here a minister in a gown is shown instructing youngsters in the Catechism, perhaps before beginning Evening Prayer.



6. The Prayer Book in Use: Holy Communion
This depiction of communion being distributed shows a congregation kneeling around a freestanding Communion table covered, as the Prayer Book directs, with a fair linen cloth. Also noteworthy are the cup for the wine, much larger than medieval chalices had been, the broken loaf of 'the best and purest wheat bread that can be conveniently gotten', and the surplice worn by the minister.

singing or saying of the psalms in Prayer Book worship unflatteringly to the ping-pong of a tennis match. However, here is a group of laity whose verbal contribution was a key part of their participation in Common Prayer.

The woodcut from Richard Day's *A Booke of Christian Prayers* (1578) gives us a unique visual depiction of the administration of Communion in conformity to the Elizabethan Book of Common Prayer.) Readers should note the free standing holy table, covered with fair linen, placed 'tablewise' (that is, the short ends facing east/west) and most likely at the head of the main aisle (in the nave) or in the choir. The sacrament is administered in both kinds: a loaf of bread (in the words of the 1559 Prayer Book 'the best and purest wheat bread that can be conveniently gotten') and a large Communion cup is used to provide for all the laity who, in contrast with pre-Reformation practice, received the wine as well. More controversially, the officiating minister is attired with the white surplice–to many hotter Protestants known as the 'whore's robe' because of its associations with the pre-Reformation priesthood. Note, finally, the people kneeling around the holy table, a practice which was also attacked by the godly (as many Puritans preferred to call themselves), fearful that it implied adoration of the eucharistic elements themselves–yet another 'popish remnant' remaining in the established church's 'reformed' liturgy.

After the Reformation, the parish priest was still expected to visit the sick and to provide for them the comfort of the Eucharist, and the laity were known to complain when he failed to do so. The Prayer Book provided a short rite for the communion of the sick which allowed under special circumstances for the Communion service to be celebrated in the home. Day's woodcut shows the minister giving the sacrament in both kinds to the sick man. Note that the minister is in his normal attire–he is not wearing the surplice–and more importantly, note the presence of other members of the household. Fearful of any association with the private Mass and what to the reformers were its abuses, the Prayer Book insisted that others be present and communicate with the infirm person. In the case of plague or other contagious diseases, due to fear of infection, the Prayer Book's rubrics allowed the minister to communicate alone with the sick man or woman. The Eucharist, however, was to be in no sense 'private'.

Cranmer, in common with other reformers, had intended the Eucharist to become the



7. The Prayer Book in Use: Communion of the Sick
A bedridden man is being given the communion bread by a minister, dressed in ordinary clothes, holding the cup of wine he will shortly administer. The service conforms to the rubrics of the Elizabethan Prayer Book, which require 'a good number to receive the Communion with the sick person'.

customary Sunday observance, but this only achieved widespread acceptance in Anglicanism in the twentieth century (and is perhaps becoming less common now in England than thirty years ago due to the growth of Evangelicalism and the reduced numbers of priests in rural areas). In the period under consideration, and allowing for local variation, the frequency of Holy Communion was perhaps quarterly. Major feasts such as Christmas, Easter, and Whitsun were often marked by a celebration of the Eucharist. George Herbert, writing in the early 1630s, thought that monthly communion was the ideal but that six times a year was the best that any country parson could possibly hope to achieve.

It is tempting to see this infrequency of Communion as a result of the assault on the religious sensibilities surrounding the medieval Mass, feeding an indifference among the laity to the Eucharist. Against that view, evidence abounds that parishioners complained robustly about their parsons when they failed to celebrate Communion a sufficient number of times

George Herbert on the Conduct of Divine Service

Best known for his poems, Herbert (1593–1633) was also the author of *A Priest to the Temple; or, The Country Parson,* which was not published until 1652. This excerpt is taken from the chapter on 'The Parson Praying'.

The country parson, when he is to read divine services, composeth himself to all possible reverence, lifting up his heart and hands and eyes, and using all other gestures which may express a hearty and unfeigned devotion. . . . Accordingly his voice is humble, his words treatable and slow, yet not so slow neither as to let the fervency of the supplicant hang and die between speaking; but with grave liveliness, between fear and zeal, pausing yet pressing, he performs his duty. Besides his example, he having often instructed his people how to carry themselves in divine service, exacts of them all possible reverence, by no means enduring either talking, or sleeping or gazing, or leaning, or half-kneeling, or any other undutiful behaviour in them; but causing them, when they sit, or stand, or kneel, to do all in a straight and steady posture, as attending to what is done in the church, and every one, man and child, answering aloud both Amen, and all other answers which are on the clerk's and people's part to answer; which answers also are to be done not in a huddling or slubbering fashion, gaping, or scratching the head, or spitting even, in the midst of their answer, but gently and pausably, thinking what they say; so that while they answer, 'As it was in the beginning,' &c., they meditate as they speak, that God hath ever had His people, that have glorified Him as well as now, and that He shall have so for ever: and the like in other answers.

per year, including providing communion for the sick. Further, though this can only be speculative, the replacement of the Latin Mass in which the laity commonly took the sacrament only at Easter (and then only in one kind) by Morning Prayer and Ante-Communion in English might well be seen as an example of continuity in pre- and post-Reformation lay spirituality. In the Prayer Book, *every* celebration of the Eucharist was also, explicitly, *communion* on the part of the people – and for the laity *that* was the real dramatic disjunction from the piety and theology of the Latin Mass. It may be that the reformers failed to make the Eucharist the liturgical Sunday norm in post-Reformation Europe because they could not shift a deep-seated lay piety which held that receiving communion was to be done only rarely, and not because the sacrament had been 'demoted' in devotional terms.

Rites of Passage: Baptism

Before and after the Reformation, the sacrament of baptism, like the Eucharist, functioned in a variety of ways and at a variety of levels. Socially, baptism played a key role in extending and strengthening the infant's kinship ties through the choice of godparents. The relationship of godchildren and godparents created by baptism had a material, as well as a spiritual, reality. Studies of extant wills for the period reveal that it was not uncommon for testators to leave legacies to their godchildren.

Baptism, more than any other rite in the Prayer Book, allowed for pastoral sensitivity in the face of specific situations. Nonetheless, the Prayer Book was quite clear as to what was good practice in normal circumstances: baptism was a public, not a private, sacrament. It was to be administered only on Sundays or holy days and as part of the main act of worship, taking place immediately after the last lesson at Morning or Evening Prayer. Liturgy is indeed pedagogy, so the administration of the sacrament in the presence of the parochial community was meant to be instructive as well as sacramental: as the Prayer Book itself expounded, 'in the baptism of infants every man present may be put in remembrance of his own profession made to God in his baptism'.

As depicted in Day's woodcut for Holy Baptism (*see* Illustration 8, p. 86), the minister was to wear the white surplice. One of the ritual survivors of the Reformation was making the sign of the cross on the infant's forehead. The second Edwardian Prayer Book moved this action from before the baptism to after, thus attenuating any association with exorcism. Many of the godly objected to the sign of the cross; parents and godparents, however, often objected if their minister omitted the ceremony.

So-called private baptism was to be done only in cases in which the child was in danger of death, and the Prayer Book provided a rite for these circumstances as well. Church court records provide us with numerous examples of complaints against pastors who failed to provide the sacrament despite entreaties by parents and the 'ancient' or 'wise women' of the parish, that is, the midwives. This inevitably led to children dying unbaptized, which clearly caused additional grief to those already bereaved as well as a good deal of anger against the negligent minister. Some parents would risk taking their children to neighbouring parishes to secure infant baptism.

Historical evidence is such that it is often impossible to disentangle whether a minister's refusal to perform emergency baptisms was a matter of idleness or theological scruples. In the case of the latter, some Puritan clergy wished to distance themselves from the idea that baptism was in any sense necessary for salvation and therefore the very notion of an 'emergency' baptism was a contradiction in terms. Further, zealous Protestants used the fact that it was women who often administered the sacrament when a child was close to death to discredit the practice. In holding this view, they were theologically in accord with John Calvin. But it is ironic to note that Puritan ministers were by far the most 'clericalist' in insisting that baptism was a sacrament which could be administered only by the clergy and that baptisms by midwives merely proved how absurd the whole notion of an 'emergency' baptism was.



8. The Prayer Book in Use: Public Baptism
Wearing a surplice and holding his Prayer Book, a minister pours water on the head of a swaddled infant held by one of the four godparents standing around the baptismal font. The service is being conducted in the church, presumably after the final lesson at Morning Prayer or Evening Prayer.

Even Richard Hooker, whose zeal for defending every jot and tittle of the Prayer Book against its critics is without peer, sounds somewhat pained and contorted in his defence of women baptizing (*see* his *The Lawes*, V.lxii). Archbishop Whitgift, while defending lay baptism against the Puritan Thomas Cartwright, claimed, unconvincingly, that it never actually occurred.

The presence of a liturgy in the Prayer Book for emergency baptisms is a poignant reminder of the scale of infant mortality in pre-modern Europe. Indeed death from the complications of childbirth was a major cause of mortality for adult women in the period and prompts one to consider that, for half the human race at least, the ceremony of 'churching' after childbirth was much more about 'thanksgiving' for a safe delivery than it was about 'purification' after childbirth, however much male theologians might argue the finer points (Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, 52–56, 63–64).

Rites of Passage: Burial

It has been suggested that the greatest disruption of the Reformation was the breach it caused in the community of the living and the dead. The importance of purgatory in late medieval liturgy and popular piety is clear: the Mass and many other popular devotional practices were as much for the benefit of the dead as for the living, if they were not in fact *more* for the benefit of the deceased. By breaking down the vast and resonant symbolic structure that accompanied dying and surrounded the departed, the reformers, it is argued, broke the bonds of affection between the living and the dead. The successful defeat of purgatory knocked the intellectual legs out from under this complex liturgical construction (*see* Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, 56–63).

Evidence for attachment among early modern English men and women to the Prayer Book rites which marked the end, as well as the beginning, of a human life can also be found. Post-Reformation parishioners wanted their dead buried properly, reverently and with the rites authorized by the Church of England. This included the tolling of the passing bell which, although not mentioned in the rubrics of the Prayer Book, was allowed by bishops' visitation articles. Meeting the corpse at the churchyard gate and reading the authorized prayers, or 'sentences', while processing to the gravesite was a popular custom. One

disgruntled group of laity complained of their minister in 1630 that he did not meet the corpse, 'nor reade the usual prayers and service . . . when you went to accompany the same to the grave, but only carried the service booke under your arme'. There is evidence too that the laity felt strongly that the burial service should be conducted only by a person in holy orders and objected to parish clerks undertaking that office. This is an interesting reversal of the 'clericalism' of Puritan clergy, mentioned above, who wished to reserve baptism solely for those in holy orders in order to keep control over the sacrament. With Christian burial, in order to distance the minister from any popish associations suggesting that such rites benefited the departed in any way, some of the godly clergy delegated funerals to lay clerks. Many parishioners in the period, however, took the view that the church's funeral rite was best undertaken by an ordained minister and not a 'mere layman', as one group of parishioners complained to their bishop in 1602. Indeed, the Prayer Book explicitly directs that the burial service should be conducted by a priest. The same group of parishioners literally carried the body of one of their deceased neighbours back and forth several times from the church, to the church stile, to the grave in an attempt to force their minister to conduct the rite reverently and in accordance with the Prayer Book.

The culture of medieval death and the impact of its destruction on popular beliefs and spirituality has been powerfully described in *The Stripping of the Altars*. For Eamon Duffy, the greatest moment of devotional and theological discontinuity was not that many popular rituals were simplified or abandoned, or even that the service was now conducted entirely in the vernacular, but that in the Reformed rite the dead person was now only spoken *about*, never *to*. The deceased's body is committed to the ground 'in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life, through our Lord Jesus Christ'. As the Reformation progressed under Elizabeth, funerals became a service for the benefit of the living: to comfort loss, to confront mortality, to acknowledge God's sovereignty over life and death. The dead are truly 'departed'. As Cranmer's biographer, Diarmaid MacCulloch, has expressed it, the 'Church had surrendered its power over death back to the Lord of life and death in heaven, a move of perfect theological consistency' (Duffy, 473–75; MacCulloch, 509).

This theologically consistent move, however, did not, as will be illustrated below, end the widespread desire for decently and reverently conducted funerals – whatever the sensitivities there were around the suggestion that burial ceremonies benefited the dead person in *any way*. We know from early modern wills that testators left money for their relatives and neighbours 'to make merry withal' after their burial. Spouses left instructions in their wills of their desire to be buried with their partner. After the Reformation, as before, funerals were occasions of almsgiving, eating, and drinking, of community, as well as an essential part of grieving.

Funerals also nicely illustrate a more general theme about the reception of the Prayer Book at the parish level in the period from 1559 to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642. However 'asset stripped' Christian burial according to the Book of Common Prayer appears compared to its medieval predecessor, to preciser Protestants it still gave the laity too much that was bad for them. The *Directory for the Public Worship of God*, the authorized replacement for the Prayer Book in the 1640s and 1650s, expressed this view when it ordered that the body of the deceased 'upon the day of Burial, be decently attended from the house . . . for public Burial, and there immediately interred, without any Ceremony'. Ceremonies, the *Directory* concluded, 'are in no way beneficial to the dead . . . and have proved many ways hurtful to the living'. The authors of the *Directory* were reflecting on the rites of the Prayer Book and its customs, not medieval practice (*see* 'The *Directory* on Baptism and Burial').

Theologically, Prayer Book burial was offensive to the godly because it implied that whoever was being buried was one of 'the elect', that is, 'saved'. Such inclusivity offended those for whom the gate to the kingdom of heaven was not broad, but narrow. As the separatist Henry Barrow complained: 'The priest then pronounceth, that Almighty God hath taken the soule of that their brother or sister unto him, be he heretick, witch, [or] conjurer,

The *Directory* on Baptism and Burial

The 'Ordinance for taking away the Book of Common Prayer, and for establishing and putting into execution of the Directory for the Public Worship of God' was passed by both houses of Parliament in January 1645. The *Directory* contained almost no set forms of service; instead, it gave general instructions such as these.

Of Baptism. Baptism, as it is not unnecessarily to be delayed, so, it is not to be administered in any case by any private person, but by a Minister of Christ, called to the Steward of the Mysteries of God. Nor is it to be administered in private places, or privately, but in the place of Public Worship, and in the face of the Congregation . . . and not in the places where Fonts in the time Popery were unfitly and superstitiously placed. . . .

Concerning the Burial of the Dead. When any person departeth this life, let the dead body, upon the day of Burial, be decently attended from the house to the place appointed for public Burial, and there immediately interred, without any Ceremony. And because the customs of kneeling down, and prayer by, or towards the dead Corpse, and other such usages, in the place where it lies, before it be carried to Burials, are Superstitious: and for that, praying, reading, and singing both in going to, and at the Grave have been grossly abused; are no way beneficial to the dead, and have proved many ways hurtful to the living, therefore such things be laid aside. . . . That this shall not extend to deny any civil respects or deferences at the Burial, suitable to the rank and condition of the party deceased whiles he was living.

and . . . [that God desires] to meet him with joy in the resurrection.' In actual practice, Puritan commentators noted with distaste, people did not manifest indifference to lawful and customary funeral rites, but rather too much enthusiasm. Clearly the Reformation did reconfigure the community of the living and the dead, but it did not abolish it. The evidence of care for reverently conducted burials which we see at the grass-roots confirms Richard Hooker's conviction that this rite of passage was in part 'to show that love toward the party deceased which nature requireth' (*The Lawes*, V.lxxv.2).

Laudianism

By the end of James's reign (1625), the Church of England enjoyed a delicate, but real, degree of stability. But it was not only the godly who saw the state of affairs as at best a golden mediocrity rather than a golden mean. A new generation of churchmen, epitomized by William Laud (who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633), achieved ascendancy during the eleven years that Charles I ruled without the troublesome interference of Parliament (1629–1640). They sought to recast the established church in a form that would seem to many moderate and conforming Protestants to be as radical as the direction which the godly wished it to take. Whereas many Puritans thought the Reformation in England had never really got out of its swaddling bands, Laud and his colleagues thought rather it had gone too far. They sought a 'Beauty of Holiness' counter-revolution, wishing to restore what they saw as lost majesty in worship and lost dignity for the sacerdotal priesthood. Some of these churchmen were associated with a position on free will known as Arminianism, a belief that was highly suspect in a church which enjoyed a widespread belief in a rather laid-back form of Predestinarianism.

But far more controversial, and something that had the potential to touch the devotional life of every parishioner in England, was their 'high church' liturgical agenda: chiefly and significantly the removal of the holy table from its freestanding position (*see* Illustration 6, p. 83) in the choir or at the head of the main aisle back to the east end, placed on steps and railed about–a clear separation of sacred space and the sacerdotal priesthood from the laity in the nave. Not atypically and with the Laudian program clearly in mind, petitioners from Bedfordshire to Parliament in 1641 complained that 'the innovations lately obstruded upon our Church wee apprehended as greate and insupportable grievances'. But lest there was

any confusion about their theological stance, the petitioners made it clear to both Houses of Parliament:

> wee conceive it our duty . . . to manifest our affections to the booke of Comon Prayer . . . wee consider that our forme of Divine Service expressed in the booke of Comon prayer was with such care and sinceritie refined from the drosse of Romish intermixtures, with soe much pietie reduced to its present puritie, accordinge to the practise of the primitive times, that it hath endured the test . . . and obtained generall applause and approbation.

Clearly to these English Christians, poised on the eve of a tragic civil war, the Church of England was not awash with 'popish' remnants and had been well served by its lawful liturgy. The Laudian agenda was as unpopular with Prayer Book Protestants as with Puritans, condemned as innovation and seen as undermining the worship of Common Prayer (Maltby, 'Petitions', 152–55; *Prayer Book and People*, chap. 3).

Civil War and Interregnum (1642–1660)

The portrait painted thus far of a reasonably successful, but clearly not universal, inculcation of the reformed liturgy in the parishes of England is in many ways best contrasted against the period of violence and upheaval caused by the civil wars and rebellions which engulfed the British Isles from 1638 into the 1650s. It is sobering to remember that casualties attributed to the conflict between the King and Parliament resulted in roughly one hundred eighty thousand war-related fatalities in England alone. Proportional to the population, this is a higher rate of war-related mortality than England experienced in the First World War (3.6 per cent to 2.6 per cent). Changes in historical fashion have put religion back in the centre of the narrative of these two cataclysmic decades for Charles's three kingdoms. This is true not only of the godly's theological reasons for making war on their king but also the importance in creating a Royalist party placed on the future of the Church of England as defined and shaped by the Elizabethan Settlement. Despite violent opposition to the Prayer Book in the West Country a century before, according to one Cornish Restoration commentator, it was said that 'zeale for the stablished liturgie' rather than for the King was what made his county so staunchly Royalist. Many who supported the King were deeply discontented by the direction the church had taken under Archbishop Laud, and their support of Charles had much to do with their hopes of returning the Church of England to what they perceived as its Elizabethan and Jacobean purity: conformity to the Prayer Book and a 'non-prelatical' exercise of episcopal government. In distant colonial Virginia in the early 1650s, Cromwell's commissioners had to concede permission to the colonists for the continued use of the Prayer Book as part of the terms of surrender, provided they omitted the prayers for

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Sir Thomas Browne on Ceremonies

Browne (1605–1682) is best known for his *Religio Medici,* published in 1643, which sets out his reconciliation of belief in scripture with empirical studies of natural history.

I am, I confess, naturally inclined to that which misguided zeal terms superstition; my common conversation I do acknowledge austere, my behaviour full of rigour, sometimes not without morosity; yet at my devotion I love to use the civility of my knee, my hat, and hands, with all those outward and sensible motions which may express or promote my invisible devotion.

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the monarch and royal family (*see* Maltby, *Prayer Book and People,* chaps 3 and 4; 'Suffering and Surviving').

For many of the hotter sort of Protestants, however, the civil wars of the 1640s gave England its opportunity for a 'second reformation'. Or rather, from their point of view, England's church was finally getting the proper Reformation that Elizabeth I, perhaps to appease her Roman Catholic subjects, perhaps through her own lack of godly zeal, had stymied. During this period, Parliament launched a thorough, though not always systematic, attack on the most distinctive features of the church of the Elizabethan Settlement: episcopal government, diocesan organization, cathedrals, the liturgical calendar, and most importantly of all, the Book of Common Prayer. The staffing implications for parochial ministry were also serious: it is estimated that anywhere between two and three thousand clergy were ejected from their livings–perhaps as much as twenty-five per cent in some regions–a figure which puts the ejections of around one thousand clergy who refused to conform in 1662 into some perspective. But even a figure of between two and three thousand ejections is still a minority of the jobbing clergy. And some pluralist ministers, holding multiple benefices, found themselves ejected from their living in one county but safely still in possession of another in a friendlier locality. There was considerable regional variation and the impact was often mitigated by the sympathies of the local gentry.

As with the upheavals a century earlier, more clergy stayed in their posts than were ejected, and we need to remember the remarkable *continuity* of personnel during these periods of disruption. The Parliamentary and Interregnum governments had the same problem Elizabethan and early Stuart bishops did: if they dismissed all who did not conform, they simply could not man the parochial system. Richard Baxter noted that Parliament had purged the ministry, casting out 'the grosser sort of insufficient and scandalous ones . . . and some few . . . that had assisted in the wars against Parliament, or set up bowing to altars' but it had 'left in near one half the ministers, that were not good enough to do much service, nor bad enough to be cast out as utterly intolerable' (cited in Spurr, 4).

From 1645 onwards, it became illegal to use the Prayer Book. Cranmer's form of *set* prayers was replaced not by a new liturgy but by *A Directory for the Public Worship of God*, which is best understood as a 'rubric book' or set of stage directions without the words of the play (*see* Spinks, 'Elizabeth to Charles', p. 51). The evidence on the ground is that the *Directory* did not have anything like the impact that the Prayer Book had. It rarely appears as an outgoing expense in parochial churchwardens' accounts and there are remarkably few contemporary accounts of its actual use. There is much more evidence of clandestine and not so clandestine use of the banned Book of Common Prayer during this period than there is for the use of the *Directory*.

Sacraments and Holy Days

The suppression of the episcopal Church of England and its liturgy did not mean the end of church services or the administration of Christian sacraments. But to find services performed in accordance with the rites and ceremonies of the 'old church' could at times be difficult, even dangerous. The famous diarist John Evelyn attended a twice-transgressing act of worship in 1657: a Communion service according the Book of Common Prayer in observance of Christmas Day. The liturgy was interrupted by soldiers who threatened the communicants at musket point. Evelyn was interrogated as to why 'contrarie to an Ordinance made that none should any longer observe the superstitious time of the Nativity (so esteemed by them) I durst offend'. The wrongdoing was compounded by the use of the Prayer Book 'which they told me was but the Masse in English'. Examples of the public use of the Prayer Book can be found from around the country throughout the period (Morrill, 164–68).

The *public* use of the Prayer Book in churches clearly continued after 1645, sometimes

more discreetly than at others, with local and regional variations often dependent more on the views of the local gentry and magistrates than of the clergy, or on pressure from Westminster. George Bull and John Hacket, two priests who were to become bishops after the Restoration, each memorized the baptismal and funeral services respectively so that they would appear to be praying extempore. At the end of the Interregnum, when Hacket was conducting the funeral of a particularly zealous Puritan, the local godly were unaware that it was the 'poor contemptible Book of Common Prayer' they were commending as they praised Hacket's funeral prayers, 'professing that they never heard a more suitable exhortation, or a more edifying exercise even from the very best and most precious men of their own persuasion'. There was general dismay when it was revealed that the whole service had been taken from the Prayer Book.

Before the Civil War, there is evidence that the Prayer Book was used in the household as well as in the public sphere.With the advent of godly rule, the liturgy was at times perforce used in the home. John Evelyn's children were baptized privately at home, not because they were ill but to secure them the sacrament according to the Prayer Book rite. Evelyn's wife was also 'churched' at home using the Book of Common Prayer.

England's second Reformation in the 1640s and 1650s included an attack on the reformed Christian calendar. Observance of holy days and saints' days was prohibited. The suppression of Christmas was especially unpopular, and in Canterbury a mob attacked the shopkeepers who opened for business on Christmas Day in 1647. The popularity of Christmas was not only due to the general festivities associated with it, but at the more theological level for the incarnational emphasis it brought to Christian soteriology. One might speculate as well that the Virgin Mary's prominence in the accounts of the nativity of Jesus also fuelled Puritan hostility to yet another popish remnant. Other important days in the Christian calendar, such as Easter and Whitsun, were banned as well. Nonetheless, there is local evidence from parish records that major festivals continued to be marked in some places. Holy days were offensive to some because they detracted from the proper preeminence of Sunday, but some godly thinkers were more nuanced. The Presbyterian Richard Baxter, for example, while disapproving of Christmas on historical grounds, believed that there was strong evidence that the primitive Christians celebrated Easter and commended its observance by a celebration of the Lord's Supper.

It might be tempting at this point to compare this survivalist Prayer Book Protestantism with Roman Catholic recusancy: an underground church keeping the fires of the true faith burning. Although there were clergy and laity, like Gilbert Sheldon (later Archbishop of Canterbury), who would have nothing to do with the Cromwellian church, it would seem that most Prayer Book loyalists found ways of coping with the official version of Interregnum Christianity, supplementing their devotional diet with illegal Prayer Book services–sometimes quite openly, sometimes in the greater security of the household. There was little 'unchurching' of their Protestant ecclesiastical opponents. Ironically, the position of Prayer Book loyalists in this period is most like the non-separating Puritans of the Elizabethan and early Stuart church.

Conclusion

Historical evidence suggests that, a generation or so into Elizabeth's reign, the English Prayer Book had 'embedded' itself in lay consciousness in a way not dissimilar to the popular liturgical practices of the fifteenth century described by Eamon Duffy. It is instructive to remember how quickly new religious practices can become 'traditions'.

One of the tensions of the pre–Civil War church was its combination of a predestinarian theology of salvation with a liturgy that was, to the godly at least, simply *too* inclusive. The Prayer Book both implicitly and explicitly suggested that whoever was being buried was one of the elect; whoever was being baptized was, simply, regenerate. The liturgy needs to

be seen in the context of an established and national church in which everyone was a member and everyone was expected to attend and conform. This would change in the violent and cataclysmic upheavals of the 1640s and 1650s, in which there would emerge a kind of religious free market, but not for 'popery' or 'prelacy', as Prayer Book loyalism was described.

In the period following Elizabeth's accession, the Book of Common Prayer, far more than preaching, shaped the religious sensibilities of a people. To its detractors, the Prayer Book provided too much continuity with England's medieval and 'popish' past. However, it was the experience of suppression which successfully turned Common Prayer into an undisputed identifier of an emerging Anglican self-consciousness. A liturgy which was composed to serve 'at all times and in all places' would become after 1660 a way of distinguishing oneself from dissenting neighbours.

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The Prayer Book and the Parish Church: From the Restoration to the Oxford Movement

Jeremy Gregory

The period from 1660 to the mid-1830s can claim to be the golden age of the Book of Common Prayer. During this time it shaped English religious and social life in ways which it had not done before and has not done since. Certainly before the Civil War there was strong affection for the Prayer Book among all social groups and in various regions of the country, and the fact that it continued to be used in some places even when it was banned shows the depth of its appeal. Still, not all Church of England services had followed the Prayer Book, despite the 1559 Act of Uniformity, and bishops had been able to ordain clergy without requiring them to agree to use it. But in March 1662, after the abortive Savoy Conference that attempted to reconcile the 1559 Prayer Book with Puritan objections, Convocation issued a revised version, which would remain unaltered until 1928. In May 1662 another Act of Uniformity was given royal assent, and the revised Prayer Book became the unequivocal badge of Anglican churchmanship.

From then on all Church of England services had to adopt the forms set out in what was often known simply as 'the Liturgy'. The act also required clergy to read publicly from and declare their 'unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything' in this book by 24 August (St Bartholomew's Day), and demanded that in future all those wanting to be ordained into the Church of England had to subscribe to it, and that those clergy who had not been episcopally ordained be re-ordained. As a consequence, nearly a thousand clergy were ejected from their livings, and the issue of loyalty to the Prayer Book became a crucial division between Anglicans and Nonconformists. After 1830, as the church itself broke up into more clearly defined parties and divisions (high church, broad church, and evangelical), the Book of Common Prayer was still crucial for shaping the structures of English religious life, but its role in defining the essence of Anglicanism was threatened by competing indicators of orthodoxy such as the Thirty-nine Articles, the church fathers, or historical tradition. After that time Anglican services increasingly augmented, or departed from, the Prayer Book prescriptions. But during what has been called the 'long eighteenth century', the Book of Common Prayer effectively dictated the liturgical offerings of the Anglican Church.

The Establishment of Standard Worship

Much is known about the theological and religious content of the 1662 Prayer Book, about the unsuccessful attempts at the Restoration to accommodate Puritan misgivings, about the efforts in 1689–1690 to develop a comprehensive liturgy which would win back Nonconformists, and about the Unitarian campaigns of the 1770s to relax subscription to the Prayer Book and the Thirty-nine Articles. Less is known about how the Prayer Book was used week by week, what it meant to English parishioners, and the part it played in their lives. It has been argued – by Nonconformists in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and later by Evangelicals and Tractarians – that the Book of Common Prayer, particularly as it was

used in the eighteenth century, had a negative effect on worship. Its formulaic and prescriptive nature supposedly strait-jacketed religious devotion and, as witnessed by Hogarth's satirical print *The Sleeping Congregation* (1736), made services dull, lifeless, and boring (*see* Illustration 9). According to a number of accounts, this alienated some parishioners from the church, and helps to explain the growth of religious groups which stood outside it, such as Methodism. But how was the Prayer Book used in the eighteenth century, and what effect did it have on English religious and social life?

The contents and structure of the classical 1662 Book of Common Prayer are discussed elsewhere (*see* Alexander, 'Shape', pp. 64–72). Its new preface, written by Robert Sanderson, later bishop of Lincoln, extolled the church's position as a *via media* 'between the two extremes of too much stiffness in refusing and of too much easiness in admitting any variation', and reminded the reader 'of the late unhappy confusions' and 'the vain attempts and impetuous assaults made against it, by such men as are given to change', who were more concerned with their 'own private fancies than the public good'. The rhetoric here is dominated by the memory of the Civil War and the ways in which religious diversity and experimentation seemed to lead to political and social anarchy, which in itself became a justification for having a set liturgy.

Very few changes were introduced in 1662. In addition to the daily services and Holy Communion, the revised book contained a separate baptism service 'for those of riper years', which was a response to the Anabaptist movement and perhaps also to the new colonial mission situation. It also included prayers for those at sea, reflecting the growth of England as a maritime power, and special forms of prayer for certain national occasions. From 1682, printed editions also contained the Thirty-nine Articles and a table of kindred and affinity (which decreed whom one could not marry). Eighteenth-century Prayer Books frequently had a metrical version of the Psalms by Nahum Tate (the poet laureate) and Nicholas Brady (a royal chaplain), with suggestions for tunes, and by the early nineteenth century, hymns by Thomas Ken and Charles Wesley had been added. Despite the Prayer Book's reputation for rigidity, the ways in which additional devotional material was incorporated say something about its flexibility and the way in which it could respond to new trends and developments in worship.

In late 1662, however, when its use had become mandatory, many parishes did not even have a Prayer Book, let alone the items needed for the proper performance of its services–surplices, communion cloths, and silver. If parish churches did not possess a copy, they could be fined £3 a month under the Act of Uniformity. When they did so, it was likely that each parish would have only one or at the most two copies: one for the incumbent, one for the clerk. Some members of the congregation might well have brought their own copies with them to church; others would have had to rely on memory. Visitation returns from the 1660s to 1680s show the sometimes very slow progress of supplying the equipment necessary for Prayer Book worship. Especially before the Toleration Act of 1689, there was often a large measure of accommodation with nonconformity: clergy may themselves have had Nonconformist sympathies, as did Isaac Archer, a Norfolk incumbent who admitted that although he used the Prayer Book for baptism he did not make the sign of the cross. In the Restoration period, when the service may have been unfamiliar and when parishioners may have had more ideological reasons for showing their disapproval, we have evidence of parishioners laughing, whispering, and even urinating during services, and mocking the liturgy. Given the disruptions of the Civil War, and the Nonconformist tendencies of some parishioners and clergy, it is perhaps not surprising that Bishop Trelawney of Bristol found in 1686 that ministers neglected religious instruction, agreed to private 'christenings', and did not visit the sick at home. He comments as well on their 'confused and irregular way of reading the prayers . . . either through their own dissatisfaction at them, or fear of others dissuaded with them' (Spurr, 206; Spaeth, *Danger,* 17).

Deviation from the Prayer Book might not, of course, reflect antipathy so much as local



9. 'The Sleeping Congregation'
William Hogarth's painting has become well known through engravings made in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They show a bewigged clergyman reading the text 'Come unto me all ye that labour & are heavy laden' to an oblivious congregation. Below the hour-glass, which is nearly empty, the inscription on the side of the pulpit adds a comment from Galatians: 'I am afraid of you lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain.' The clerk at the reading-desk appears to be more interested in the parishioner on his left, who has dozed off with her Prayer Book open at the service of Matrimony.

custom, as congregations developed their own practices about seating, wearing hats, singing in churches, and choosing the psalm. In the 1680s, for example, it was the habit in one Suffolk parish that women should not sing, and if they did they would be stared at. In the 1720s a new curate in a Wiltshire parish was perturbed when his parishioners sang during a burial service. But by the start of the eighteenth century, visitation returns indicate that some of the defects noted in the Restoration period had been put right and services were conducted

in a more orderly and dignified fashion. While some clergymen saw any departure from the prescribed service as a threat to their position, others were more accommodating. In the mid-eighteenth century William Cole, the rector of Blecheley in Buckinghamshire, recognized the importance of adapting to the demands of his congregation: 'There is no parlying with your Parishioners on any point of Doctrine or Discipline: for if you are rigid, they will either abstain from all Ordinances, or go over to the Dissenters' (*Blecheley Diary*, 8–9)–indicating that the ways in which the Prayer Book was used depended on a negotiation between clerical desires and lay wishes.

In some remote areas of the country, exact conformity to the rubrics might still be in question even towards the end of the period. John Sharp, archdeacon of Northumberland in the second half of the eighteenth century, for instance, told his congregations–who lived close to Scottish Presbyterians–about the need to conform outwardly to the Anglican liturgy; to kneel at prayers; and to stand when the psalms were sung: 'Though we live so far North, yet don't let us take the pattern of our Behaviour at Publick Prayers from the churches across the border. But rather (if we are not ashamed of our religion), let us shew ourselves True members of the Church of England by performing her Rules and Doctrines' (in Gregory and Chamberlain, 224). We should not, then, expect that even conformity to the church manifested itself in completely standardized or uniform services throughout the country. Nevertheless, despite local divergence, there was agreement on the broad outline and conduct of church services. Those travelling from the south would have seen many variations in the north (and vice versa), but they would still have been able to recognize the parish church as belonging to the Church of England.

The Prayer Book in Use

One way of exploring the social life of the Prayer Book after 1660 is to see how often its services were performed and how regularly they were attended. Not surprisingly, the most frequently used Prayer Book services in the eighteenth century were those for Morning and Evening Prayer (referred to then as 'Divine Service'). The Prayer Book ideal was that clergy should say Morning and Evening Prayer daily (privately or publicly), and that these services should be performed in church every Sunday and on holy days, with additional weekday prayers. In theory Divine Service could be performed seven hundred and thirty times a year in each church (twice every day), although Donald Spaeth has suggested that a more realistic theoretical high would be up to two hundred times a year in a parish church: twice every Sunday, in addition to thirty feast and holy days, three solemn days, and sixteen eves of holy days on which it might also be performed (Spaeth, 'Prayer', 139). The usual 10 A.M. Sunday service included Morning Prayer, the Litany, and the Communion service–with a sermon–through the Prayer for the Church Militant (the Ante-Communion), all of which could take up to three hours. The Evening Service, normally at 3 P.M., frequently included an examination of children on the Catechism, and perhaps a lecture or another sermon. The clergyman would be at the church the whole time, perhaps eating lunch in the vestry (Russell, 54).

Diocesan and local archives show that in all parts of the country Sunday services were habitually performed, although there seems to have been a striking regional variation: parishes in the north of England were most likely to have two services a Sunday, whereas parishes in the south (particularly rural ones) tended to have just one. It did not mean, however, that parishioners in the south had no opportunity of attending twice on a Sunday; the compact size of southern parishes meant that parishioners could attend their own parish church once, and go to a neighbouring one for the other service, with clergy operating an unofficial rota. Some bishops, however, insisted on two services a Sunday, reminding their clergy that this was 'full duty' not 'double duty', and a number of bishops campaigned to increase the number of services. In other instances parishes might have two Sunday services for much of the year, but just one during the winter months. The rector of Wimbledon, for

example, explained in 1758: 'The reason of there not being service in the afternoon during the Winter is that that the morning service is seldom over till near one o'clock, and the houses being at a considerable distance off from the church, the families could not dine and return to church before it was dark' (Ward, *Hampshire*, 170).

Visitation returns and other sources indicate that the majority of parishioners regularly attended at least one Sunday service and sometimes asked for two services so they could choose which one worked best for their agricultural routine. Lay observance therefore balanced not only Prayer Book prescriptions and local custom but also the practicalities of work. Nonetheless some clergy thought that despite the 1662 Act of Uniformity, which required people to go to their parish church on a Sunday, the 1689 Toleration Act, by permitting parishioners to go to a Nonconformist meeting, had in effect given parishioners a license not to attend any church at all. Clergy frequently complained that some of their parishioners preferred the rival attractions of the alehouse to church, though the alehouses were not supposed to open during service times. On the other hand, some clergy noted that their parishioners were more likely to attend when the gentry in the parish were present.

It is also clear that eighteenth-century parishioners much preferred to attend a Sunday service with a sermon and found a service without preaching tedious. This can be seen in the internal layout and decoration of eighteenth-century churches, where even in older churches new three-decker pulpits dominated the sight-lines, in some cases virtually obscuring the altar, and new-built churches, especially those in London designed by fashionable architects such as Wren and Hawksmoor, were effectively preaching boxes. The liking for sermons was evident from the Restoration period. In 1670, for example, the curate of Weltham, Suffolk, preached an extra sermon on a Sunday afternoon, and thereby became unpopular with the local clergy who accused him of poaching their parishioners (Spurr, 205). Although some historians have seen a distinction between Prayer Book piety and a godly preaching ministry (Seaver, *Puritan*), after the Restoration preaching was incorporated into Anglican practice. Many lay people were quite discerning; they took notes and commented on a preacher's delivery (Jacob, 64; Spurr, 366.) Indeed 'sermon-gadding', once a hallmark of Puritan religiosity, became integral to Georgian piety, and in London a distinguished speaker could draw a congregation from all over the city.

Apart from the regular Sunday services, weekday services were more frequently held in towns than in rural areas, where working schedules made it virtually impossible to get a congregation (Ward, *Hampshire*, 159). Outside cathedral and collegiate churches, they were often restricted to Wednesdays and Fridays, when the Litany was appointed, and sometimes just to Lent, while in some parishes there was a difference between summer and winter months. The visitation returns for the diocese of York in 1743 show that of the 836 parishes, 253 (thirty per cent) had some form of weekday service; 80 had services on holy days, Wednesdays, and Fridays; and 24 had daily prayers (Ollard and Walker, xv). Many major urban centres recorded a high number of weekday services. Already by the 1680s, despite the upheavals of the Civil War and Interregnum, nearly thirty London parishes had daily prayers (Spurr, 359). There is also evidence that the urban laity were willing to pay for extra services, which is testimony to the affection in which the Prayer Book could be held. At St Peter's Mancroft, in Norwich, for example, beginning in 1680, a subscription was raised to pay a minister to read Morning and Evening Prayer daily (Jacob, 61). But it was generally harder to persuade members of the laity to observe holy days. In the Restoration period this may well have been a reflection of Puritan sensitivities, which saw holy days as popish remnants, as well as the practical difficulties of persuading people to take time off work.

Besides attendance at Morning and Evening Prayer, the Prayer Book also stipulated that parishioners should receive communion at least three times a year and always at Easter. Most southern rural parishes offered Communion services three or four times a year, and in some parishes these were staggered over two weeks to give more parishioners an opportunity to attend. By the late eighteenth century parishes in the industrializing north were

regularly offering between five and nine celebrations a year, while in towns a monthly sacrament was common. In 1662 Bishop Henchman of Salisbury recommended that Communion should be celebrated in all parishes in his diocese every month, and some clergy–including William Beveridge, the author of one of the most highly regarded defences of the Prayer Book–felt that a weekly sacrament was the ideal. Parish clergy generally, however, concurred that it was difficult to persuade their parishioners to take the sacrament more frequently (Smith, 51; Spaeth, *Danger,* 181).

A conventional view of Prayer Book use in the eighteenth century is that in stressing the importance of 'the Word' in sermons and the frequent readings from the Bible, the church was downplaying the significance of Holy Communion, and that the centrality of the sacrament to Anglican worship was only revived under the influence of the Oxford Movement. But we should be wary of suggesting that the Hanoverian church did not take Holy Communion seriously. Throughout this period clergy of all shades of churchmanship tried to increase lay reception of communion, and it may be that parishioners' reluctance reflected not indifference but rather their high regard for the service. The rubrics stressed the necessity of being well-prepared, and in the first exhortation parishioners were told to 'examine your lives and conversation' and warned of the dangerous consequences of taking the sacrament unworthily: 'For then we are guilty of the Body and Blood of Christ our Saviour; we eat and drink our own damnation.' In publications and preparatory sermons, clergy reiterated the injunctions of preparation, the need to live a good life, and self-examination. George Berkeley, son of the philosopher-bishop and vice-dean of Canterbury Cathedral, warned his parishioners of the need to come to communion properly primed: 'as (in respect to our natural food) it will as infallibly destroy anyone of you to abstain from all food as to eat poison, so (in this case) it will be equally fatal to you, never to receive the Holy Communion as to come to it unprepared' (Berkeley, 89–90).

Many parishioners took these pronouncements to heart, perhaps in quasi-superstitious ways. In 1741 Thomas Secker, bishop of Oxford and future Archbishop of Canterbury, noted that 'some imagine the sacrament belongs only to persons of advanced years or great leisure, or high attainment in religion, and it is a very dangerous thing for common persons to venture on' (Secker, 60). In 1783 the incumbent of Winterbourne Monkton in Wiltshire reported that many of his parishioners 'were deterred from communicating under a notion that they thereby bound themselves to lead a better and more Christian life than they are otherwise obliged to do under a heavier and more severe punishment hereafter' (Ransome, 238). According to the Prayer Book, those wanting to take communion were required to give their names to the parish minister some time beforehand; the incumbent was supposed to tell 'open and notorious evil livers' not to come unless they amended their 'naughty life', and if they had fallen out with other members of the parish community, they were to be reconciled with their neighbours before they could receive. In this the 1662 Book of Common Prayer saw no difference between the sacred and the secular, and in many ways continued the tradition of medieval worship where the Mass had been as much a social as a spiritual institution. But how far this aspect of 'primitive' discipline was in practice dying out is another matter. In larger urban parishes this system would have been almost impossible to administer, and by the 1720s John Johnson of Cranbrook in Kent, a high churchman, suggested that the practice of turning members of the congregation away rarely happened, and he felt it ought to be revived (Gregory, *Restoration,* 268). William Taswell, the vicar of Newington, Surrey, admitted in 1771 that 'one or two of our parishioners have sent in their names beforehand; but this is very seldom done. I never refused that sacrament to anyone that offered to receive it' (Ward, *Surrey,* 155).

In actual fact there was a wide variation in the number of parishioners who received communion. In the late seventeenth century some parishes, such as Goodnestone in Kent and Clayworth in Nottinghamshire, attracted over ninety per cent of possible communicants, leading some social historians to see these as examples of the integrated organic com-

munities supposedly typical of pre-industrial England (Laslett, 74; Laslett and Harrison, 162–71). But in other parishes a far smaller proportion of communicants took the sacrament, and in many communities only a minority actually received while the rest simply watched. In early eighteenth century Newington, the vicar reckoned that the usual number of communicants was fifty-two (about five per cent) out of at least a thousand who could theoretically have received (Ward, *Surrey*, 155). The distinction between those who received and those who did not was invariably reported to be along social lines. In the Wiltshire parish of Pewsey in the late seventeenth century, the richer members of the parish community were three times more likely to take the sacrament than the poorer ones (Spaeth, 'Prayer?', 139). In late eighteenth-century Lancashire, too, there were low levels of popular involvement. Some clergy reported that those who stayed away from the sacrament said they did not have the proper clothes, illustrating that taking communion was perceived to be a 'social event' (Smith, 51). It may be that the reception of Holy Communion was identified with the parish elite. Poorer parishioners may also have stayed away from Communion because the offertory, as prescribed by the Prayer Book, was given away as alms to the poor, often distributed after the service. That may have given rise to a popular perception that those who received should have been donors rather than recipients of charity.

But if the general picture is of lay reluctance to communicate, this should not obscure evidence of lay eagerness to receive. Edmund Harrold, the Manchester wig-maker, is an example of lay commitment. His diary shows that he prepared intensively and usually took communion on the first Sunday of the month and on holy days. His entry for 8 June 1712 records that he would have liked to receive more often: 'This being Whit Sunday, I had th't to had stay'd [for the] sacrament, and had but for this reason. My wife wo'ld have said þt I was over presumtuous, and wo'd wonder how I durst receive weekly. Indeed, I know its my duty as oft as þe church provides, to come, and it was not for any irregularity in liveing this week or disorder of mind, but to fear of giving offence to my weak wife þt I absented myself. So I sinned for peace' (Horner, *Diary*).

The Prayer Book in Wider Social Contexts

In addition to the church's regular services, the Prayer Book also provided set forms for critical rites of passage (baptism, marriage, burial, and churchings), so that it was used at the most significant events in an individual's life. Parishioners became members of the wider community by joining in ceremonies and in associated revels such as christening and wedding dinners. Prayer Book services thus helped to construct and reinforce communities and social networks as well as shape key occasions within the life of the parish community. Dr Claver Morris recorded on 27 October 1709, 'My Son was at Evening Service Baptised in the Cathedral service at Wells. . . . I had a great company of Men and Women at mine House (especially Men) and some of them stayed with me until 4 O'clock next morning' (Hobhouse, 75). To highlight the communal nature of baptisms, churchwardens on occasion helped pay for the post-baptism celebrations. Baptisms, weddings, and churchings were customarily included in the Sunday services (burials tended to be separate); in small villages there would be few in the course of a year, but in urban parishes the correspondingly larger number of births and marriages must have made services very long. The wider social function of these events ensured that those who would otherwise go to weekly Nonconformist meetings used the church service for some, if not all, of these rites of passage. Until the Civil Marriages Act of 1837, Nonconformists were required to be married in church, and they might well attend Church of England funerals and christenings. Some parish registers also imply that all inhabitants, including dissenters, were buried and baptized in the parish church, so the Prayer Book impinged even on the lives of Nonconformists. This gave rise to tension, particularly during the Restoration, when relations between Anglicans and dissenters were particularly difficult.

The Prayer Book stipulated that baptism should take place in church on the first or second Sunday after birth. But members of the gentry and aristocracy often wanted the service held in their own homes, and this led to tension between the clergy and the parish elite. Charles Wheatly, the author of *The Church of England Man's Companion*, lamented in 1713: 'Ministers have been, in a manner to avoid the greater mischief of separation, necessitated to comply with the obstinacy of the greater and more powerful of their Parishioners, who for their Ease or Humour, or for the convenience of a more pompous Christening, will either have their children baptized at home by their own minister, or if he refuses will get some other to do it; which is very irregular.' At Burstow, Surrey, the incumbent reported in 1717, 'I have been used a little rudely sometimes for not complying with them in that particular, as some of my neighbours do' (Ward, *Surrey,* 153).

One way that the baptism service connected the individual to the wider social community was by insisting on godparents, a practice objected to by some Nonconformists on theological grounds. The role of godparents in eighteenth-century social networks is a topic on which more research is needed, but it is clear that they could have a crucial part to play in a child's life, in both spiritual and material senses. Some clergy seem to have taken it upon themselves to vet the potential godparents. In the late seventeenth century, William Bradford, the vicar of Turners Puddle, would not baptize a child whose godparents had not taken communion, since 'it was against the Canons of the Church', but it is unlikely that clergy frequently did this (Spaeth, *Danger,* 202). The new baptism service 'for those of Riper Years', which demanded that the candidate should be confirmed as soon as possible after the service, was another way in which the Prayer Book connected the church to the wider world, since this was a way to bring in those raised in a Nonconformist tradition. In 1725 a baptistery was built in Cranbrook church so that candidates could be 'fully dipped', probably because Kent had been a centre of Baptist activity, but some high churchmen also favoured the total immersion of children as a revival of primitive practice.

Whether or not, as historians have debated, this period witnessed the rise of affective individualism and the companionate marriage, the Prayer Book service for the solemnization of matrimony did shape much eighteenth-century thinking on marriage. The requirement that banns should be published on three Sundays before the marriage took place, to allow any objections to be voiced, illustrates the Prayer Book view of marriage as a community concern. Within the marriage service the couple vowed 'to have and to hold' each other, 'for better for worse', 'till death us do part'. Thus it reinforced Anglican paradigms for heterosexual relationships and gender roles, although social historians have argued that the Prayer Book injunction whereby women vowed 'to obey' their husbands was not as prescriptive in practice as later feminists have imagined. It has been suggested that in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries there was a transition from large community weddings to a much smaller event for a group of invited guests. Some social historians have also pointed to the rise in clandestine marriages as evidence of a loosening of, or challenge to, familial and communal demands and expectations about who should marry whom (Gillis, 55–83, 92–98). But, most strikingly, couples wanted these marriages – even when they took place at night – to be performed in a church, by a clergyman, using the Prayer Book.

The churching of women was popular and, in some cases, the rite seems to have been taken even more seriously than baptism. In Weston Longueville, James Woodforde was able to charge variable fees for this service, ranging from a shilling to sixpence, depending on the means of the family. The 1662 Prayer Book had replaced Psalm 121 with Psalms 116 and 127, which stressed the dangers the mother had undergone and the gifts of having children, thus making the service a thanksgiving to God for a safe delivery. Yet there is evidence that it was still widely thought to clear the woman from the sin of conception. Social historians have disagreed on its significance within popular culture: for some it was a misogynist purification rite typical of a patriarchal culture, while others have seen it as more firmly rooted

within the desires and expectations of women (Beresford, 243; Abbott, 155–56; Russell, 81; Cressy, 195–229).

One of the clergyman's duties was to visit the sick and dying. The available evidence is mostly anecdotal, and how often such visits occurred depended in large measure on individual clergy. Despite the eighteenth-century parson's reputation for pastoral negligence, in some instances visiting the sick took up a great deal of his time, and it is clear that providing a Sunday service was not the only task required. The Prayer Book also prescribed a service in which the dying could receive communion at home, one much valued by lay people. One diarist poignantly recorded in 1761 that his twenty-seven-year-old wife was on her deathbed: 'This day Mr Porter administered the communion to my wife and self and servant, and as this in all probability will be the last time we shall ever commemorate (together in this world) the death of our blessed Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, so may the memory of it be a motive to spur me on through God's grace to prepare for eternity' (Vaisey, 227).

The 1662 burial service prescribed that either or both of Psalms 39 and 90 (which deal with the fleeting nature of life on earth) should be read as the coffin was brought into the church. The revised burial service also altered phrases that had concerned mid-seventeenth century Puritans, so that at the committal the minister referred to the hope of the general resurrection to eternal life instead of focusing on the resurrection of the deceased. One of the changes associated with burial rituals in the century after the Restoration was the increasing tendency for the deceased to leave funeral gifts, such as rings, hatbands, scarves, and (even at lowly funerals) pairs of gloves (Houlbrooke, 287). Woodforde has left us with a description of a smart funeral in 1796: 'It was a very handsome funeral indeed. Two mourning coaches and four, one mourning chariot and pair besides other carriages. . . . The pallbearers each . . . had a rich black silk scarf, and a pair of beaver gloves' (Beresford, 290). It has been suggested that such reports testify to the 'secular' nature of eighteenth-century funerals, a departure from earlier religious concerns. The only controversy in this period over burial rituals was an attempt by Parliament to insist that people be buried in woollen shrouds, as an aid to the woollen industry. This may be making too sharp a distinction between the sacred and the secular. In any case, the rubrics were clear that the service could not be used for those who were unbaptized, excommunicates, or suicides.

The Prayer Book and Personal Religion

It is difficult to assess how the Prayer Book shaped and contributed to individual and communal piety, although it is clear that prescriptive Anglican commentators maintained that going to church and partaking in the Prayer Book services were at the centre of Christian religiosity. For William Saywell, in the late seventeenth century, 'the very order of our service and the returns of the fasts and great festivals are a perpetual catechism, and a constant motive to excite and question sober piety, and true devotion' (Saywell, 27). Given the opposition to the Prayer Book from Nonconformists, various texts (much reprinted throughout the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) celebrated and defended the use of the Prayer Book as an aid to godliness. The standard argument in its favour was made by high churchman William Beveridge at the opening of St Peter's, Cornhill, London, in 1682 in a sermon extolling the 'excellency and usefulness of the Common Prayer'. Beveridge pointed to four characteristics that in his eyes made the Prayer Book a model vehicle for sustaining piety: its vernacular language, its content, its organization, and the way it was performed. Against those who criticized the Prayer Book for its formulaic nature, Beveridge argued for the importance of repetition, claiming that it was only through hearing the words of the Prayer Book again and again that they became internalized. 'Whatsoever good things we hear only once, or now and then', he argued, 'though perhaps upon the hearing of them, they may swim for a while in our Brains, yet they seldom sink down into our hearts, so as to move and

sway the affections' (Beveridge, 8). Moreover, he urged individuals to use the General Confession to ponder their own faults and weaknesses, indicating that common prayer did not preclude the development of internal piety. It is sometimes suggested that the prescriptive nature of the Prayer Book did not allow for a heartfelt faith, but in the Communion service only those who 'truly and earnestly repent' their sins were invited to come forward, and in the ensuing confession all communicants said they were 'heartily sorry' for their sins.

What did the laity do during services? They were expected to join in the prayers, say the responses, and kneel, stand, and bow at appropriate points. Services could be repetitious: the full Morning Service required the Lord's Prayer to be said five times and there were four lengthy Bible readings. Services might also seem to marginalize lay participation: it has been calculated that Morning Prayers gave the minister thirty-five hundred words to say, and the congregation only seven hundred (Davies, '1662 Book', 173). As John Spurr has noted, parishioners in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries frequently referred to 'hearing' the liturgy as the clergy 'read' it, which indicated how they saw their roles (Spurr, 358). Indeed, some prominent clergy were concerned about the possibly negative effect of the Prayer Book on lay devotion, and championed the use of music to make the services more attractive. Edmund Gibson, the bishop of London, in his 1724 charge recommended: 'Sunday service is made up of three services, which were originally distinct, and in their natures are so, there is the greater need of the intervention of psalmody, that the transitions from one service to another may not be too sudden and abrupt.' Thomas Secker was also aware of the potential of liturgical dreariness, and he encouraged the singing of psalms and, where possible, regular choir practices (Egmont Diary, 3:317).

Certainly many parishes relied on the use of music for increasing lay participation and modifying the Anglican liturgy's great reliance on texts. Not surprisingly, cathedrals were the bastions of musical performance, but in town churches musical settings were often used for the canticles, the Litany, and the Communion service; even in village churches music was provided by groups of singers or the clerk (Beresford, 4:20, 81–97). In any case we should not assume that parishioners found services tedious. Despite its formulaic nature, some members of the laity regarded the Prayer Book as central to their piety. For instance, the religious societies that emerged in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were often voluntary lay-initiatives but attached to the Prayer Book (Jacob, 52). Both Susanna Wesley and Mary Fletcher, committed Anglicans who in their different ways were involved with the Methodist movement, used the Prayer Book when they conducted services in their homes, which suggests the ways in which the Prayer Book could be used outside the traditions of clerical and patriarchal society.

Individuals could also express their own needs and desires through the Prayer Book. A valued aspect of the Prayer for all Conditions of Men and the General Thanksgiving was the space to insert personal intercessions and thanksgivings; in the 1790s a book with the names of persons 'to be remembered in Prayer' from the Oldham parish of St Peter's lists public thanksgivings and offerings for prayers that had been answered. A set liturgy may have brought other benefits: by constantly hearing the same services, the illiterate were able to gain an understanding of the Anglican rites. We know, for example, that in the Lancashire parish of Waterbury in the early nineteenth century, those unable to read had learned the Prayer Book services by heart (Smith, 53, 92). Furthermore, the ways in which psalms were sung, with the parish clerk lining out the words, meant that many who were illiterate grew to know something of the Old Testament. In these ways Anglicanism was able to connect with popular culture, creating what some historians have called a 'folklorized Christianity' (Snape, 42–71). Of course knowing the liturgy by heart did not necessarily mean that members of the congregation were particularly devout. But the fact that some of the laity did know the Prayer Book well enabled them to criticize those clergy who performed the liturgy badly, which suggests attentive listening. That clergy were taken to task for slipshod performance was a symptom of how strongly parishioners wanted the service to be con-

ducted properly. It is perhaps significant that many examples of such complaints come from the decades following the Restoration. It may be that the 'professionalisation' of the clergy, and the increased concern shown by bishops and their officials to tighten up clerical behaviour, had some results.

In eighteenth-century education, the Prayer Book had a crucial role because in many schools it was the staple teaching tool. Particularly important was the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, which established numerous charity schools in which learning the Prayer Book Catechism was as central as learning to read or write. Charles Wheatly boasted that the Prayer Book Catechism 'now exceeds (by the Confession of all parties) all Catechisms that ever were in the world, being so short that the youngest children may learn it by heart, and yet so full that it contains all things necessary to be known in order to salvation', while a large number of expositions and explanations of the Catechism were produced. The Prayer Book also required incumbents to instruct children in the Catechism every Sunday afternoon at certain times of the year. A report from one Surrey parish is typical: 'The children are catechised on Sundays in the afternoon from Midsummer to Mich[aelmas], and encouragement given by the rector in books and money for all who attend, and in particular to those who perform well' (Ward, *Surrey,* 164). Clergy frequently claimed that they would have catechized more often, but it was difficult to get children (and servants) to attend. One of the points of catechetical instruction was to prepare children for confirmation, an eighteenth-century success story; by the middle of the century, regular diocesan confirmations could be attended by literally thousands of candidates.

The Prayer Book's Wider Influence

The ubiquity of the Prayer Book, its role at significant rites of passage, and its ability to touch the lives even of Nonconformists made it a crucial instrument for propagating Anglicanism. In turn, the church and its services played a large part in making of English society between 1662 and 1832 what has been called a 'confessional state' (Clark, 'Confessional'). In turn, the church and its services played a large part in English society between 1662 and 1832; during that era 'a coherent and widely accepted body of establishment social theory rooted in Catholic ecclesiology, ultimately biblical in origin, was transmitted unimpaired to the post-Reformation Church of England, and expressed most authoritatively in the *Book of Common Prayer*' (Waterman, 194). This understanding of the Prayer Book as an orthodox and establishment text, along with its stress on *common* prayer and frequent use of 'we' in its petitions, also implied an organic community. Of course it can be doubted whether such a community ever existed in practice in the English parish; the fact that services such as Holy Communion were attended chiefly by the parish elite reminds us of the hierarchical nature of eighteenth-century society. Prayer Book services no doubt functioned as a form of social control. Addison's portrayal of Sir Roger in *The Spectator* (9 July 1711) is suggestive: 'He has often told me, that on his coming to his Estate he found his Parishioners very irregular; and that in order to make them kneel and join in the responses he gave every one of them a Hassock and a Common-Prayer book.'

But was the social message of the Prayer Book necessarily only about control and deference? By propagating moral values that held out an ideal of reciprocal community in which each cared for all, it was also capable of inspiring significant protest on the part of those in need towards their economic and social superiors. It can be argued, for example, that eighteenth-century food riots were legitimized by an appeal to a biblically based 'moral economy' through which the rioters reminded their superiors of the communal model and encouraged them to lower prices. The Prayer Book and its associated rituals may also have played a role in imparting notions of a moral economy. A large amount of parochial charity was administered after a Prayer Book service, and it was not unusual for bread to be distributed 'after morning service weekly, monthly, quarterly, annually at Christmas . . . or even

on the curiously unliturgical (but perhaps practically useful) principle of "the last Sunday in every R month throughout the year" ' (Ward, *Surrey*, xvii). Prayer Book assumptions about the importance of the community–perhaps even its vision of an alternative society–might also serve as a rationale for more rebellious action if it was perceived that the community had broken down. When much of southern rural England was facing an economic crisis and food shortages in the 1820s and 1830s, the leaders of agricultural riots were often loyal members of the church who sang in the parish choir and owned copies of the Prayer Book (Reay, 64–68). That the 1662 Book of Common Prayer could inspire both deference and rebellion surely says much about its social life and purchase during the long eighteenth century.

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Prayer Book Architecture

James F. White

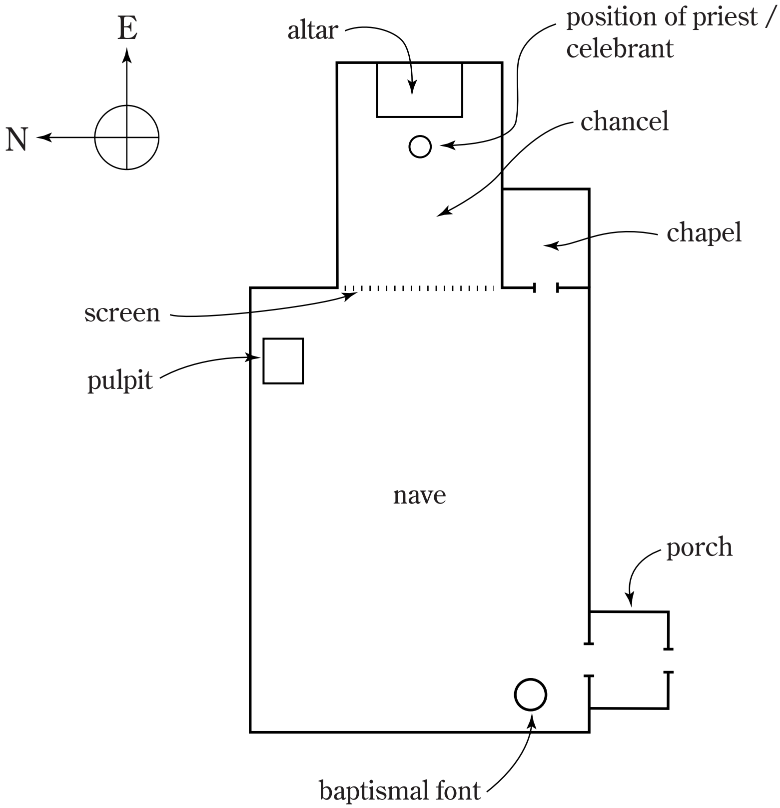
Church architecture gives important clues as to how people of any time and place have practised and understood their worship. Anglican church buildings, especially those built in the last four centuries, have much to tell us about the realities of Prayer Book worship. Most important in this regard is their interior architecture. In a building meant for Christian worship, there are various spaces, all different, configured according to their function – space for congregational seating, standing, or kneeling, space for a choir or other musicians, space for the eucharistic action, space for the administration of baptism, space for movement, and space for gathering of the people. How these spaces are arranged in relationship to each other reflects the priorities of the worshippers, and major shifts in the prominence of any space are signs of major changes in the people's life of worship. Liturgical spaces are defined by centres such as altar, font, and pulpit. Thus a tiny baptismal font, for example, tucked in a corner, says something about the role of baptism for a certain community at a certain time, whereas a large baptismal pool may proclaim a different reality. Over time, changes in the way worship is carried out in practice may demand shifts in how the liturgical spaces and liturgical centres relate to each other. In this way, a building can be 'read' so as to understand changes in worship priorities.

The Architectural Inheritance of Prayer Book Worship

At the time of the Reformation, England was blessed with a large number of medieval parish churches, as well as a great number of parish clergy in major and minor orders. Although the monasteries themselves were in serious decline, a monastic style of corporate prayer, including music and architecture, had imposed itself on parochial worship. Thus nearly every parish church (*see* Illustration 10) had a substantial chancel, as in a conventual church, where it was devoted to the daily recital of the Breviary offices. Between the chancel – a space for the clergy – and the nave of the church – a space for the laity, who rarely attended the offices – there was an important distinction. Usually the boundary was marked by a partition, often a screen, through which lay worshippers could glimpse the high altar at the further end of the chancel. But they were not expected to receive communion more often than yearly, and when they did they usually received it at the entrance to the chancel. The visual focus of their piety was the consecrated host in the priest's hands at the elevation.

The nave had begun in the fourteenth century to fill up with pews. On one long wall, usually the north side, was the pulpit from which a sermon was occasionally preached. Above the chancel arch there was frequently a painting of the Last Judgement; below this, a carving of the crucifixion, the 'rood', standing above the screen, which was called the rood-screen for that reason. Walls and windows could be a veritable catechism of painted, carved, or glazed figures depicting biblical episodes and characters. There was plenty to see.

Depending on the wealth of the patron or guilds, a large church might have within it one or more chapels, divided off from the nave by screens, or sometimes built as extensions of it. These chapels each contained an altar, at which were said Masses endowed by some group



10. A Medieval Church Layout
Whether grand or simple, a late-medieval church building had two liturgical spaces: a *chancel,* customarily situated to the east of a *nave* and distinguished from it by a screen. The main altar stood at the far eastern end of the chancel, and if there were chantries or chapels, their altars were similarly positioned. The font was usually just inside the entrance, which in this typical plan is on the south, the side of the church that customarily bordered the churchyard.

or individual. Towards the west, near the church door, stood the baptismal font, usually a stone pedestal font. Until the Reformation, the church porch itself served as liturgical space, being used for the beginning of the baptismal rite and similarly in the marriage rite. Outside, the living worshippers were surrounded by the sacred space of the churchyard and the company of the Christian dead.

This pattern of discrete spaces for different types and occasions of worship and different worshippers reflected forms and expectations of worship that were remarkably consistent for many years, throughout most of western Europe. When the use of the Book of Common Prayer became compulsory in England, expectations changed drastically, and the search for the best architectural setting for Anglican worship has continued ever since. Chief among the new expectations was that what was spoken in worship should be heard. Much of the medieval Mass was said 'secretly', and all of it in Latin, but the Prayer Book services were in English throughout. Audibility became a new concern, and to meet it buildings had to be used differently. The rubrics for Morning Prayer in the 1552 Prayer Book make the new priorities clear: 'the minister shall so turn him, as the people may best hear'. Lessons are to

be read 'distinctly with a loud voice, that the people may hear', and the same requirement of a 'loud voice' applies to sentences and prayers. At the same time, 'the chancels shall remain, as they have done in times past'. Instead of being ignored or destroyed, as happened in some Reformed communities, this space became the Eucharist room. At the offertory, the 1549 rubrics had directed that after people placed their offering in the 'poor men's box', those who intended to receive communion should 'tarry in the quire, or in some convenient place nigh the quire, the men on one side, and the women on the other side'. Two distinct spaces were thus acknowledged, one for Morning and Evening Prayer and for the first half of the Eucharist; the other, for the Eucharist proper.

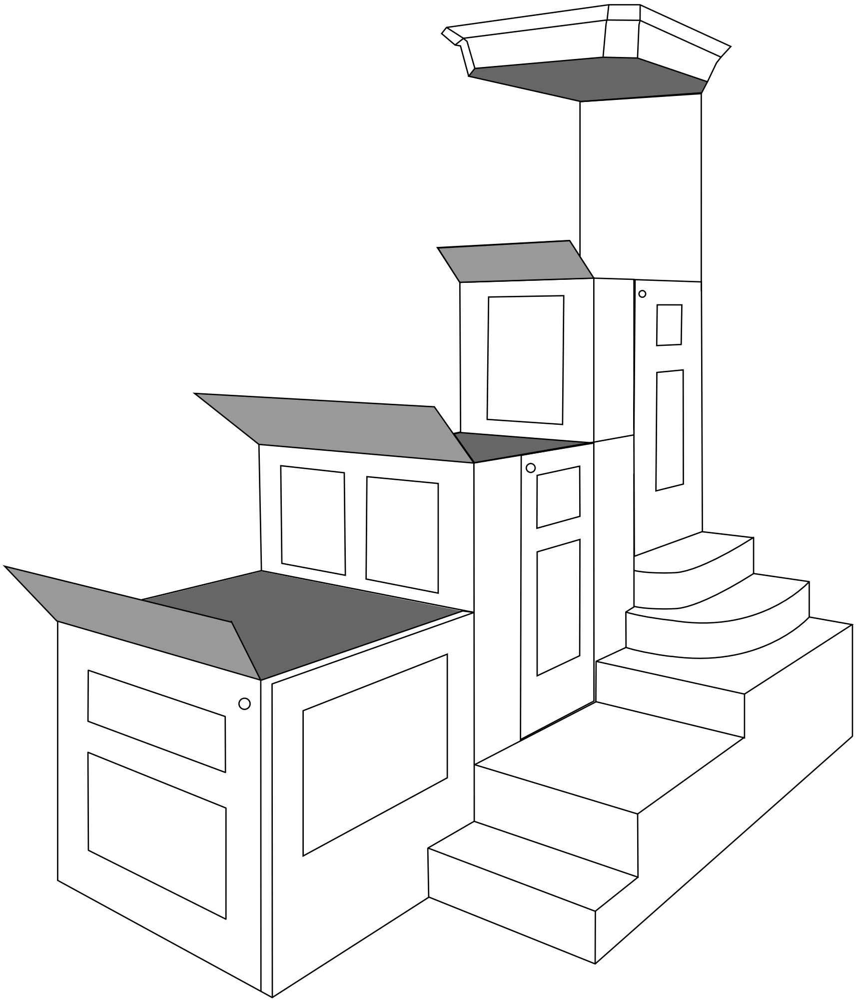
But the stone altar, fixed up against the east wall and often surmounted by carvings, did not remain fixed. The Prayer Book of 1552 required that 'the table having at the communion time, a fair white linen cloth upon it, shall stand in the body of the church, or in the chancel, where Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer be appointed to be said'. The rubrics further direct the priest to begin the service 'standing at the north side of the table'. Those who would come to receive communion are invited to 'draw near', and they were probably meant to surround the movable, wooden table. The holy table, instead of being set altarwise (at right angles to the nave), was given a quarter turn and set tablewise, either in the middle of the chancel or, even further from its old position, in the nave. Tables so positioned have virtually disappeared, with some rare exceptions such as the church at Deerhurst, Gloucestershire. But the holy table continued to be a wooden table until well into the nineteenth century, because of the association of stone altars with the doctrine of the Mass as a sacrifice.

The position of the clergyman where he could best be heard made for a new liturgical centre at the front of the nave, which in time took architectural shape. There might be a desk, from which the clerk read the psalms and responses, another reading desk, used by the officiating cleric when reciting prayers, and a pulpit for preaching. These could be separate, but often they were combined in one hierarchical structure, the 'three-decker pulpit', which sometimes became the most prominent feature in the nave (*see* Illustration 11; *see also* Illustration 9, p. 95). Fonts, on the other hand, remained at the west end as in times past. No theological issues pressed for changing them.

It was otherwise with the many images that had adorned virtually every church. The early years of the Reformation were a time of iconoclasm on a huge scale. As the invocation of the saints was discouraged, so their images were taken away. Anything that even suggested the existence of purgatory was doomed to destruction. Churches were purged of anything that could lead the faithful astray, statues, pictures, and shrines being removed or painted over, including the roods and the Last Judgement paintings. In place of these, Archbishop Matthew Parker ordered in 1566 that the royal arms should be installed. But the screens themselves remained, under royal order, as did the chancels. In 1604 new canons required the Ten Commandments to be placed at the front of the church. They were often accompanied, on either side, by the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed. These three texts were the main contents of the Catechism, and the Prayer Book required that those who were confirmed should be able to say them. In addition, paintings of Moses and Aaron sometimes appeared alongside the Commandments, ironically replacing Christian figures. Since all altars except the main one had been destroyed, the overall result was typically a two-roomed building with a movable wooden altar, usually in the chancel, and a prominent place for leading the service at the front of the nave.

Anglican Church Building after the Reformation

Very few new churches for Anglican worship were built before the 1660s. The many existing churches sufficed, except in rare instances of destruction by fire or an offering from generous donors. One important exception was St Paul's, Covent Garden, London, built in 1638 to the designs of Inigo Jones. It is remarkable for being a single room with no screen to mark a



11. A 'Three-decker' Pulpit
The importance of different parts of the Prayer Book liturgy is reflected in the hierarchical structure of 'three-decker' pulpits, some of which are still in use. The lowest level was a short pew occupied by the parish clerk, who led the psalms and made the responses while the officiating minister 'read the service' from a more elevated reading desk. The highest level was used for preaching the sermon. Often, but not always, these three 'decks' were arranged in ascending order from front to back, as shown here; sometimes they were built side by side.

division into nave and chancel. No little antagonism within the Church of England in the early seventeenth century had to do with church furnishings. Puritans resisted any ceremonial without explicit biblical warrant and objected to kneeling for communion. Their chief contribution was to paint biblical texts on the walls. Though many altars were still positioned tablewise, a return to the old altarwise location, against the east wall, was strongly advocated by William Laud, who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. Previously communicants had knelt in rows about the table and the priest passed among them. Now a new liturgical centre became common, the communion rail, usually built straight across the

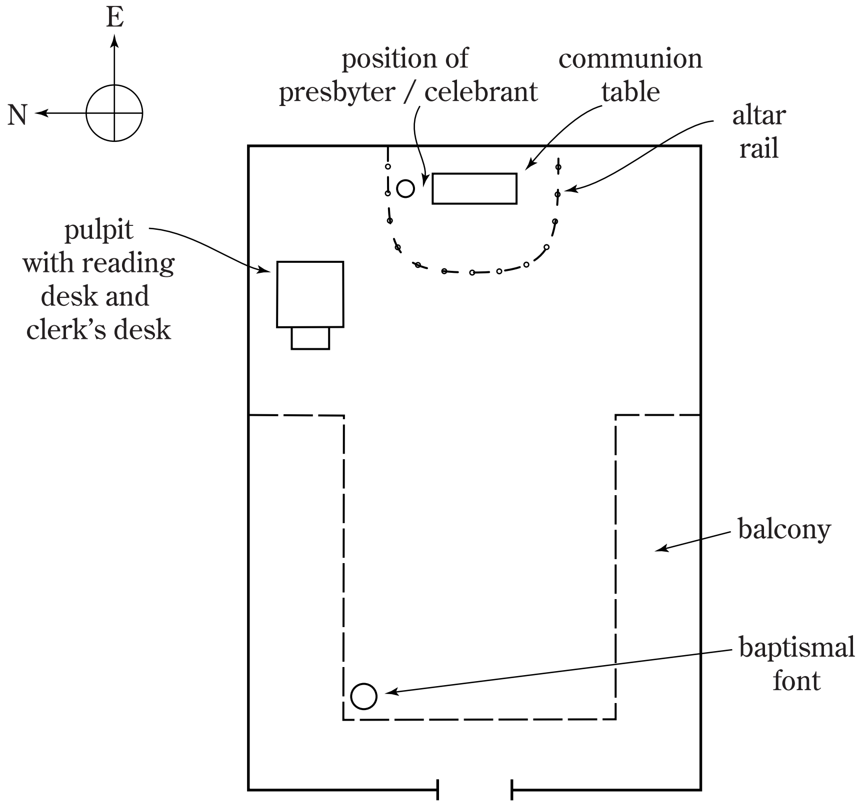
front of the church with a gate in the middle, and commonly made of balusters set close enough to prevent dogs from getting through. In new buildings from which the chancel had entirely disappeared as a separate space, the communion rail often remained as a kind of vestigial rood screen, marking a now-minimal distinction between the area around the altar and the rest of the church.

The period of Puritan dominance, 1642–1660, saw a resurgence of iconoclasm, meant to cleanse churches of whatever relics of 'popery' still survived. Except for stained glass, religious images virtually disappeared. Not long after the Restoration, a definitive moment for Anglican church architecture arrived as a result of the great fire of London of 1666. Fortunately, Christopher Wren was available to design more than fifty churches to replace those destroyed. Wren began in a systematic way, analysing the needs of Anglican worship. He argued for the necessity 'that all who are present can both hear and see'. In contrast to Roman Catholic churches, where hearing was not requisite, 'ours are to be fitted for Auditories'. After analysing how far the spoken voice may be heard from the pulpit, he went on to work out the ideal dimensions. The result was what came to be known as the 'auditory church'. Wren had developed a form that dominated Anglican church architecture for the better part of two centuries (*see* Illustration 12).

Wren's church buildings are roughly square in plan, with no chancel or screen. The altar stands against the east end, surrounded by a communion rail. The major liturgical centre is a massive pulpit, often combined with a reading desk and clerk's desk. At the west end is a pedestal baptism font. Often there are balconies on three sides to increase the seating capacity. The disappearance of the chancel makes the building a one-volume space. Newly built parish churches did not originally include space or furniture for choirs, as singing at the time was limited to the psalms. The altar, of modest size and covered with a large flowing carpet, was often used to display the church's collection of silverware. The royal arms and the tablets of the Ten Commandments remained the chief decorations. Representational carving began to appear, but religious subjects were rarely represented. Wren's other great accomplishment was the rebuilding of St Paul's Cathedral, completed in 1716. It is surely the most significant building built by Anglicans, an icon not only of the City of London but of Anglicanism itself.

Meanwhile, the first Anglican church building in the new world was a small wooden church in St George, Bermuda, built in 1612 and eventually replaced by the larger stone building which still stands. New buildings soon followed in Virginia and other English colonies. The earliest of these do not seem to have been very venturesome. Theirs was an architecture of nostalgia, imitating memories of churches back home. St Luke's in Smithfield, Virginia (1682), even had a roodscreen. The eighteenth century brought more experimentation and churches were built on various plans. Wren's churches provided an example for some. Others adopted a very domestic arrangement, with the pulpit opposite the main entrance in the middle of a long side. More unusual were buildings where the pulpit and altar-table were at opposite ends. Clearly the pulpit was more important because, at least in one of these, slaves sat at the altar end. Balconies were a common feature, as were the Commandments and royal arms. Fonts, frequently of wood, might appear at the front instead of the customary west end. A three-decker pulpit was common or, if not, a double-decker. Occasionally, it stood directly in front of the altar-table, as it did and does in Trinity Church, Newport, Rhode Island. In some of the Virginia churches, a Greek cross plan was preferred, with the pulpit at the crossing and the altar in an east wing. Otherwise, chancels were small if they were built at all. The altars were surrounded by rails, usually returned on either side. Usually box pews filled up the nave, although slips pews are not unknown. Like the English churches they descend from, these were definitely auditory churches, used chiefly for Morning and Evening Prayer.

Most churches built in England and America from 1660 to 1830 were in one of the classical styles. In America, Federal Period tastes gradually yielded to that of Greek Revival. Here and there in the 1830s a return to gothic tastes began to appear, although early gothic revival



12. An 'Auditory' Church Layout
Prayer Book worship in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries concentrated on hearing, and churches were built or reordered accordingly. In this typical plan, the Communion table and font are positioned at the east and west respectively, as in a medieval church building, but they stand within a single 'auditorium' space meant to be filled with pews. Balconies increase the number of 'seatings' within earshot of the prominent pulpit, and the table is set off only by low rails, at which it became customary to kneel when receiving the sacrament.

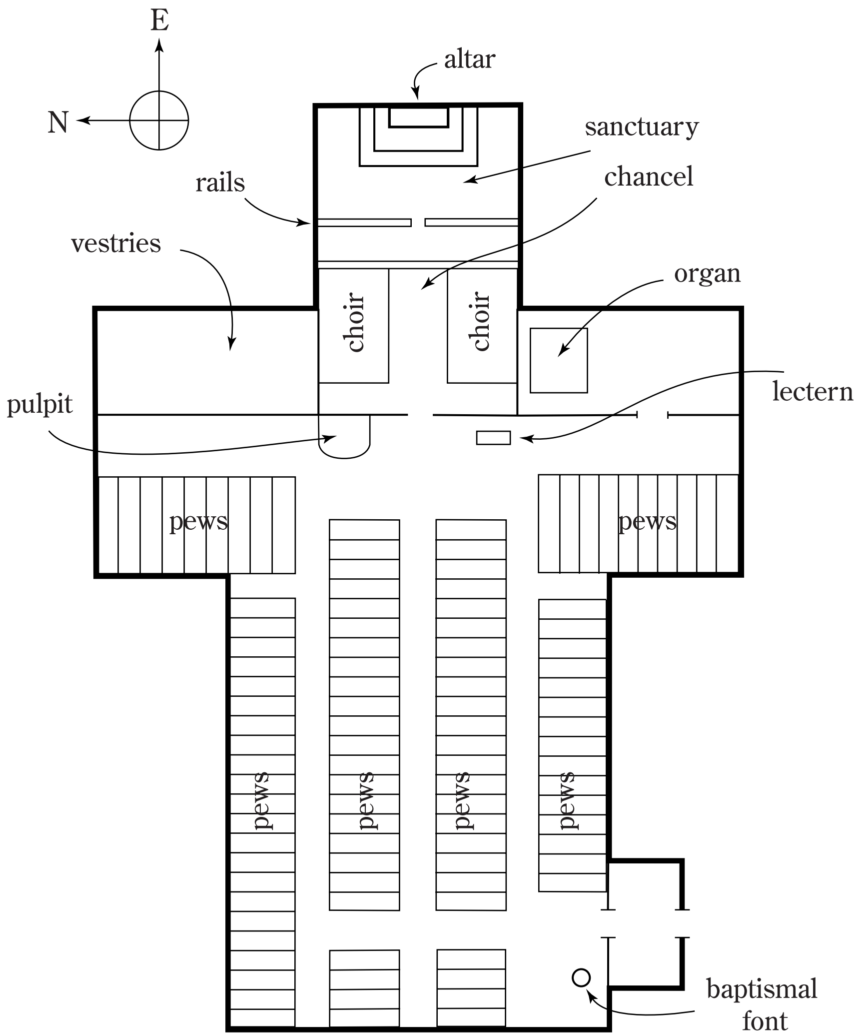
buildings drew on the Middle Ages more for a decorative scheme than for a liturgical model. A good example is St Luke's Church in Hope, New Jersey, built in 1832. This building, despite its gothic details, has a central pulpit and an altar on the floor below it. All this was about to change abruptly, however. In England, the Tractarians at Oxford began to teach a new vision of the church and its sacraments, stressing independence from the state and contrast with the norms of secular life. But though they emphasized the sacraments–Christ's presence in the Eucharist, regeneration in baptism, the desirability of confession made to a priest–the emphasis was doctrinal, not liturgical, for the Oxford Movement's originators, and they urged strict adherence to the Prayer Book. In Cambridge, a different concern appeared in 1839, when a group of young men, their minds inspired by ideas from Oxford, organized the Cambridge Camden Society (CCS) to promote the study of church architecture. The real purpose of the Society soon became clear. Led by John Mason Neale, Benjamin Webb, and Edward Jacob Boyce, CCS members had a definite agenda in mind: the restoration of gothic architecture in existing churches, and the building of new churches in medieval form so that the full splendour of medieval worship would again be possible.

Never before or since has an unofficial organization affected Anglican church building so profoundly. For over a century, the principles of the CCS, which never had more than a thousand members, governed the arrangement of church buildings and virtually every detail. Not until the later twentieth century did they lose their grip on the way most Anglicans thought about church space. The Society wielded its power by reviewing each church newly built or restored. Anything that did not meet their standards drew vitriolic comment. Parishes were flooded with instructions to guide churchwardens, notably the series called *A Few Words to Church Builders*. Intimidated architects fell into line to avoid public censure. The first CCS premise was the necessity of looking back to a time of great piety in English church history to find when the best building was done. The group believed fervently that only holy men could build truly Christian churches, and such builders they found in the thirteenth and early fourteenth century. An ideal church, then, would be in the 'decorated' gothic of the early fourteenth century, before the Great Plague. Failing that, the 'early English' gothic of the preceding century was acceptable (and cheaper). The later, 'perpendicular' gothic was decadent, however, and the earlier Romanesque style too primitive. Following these precepts, new urban churches were built to fit the model of a fourteenth-century English village church, and genuine medieval churches were restored so as to 'correct' them. Followers of the CCS did not hesitate to destroy authentic medieval work to improve on it if it represented an unfavoured period. Post-Reformation churches, planned and built on quite another conception of liturgical space, were 'Christianized' as far as their architecture would allow, and sometimes farther. Three-decker pulpits were removed, 'proper' fittings installed.

High on the CCS agenda was the need for a chancel–distinct, elevated above the nave, and at least a third as long. The altar had to be at the most remote end, further elevated. The CCS was quite clericalist in insisting that the clergy should be distinguished, architecturally and otherwise, from laity. But what carried the day for reinstating the chancel was the innovation of dressing lay people in surplices as a choir and placing them in newly erected choir stalls, built to face each other across the chancel, as they had done when monks sang the Daily Office antiphonally (*see* Illustration 13). Most parish churches had managed without choirs. Now they became a necessity.

The Cambridge enthusiasts, eventually reorganized as the Ecclesiological Society, were very keen on reviving all the arts of the medieval church–stained glass, elaborately patterned floor tiles, metalwork, wood and stone carving. Whole industries were reinvented to produce wrought iron, roof tiles, and all kinds of *instrumenta ecclesiastica*. Roods, which had long ago vanished from the roodscreen, were re-erected. As the spaces used for worship changed, so did the way worship was conducted. Bits of what was called 'ritualism' began to appear. Whereas the early Tractarians had adhered to the Prayer Book, 'ritualists' were not content with following its directives in the traditional way. About 1848, eucharistic vestments (alb and chasuble) were seen in Anglican worship for the first time in centuries. Some clergy celebrated Holy Communion facing eastward, instead of from the north side as the rubric directed; candles and crosses reappeared on the altars, some of which were now made of stone; the bread took the form of wafers, and the chalice was mixed with water; even incense came back. The Prayer Book had emphasized audibility. Now visibility was returning. Before long, it seemed in some places as if the sixteenth century had never happened. But even parishes that did not go along with 'extreme' practices were affected. It is amazing how successful the Cambridge men were in fixing the imagination of Anglicans on what they thought a church should look like, and on the visible, sacramental style of worship that went along with it.

Nor were these innovations confined to England. The gothic revival was globalized. The CCS was only too happy to send out recommendations and plans and to review building projects worldwide. They were willing to admit that a fourteenth-century village church might need some adaptation for worship in a tropical climate, and proposed a 'speluncar' style with thick walls and small windows, to counter the heat. Their attitude to overseas ef-



13. A Victorian Church Layout
Architects influenced by the Cambridge Camden Society had well-defined ideas on how a proper church building should be ordered. Taking the fourteenth century as their standard of excellence, they insisted on a chancel markedly distinct from the nave, an altar raised on steps and positioned against the east wall, and stalls for a vested choir, all configured as shown on this typical plan. This formal, hierarchical organization of liturgical space became the norm for Anglican churches everywhere, and remained so until the advent of the Liturgical Movement.

forts could at times be somewhat condescending, but they could not help but be impressed by such achievements as Trinity Church, Wall Street (1846), or St Mary's, Burlington, New Jersey (1854). In Copenhagen, Rome, and Athens, English communities could worship in properly gothic churches. Dozens of impressive cathedrals were built in places as different as Fredericton, New Brunswick, and Christchurch, New Zealand. Plans and advice were dispatched to Tasmania. India and Africa did their share of gothic church-building. It was the first truly global religious architecture the world had known.

An interesting North American development out of gothic-revival romanticism was what came to be called the 'cathedral age'. Beginning in Albany, New York, in 1884, ambitious schemes were launched to put up major buildings to be the home church of some dioceses. Denver, Montreal, Spokane, Vancouver, Victoria, and other cities followed. Monumental cathedrals were planned for San Francisco, Washington, New York, and Philadelphia, all situated on prominent hills. In New York the cathedral remains unfinished, and in Philadelphia only an immense apse was built. But though never fully realized, this vision left an indelible mark on Anglican church architecture. The assumption that there was one correct type of building, the medieval parish church, was a major conserving force. Even the twentieth-century cathedrals in Liverpool and Guildford, with their adaptations of more recent styles, are essentially gothic in form.

Liturgical Renewal and Architectural Change

It was a comfortable form. The fourteenth-century idiom kept its imaginative hold until well after World War II. Only a few churches, such as the John Keble Church, Mill Hill, London (1936), began to push beyond the neo-medieval boundaries. Meanwhile, the Liturgical Movement was fermenting quietly in Europe, and the rebuilding that followed the war found architects ready to combine new thinking about the liturgy with the possibilities of modern architecture.

In America, the movement for liturgical revision and renewal was led by the Associated Parishes, founded in 1946, and in England a similar role was played by Parish and People, founded in 1950. Both groups favoured a weekly Eucharist with a high level of congregational participation. Frustratingly, the architecture of existing churches set up barriers – altars against the east wall, choirs placed between clergy and people, and spatial configurations that suggested a passive laity. A harbinger of what was to come took place in 1949 at St Clement's Church in Alexandria, Virginia. The altar was moved to the centre, with a double-decker pulpit behind and the congregation seated on either side. It was an important beginning, soon to be imitated in various other experiments aimed at putting the altar close to the people and ending clerical monopoly of the space of worship centred on it. At first, the Liturgical Movement grew slowly. *Parish and People,* the English periodical, encouraged the fainthearted, and the American church began a series of *Prayer Book Studies* that tried to disseminate the best in current thinking and practice in liturgy. But it was the Second Vatican Council that gave the movement its major impetus. 'Participation' became a key term – 'full, conscious, and active participation', in the council's now-classic phrase. It seemed odd that Anglicans should be the last custodians of medieval practices that Roman Catholics were abandoning.

Changed practice called for changes in its architectural setting. Here the acceptance of modern styles proved to be a further and very important factor. Although Frank Lloyd Wright had built a modern church in 1906, half a century would pass before Anglicans felt comfortable in churches without crockets and finials. Once modern modes did begin to be embraced, they opened up many possibilities of entirely new forms, beyond the ambit of gothic. The movement was a global matter, too, churches in Africa adopting it as readily as those in England. Some of the largest Anglican churches built in recent years are in the countries of Nigeria and Uganda. In many cases, native forms – circular buildings, for example – could blend well with modern architectural styles.

A major landmark in the process of accepting both liturgical reform and modern architecture was *Liturgy and Architecture,* which Peter Hammond, priest of the Church of England, wrote in 1960. Hammond was thoroughly familiar with all that had been built on the Continent. His key idea was that architecture should be shaped by what goes on in worship. Judged by that standard, most that had been built in England since the war was unsuitable. Hammond even dismissed the spectacular new Coventry Cathedral, despite its brilliant

artistic *éclat*, as a building that still relied on nineteenth-century concepts of liturgical space. But he saw hope in a 1960 church, St Paul's Bow Common, 'a true *domus ecclesiae*, planned from the altar outwards'. His book was soon published in America, and he edited *Toward a Church Architecture,* which followed in 1962. It can be said that *Liturgy and Architecture* played a role in Anglican church building comparable to the CCS's *A Few Words to Church Builders* series in the nineteenth century. Both combined a very specific view of liturgy with definite ideas about architecture.

In some ways the problem many parishes had to face was similar to the one that presented itself when Prayer Book worship began. It was not that they had to plan a new building, but that an existing structure needed to be adapted if new ways of conceiving liturgy were to be put into practice. In thousands of parishes, the process of adaptation known as 'reordering' has been carried out. Richard Giles's book *Re-Pitching the Tent: Re-ordering the Church Building for Worship and Mission* (1999) has been an important guide and source of ideas. Generally, reordering has begun with bringing the altar away from the east wall so the presider can stand behind it or, sometimes, the whole congregation can stand around it. Moving the altar has been the most straightforward change. The roles of lectern, pulpit, and font have also had to be rethought. What to do with singers is a problem that looms large in many cases, mainly because of uncertainty about the role of a choir in worship today. A major shift in thinking about baptism has led to larger fonts, some of which can be used for immersion of adults as well as infants. The idea that the priest delegates roles to others has made the presider's chair a more important item of furniture.

So far there is little evidence for the development of an entirely new type of building. One favourite form today, especially for new Roman Catholic churches, is a fan-shaped building with the altar at the focus. This plan makes it easer for all to see and hear everything that goes on at the altar, pulpit, and presider's chair. It may be that the newer churches of the Global South will teach Anglicans the next step in Prayer Book architecture. The Prayer Book itself does not stand still; future revisions are already underway in various parts of the Anglican Communion. No doubt they will necessitate further changes in church architecture, as our knowledge and understanding of worship changes. New technologies will bring changes of their own, as it becomes more common to project texts and music. Change has been the pattern of Prayer Book architecture. There is every reason to believe that will continue.

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Prayer Books and Printers

Martin W. Hutner

In many ways the printing of the first Book of Common Prayer in 1549 reflected typical typographical modes of the day. The special concerns of a Prayer Book ultimately required a special form, but standard elements of printing–type, paper, decorative design, and illustration–mirrored the time. By its very nature it required its own particular format, which was to evolve over the next five centuries; the design itself was modelled on manuscript books decorated by hand in monasteries of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Gutenberg's printed book from movable type was barely a century old in 1549, and as the printed codex progressed through the years, it reflected new typographical conceits and styles. Moreover, early books of any sort required enormous expenditures of time, physical effort, and materials, and were, as a result, extremely expensive to produce.

The very first Edwardine Prayer Book was printed by Edward Whitchurch in London. It was of folio size, roughly 7" × 10½", and primarily used as a lectern or presentation copy. At that time no one expected lay people to own such a Prayer Book for family prayers or devotional use; these early books were clearly meant for the officiant only. If royalty or nobility did own copies, sheer size alone–with a few exceptions–would have prevented them from carrying them to worship. Widespread illiteracy, high expense, deep-seated clericalism, and the fact that the laity were to listen but not to speak in church all meant that one copy per parish was the rule. The King was obliged to set the price of the later issues of the Prayer Book that same year so that each parish church could afford one. To ensure this, cheaper paper was employed for the text, rubrics requiring a second printing were eliminated, and pasteboard was used in lieu of leather for the bindings.

What we know of the process of printing in the sixteenth century has mainly been gathered from illustrations of the period and close examination of the books themselves. Additional information has come from ledgers, invoices, diaries, and the like, but little direct documentary evidence exists. As Philip Gaskell, in his monumental work *A New Introduction to Bibliography,* indicates, 'We cannot be certain of the details of the printing presses of the sixteenth century, since they were never closely described and none appear to have survived' (Gaskell, 123). Gaskell goes on to describe the making and selection of paper and ink, the actual printing, the collection and collation of printed sheets, sewing, and binding, which makes fascinating, informative reading. However, for the purposes of this article, even a condensed description would necessitate a far too lengthy exegesis. We can only take an educated guess as to what actually occurred when the Prayer Book manuscript left the hands of the official scribe and became a tangible object. Printing a book in the sixteenth century was a formidable undertaking.

The 1549 Prayer Book illustrated in the frontispiece and in Illustration 2 (p. 37) is one of the excessively rare first editions, first issues. The title-page is printed entirely in black, unlike later issues with their alternating red printed in the title and decorations. A very elaborate engraved architectural border of herms, masks, *putti*, scrolls, and leaves is crowned with the royal arms. The architectural border surrounding these various design elements was derived from Renaissance prototypes found in frescoes, paintings, decorative arts, and buildings of

the period. Edward Whitchurch's initials are clearly visible in the plaques at the lower left and right. Authority to print the first Prayer Book was also given to Richard Grafton, the King's Printer, who had been in partnership with Whitchurch.

The text itself is printed in black on laid paper, with red appearing only in the calendar. Wood-engraved typographic initials of varying sizes are scattered throughout the calendar. The paper is thin and allows disconcerting see-through on almost every page. The type is black letter, except the colophon, which is printed in roman type. The type throughout the book varies in size, as does the line spacing and the overall quality of printing from page to page. There are decorated letters throughout, which also vary in intricacy and size. This is not a coherent, sophisticated piece of printing, although one can sense the striving for great effect. The colophon reads: 'Imprinted at London in Fleetstrete at the sign of the Sunne over against the conduyte by Edward Whitechurche The seventh day of March, the yeare of our Lorde, 1549'.

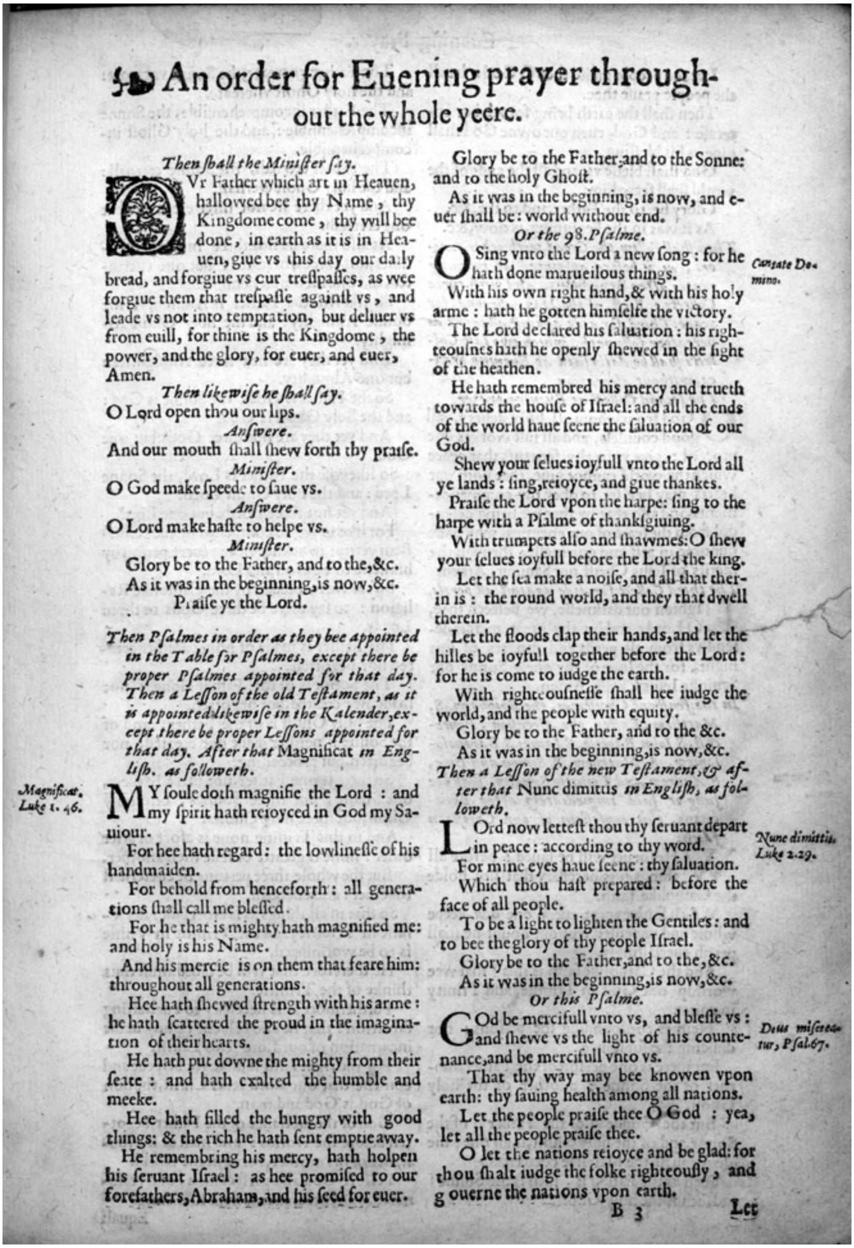
Seventeenth-Century Prayer Books

The first Prayer Book in Welsh was printed in 1567, and in 1608 the more typographically noteworthy first Irish edition, translated by William Daniel, Archbishop of Tuam, was printed in Dublin by John Francton. The title-page, printed in red and black, is very dramatic, with a bold wood-engraved architectural border enclosing the title printed within a circle. The text, in Irish typeface, printed on laid paper, approximately 6¾" × 11", varies in impression, but the *mise-en-page* is more sophisticated than that of Whitchurch or Grafton. The style of the decorated letters varies and contrasts to great effect (*see* Illustration 4, p. 59). Some letters are pictorial and some flat-out decorative design. The text pages are ruled in red ink. Roman type appears randomly, keeping the page from being static, and the ultimate effect is pleasing. Apart from requiring a knowledge of Irish, the book appears easy to read, more coherent and modern in effect than the first Prayer Book only sixty years earlier. A note in the book indicates that the types were sent to Ireland by Queen Elizabeth I.

By 1627, further advances have taken place. A small Prayer Book published in London that year by Bonham Norton and John Bill is now fully printed two columns to a page, in exceptionally small roman type (*see* Illustration 14). Furthermore, marginal and musical notations have been introduced, particularly in the Psalms. The typography and title-page engraving, the decorated borders and initials have reached a high degree of artistic and printing sophistication. The book was obviously intended for private use, and has developed into a new, infinitely more readable and usable format.

The first Scottish Book of Common Prayer was printed in 1637 by Robert Young, the King's Printer in Edinburgh. Similar in size to the 1549 edition, the main text is extremely well-printed and easy to read (7" × 10½"), composed of large and handsome black letters (*see* Illustration 25, p. 167). The black and red title-page features an engraved decorative border composed of type ornaments and cartouches, with two dolphins entwined in an architectural setting. It does not mention the Psalter, which at the time was considered, and printed, as a separate volume. In copies of the Scottish book that are bound together with the Psalter, it has its own title page. The 'reading Psalms', uniquely, follow the then-new King James (Authorized) Version. The metrical Psalter or 'singing Psalms' might be included as well, printed separately in London by Thomas Harper, with musical notation and their own strong, handsome architectural borders in red and black.

The Prayer Book for Charles II of 1662 was printed in London by the King's Printers, John Bill and Christopher Barker, in the now common quarto size, approximately 7" × 11¼". David Loggan engraved the beautiful architectural title-page shown in Illustration 15. Josiah Henry Benton, whose collection of Prayer Books is the source of several illustrations here, suggests in *The Book of Common Prayer, And Books Connected With its Origin and Growth* that



An order for Euening prayer throughout the whole yeere.

Then ſhall the Miniſter ſay.

OVr Father which art in Heauen, hallowed bee thy Name, thy Kingdome come, thy will bee done, in earth as it is in Heauen, giue vs this day our daily bread, and forgiue vs our treſpaſſes, as wee forgiue them that treſpaſſe againſt vs, and leade vs not into temptation, but deliuer vs from euill, for thine is the Kingdome, the power, and the glory, for euer, and euer, Amen.

Then likewiſe he ſhall ſay.

O Lord open thou our lips.

Anſwere.

And our mouth ſhall ſhew forth thy praiſe.

Miniſter.

O God make ſpeede to ſaue vs.

Anſwere.

O Lord make haſte to helpe vs.

Miniſter.

Glory be to the Father, and to the, &c.

As it was in the beginning, is now, &c.

Praiſe ye the Lord.

Then Pſalmes in order as they bee appointed in the Table for Pſalmes, except there be proper Pſalmes appointed for that day. Then a Leſſon of the old Teſtament, as it is appointed likewiſe in the Kalender, except there be proper Leſſons appointed for that day. After that Magnificat *in Engliſh. as followeth.*

Magnificat. Luke 1. 46.

MY ſoule doth magnifie the Lord : and my ſpirit hath reioyced in God my Sauiour.

For hee hath regard: the lowlineſſe of his handmaiden.

For behold from henceforth: all generations ſhall call me bleſſed.

For he that is mighty hath magnified me: and holy is his Name.

And his mercie is on them that feare him: throughout all generations.

Hee hath ſhewed ſtrength with his arme: he hath ſcattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts.

He hath put downe the mighty from their ſeate: and hath exalted the humble and meeke.

Hee hath filled the hungry with good things: & the rich he hath ſent emptie away.

He remembring his mercy, hath holpen his ſeruant Iſrael: as hee promiſed to our forefathers, Abraham, and his ſeed for euer.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Sonne: and to the holy Ghoſt.

As it was in the beginning, is now, and euer ſhall be: world without end.

Or the 98. Pſalme.

O Sing vnto the Lord a new ſong: for he hath done marueilous things. *Cantate Domino.*

With his own right hand, & with his holy arme: hath he gotten himſelfe the victory.

The Lord declared his ſaluation: his righteouſnes hath he openly ſhewed in the ſight of the heathen.

He hath remembred his mercy and trueth towards the houſe of Iſrael: and all the ends of the world haue ſeene the ſaluation of our God.

Shew your ſelues ioyfull vnto the Lord all ye lands: ſing, reioyce, and giue thankes.

Praiſe the Lord vpon the harpe: ſing to the harpe with a Pſalme of thankſgiuing.

With trumpets alſo and ſhawmes: O ſhew your ſelues ioyfull before the Lord the king.

Let the ſea make a noiſe, and all that therin is: the round world, and they that dwell therein.

Let the floods clap their hands, and let the hilles be ioyfull together before the Lord: for he is come to iudge the earth.

With righteouſneſſe ſhall hee iudge the world, and the people with equity.

Glory be to the Father, and to the &c.

As it was in the beginning, is now, &c.

Then a Leſſon of the new Teſtament, & after that Nunc dimittis *in Engliſh, as followeth.*

LOrd now letteſt thou thy ſeruant depart in peace: according to thy word. *Nunc dimittis. Luke 2.29.*

For mine eyes haue ſeene: thy ſaluation.

Which thou haſt prepared: before the face of all people.

To be a light to lighten the Gentiles: and to bee the glory of thy people Iſrael.

Glory be to the Father, and to the, &c.

As it was in the beginning, is now, &c.

Or this Pſalme.

GOd be mercifull vnto vs, and bleſſe vs: and ſhewe vs the light of his countenance, and be mercifull vnto vs. *Deus miſereatur, Pſal. 67.*

That thy way may bee knowen vpon earth: thy ſauing health among all nations.

Let the people praiſe thee O God: yea, let all the people praiſe thee.

O let the nations reioyce and be glad: for thou ſhalt iudge the folke righteouſly, and gouerne the nations vpon earth.

B 3 Let

14. The Prayer Book in 'Roman' Type

The first Books of Common Prayer were printed mainly in 'black letter' type, which resembles the pen-written letters in medieval manuscripts. (*See,* for example, Illustration 2.) Shown here is a page from one of the earliest Prayer Books to adopt 'roman' type throughout. In this case it is very small type, which together with the book's handy size suggests that it was printed for personal use. It was published in 1627 by Bonham Norton and John Bill.

St Mark's Library, The General Theological Seminary of the Episcopal Church, New York.



15. An Architectural Title-page

The engraver of the title-page of this 1662 folio edition of the Book of Common Prayer was David Loggan, who is remembered especially for his bird's-eye views of Oxford and Cambridge colleges. The title itself is not set in type but engraved, using a remarkable variety of letter-forms. Loggan's design with its columns, cornices, and volutes resembles–and may have influenced–altarpieces made for late-seventeenth-century churches.

St Mark's Library, The General Theological Seminary of the Episcopal Church, New York.

Loggan's title-page was used as a basis of design for the woodwork behind the altars in some London churches built after the fire of 1666 (Benton, 10).

The 'Privileged Presses'

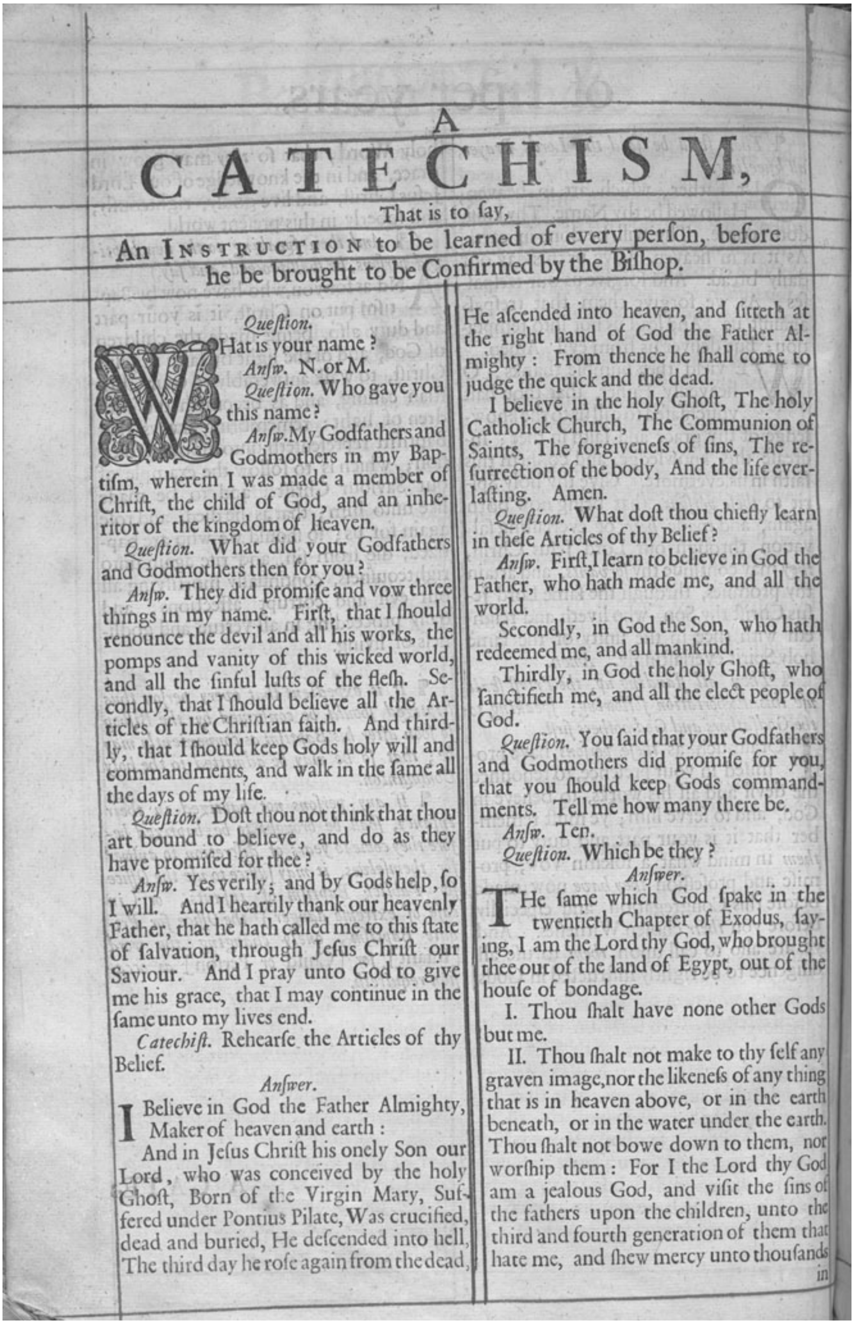
The Prayer Book of 1549, and those subsequently printed for more than a century, was entrusted to the King's or Queen's Printer, as Bibles had been prior to and after the mid-sixteenth century. In effect, the Royal Printers exercised a monopoly of the printing of both books until the reign of Charles I. In 1534, Cambridge University was awarded a royal charter under Henry VIII. The Company of Stationers in London, which printed all manner of books, legally clamoured for the right to print Bibles and Prayer Books, which they had been denied. The early history of 'privileged' printing is dark with constant litigation between the Stationers and the Royal Printers. Many 'unofficial' printings of the Prayer Book were printed which could not literally copy those officially designated. In 1629 Cambridge was given the right to print the Bible in folio or quarto only, along with the Prayer Book and metrical psalms.

Oxford University Press was given the right to print Bibles by a Letters Patent of 12 November 1632, but it was not until John Fell, son of Samuel Fell, dean of Christ Church at the time of Archbishop William Laud, that a virtual revolution in the printing of Prayer Books arrived. In 1660, Fell became dean of Christ Church, subsequently vice-chancellor, and he set about starting an academic printing establishment that would ultimately be set up within the Sheldonian Theatre. When the building was not in use for other occasions, some five printing presses and composing frames were set up around 1669. After many attempts to purchase superior type, particularly in Holland – the premier source of excellent type of the time – a noted designer called Peter de Walpergen was lured to Oxford, where he cut special matrices of roman and italic type. Fell was determined to print an annotated Bible, and although the result was not deemed a great success, the accompanying Book of Common Prayer was highly praised. Illustration 16 shows a handsome double-column page 'printed at ye Theatre in Oxford', probably in 1685. By this time Oxford University Press had become the major source of printed Books of Common Prayer, which were primarily for the officiant's use at the reading desk or Communion table in Anglican parishes. By the 1680s these churches might well have also had a 'triple-decker pulpit' from which the Prayer Book was read; it included a reading desk and lectern, and/or a clerk's seat as well as the topmost pulpit (*see* Illustration 11, p. 109).

Eighteenth-Century Prayer Books

We begin the eighteenth century with the extraordinary Prayer Book of 1717, 'London, Engraved and Printed by the Permission of Mr. John Baskett for John Sturt, Engraver' (*see* Illustration 17). Sturt was famous for a calligraphic manual, but his masterpiece is surely this subscribed edition of the Prayer Book comprising 188 plates that had been engraved on silver rather than the standard copper. This medium enabled the artist to achieve the most extraordinarily minute detail. The frontispiece is a profile portrait of George I, bordered by a host of *putti* who are immersed in soft clouds, while the facing page has portraits of the Prince and Princess of Wales. Portions of the arms of England, Scotland, Ireland, and France are beautifully rendered. The most striking feature of this work, apart from its beauty of concept and execution, is that the King's profile bust is engraved, microscopically, with the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, the prayer for the royal family, and the twenty-first Psalm.

In the middle of the eighteenth century there emerged in Britain a talented printer, John Baskerville, whose work exhibited absolutely world-class typographic excellence. At first a writing master, Baskerville went on to become a typefounder and printer in Birmingham.



A

CATECHISM,

That is to ſay,

An INSTRUCTION to be learned of every perſon, before he be brought to be Confirmed by the Biſhop.

Queſtion.

WHat is your name?

Anſw. N. or M.

Queſtion. Who gave you this name?

Anſw. My Godfathers and Godmothers in my Baptiſm, wherein I was made a member of Chriſt, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven.

Queſtion. What did your Godfathers and Godmothers then for you?

Anſw. They did promiſe and vow three things in my name. Firſt, that I ſhould renounce the devil and all his works, the pomps and vanity of this wicked world, and all the ſinful luſts of the fleſh. Secondly, that I ſhould believe all the Articles of the Chriſtian faith. And thirdly, that I ſhould keep Gods holy will and commandments, and walk in the ſame all the days of my life.

Queſtion. Doſt thou not think that thou art bound to believe, and do as they have promiſed for thee?

Anſw. Yes verily; and by Gods help, ſo I will. And I heartily thank our heavenly Father, that he hath called me to this ſtate of ſalvation, through Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour. And I pray unto God to give me his grace, that I may continue in the ſame unto my lives end.

Catechiſt. Rehearſe the Articles of thy Belief.

Anſwer.

I Believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth:

And in Jeſus Chriſt his onely Son our Lord, who was conceived by the holy Ghoſt, Born of the Virgin Mary, Suffered under Pontius Pilate, Was crucified, dead and buried, He deſcended into hell, The third day he roſe again from the dead, He aſcended into heaven, and ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty: From thence he ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead.

I believe in the holy Ghoſt, The holy Catholick Church, The Communion of Saints, The forgiveneſs of ſins, The reſurrection of the body, And the life everlaſting. Amen.

Queſtion. What doſt thou chiefly learn in theſe Articles of thy Belief?

Anſw. Firſt, I learn to believe in God the Father, who hath made me, and all the world.

Secondly, in God the Son, who hath redeemed me, and all mankind.

Thirdly, in God the holy Ghoſt, who ſanctifieth me, and all the elect people of God.

Queſtion. You ſaid that your Godfathers and Godmothers did promiſe for you, that you ſhould keep Gods commandments. Tell me how many there be.

Anſw. Ten.

Queſtion. Which be they?

Anſwer.

THe ſame which God ſpake in the twentieth Chapter of Exodus, ſaying, I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the houſe of bondage.

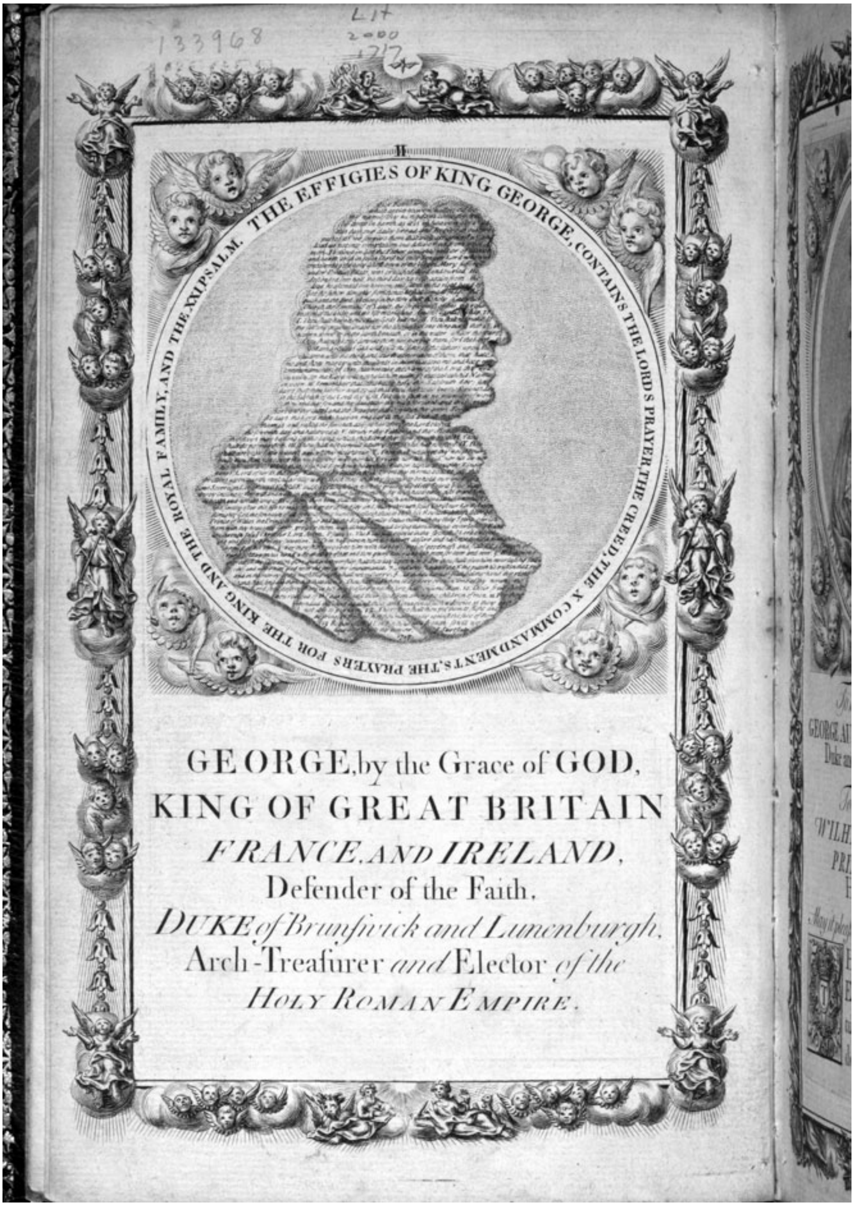
I. Thou ſhalt have none other Gods but me.

II. Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelf any graven image, nor the likeneſs of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth. Thou ſhalt not bowe down to them, nor worſhip them: For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, and viſit the ſins of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and ſhew mercy unto thouſands in

16. An Early Oxford Prayer Book

In England the right to print the Book of Common Prayer (and the Authorized Version of the Bible) is held by the Crown and was delegated to the presses of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge as well as to the King's or Queen's Printer. Oxford began to print Prayer Books towards the end of the seventeenth century, many of them intended for use at the lectern. This page, fourteen inches tall, is from one of the earliest, 'Printed at yᵉ Theatre in Oxford', probably in 1685. The typeface is 'roman' throughout; only the horizontal and vertical rules are printed in red.

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17. A *Tour de force* of Engraving

This frontispiece, engraved on silver rather than copper, is one of 188 illustrations made for a *de luxe* Book of Common Prayer published in 1717. The royal portrait is not just a portrait; it contains five Prayer Book texts, including the 'state prayers' for the king and the royal family, and Psalm 21, 'The king shall rejoice in thy strength, O Lord.'

St Mark's Library, The General Theological Seminary of the Episcopal Church, New York.

He designed the typeface that still bears his name, based on old-style typefaces of the sixteenth century, but with changes that anticipate modern typefaces. For five years, from 1758 to 1763, Baskerville held printing positions at Cambridge University involving the Bible and Books of Common Prayer. The J. P. Morgan Library owns a copy of 1760, superbly bound in vellum by Edwards of Halifax–a binder who perfected the art of fine illustration painted on the underside of specially prepared transparent vellum–for the Earl of Rosslyn, Lord Chancellor of Great Britain. The book has a beautiful and simple typographic title-page, with a simple lined border composed of small typographic ornaments. Borders are printed throughout the book on each page. Rubrics are printed in a fine italic type, while the text is composed of large upper-case roman. The printing, on wove paper, sets a new standard for excellence, and Baskerville pointed the way to the development of the modern Prayer Book.

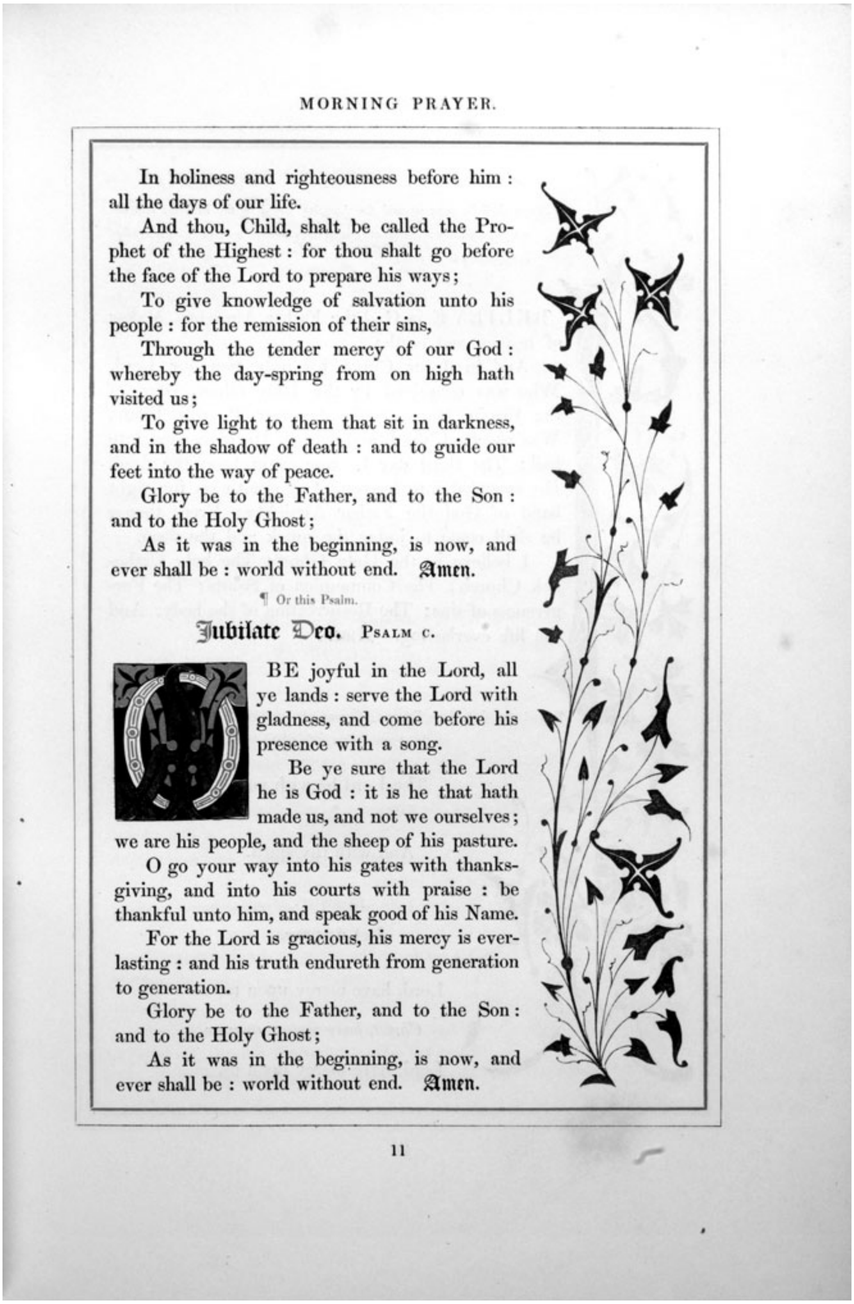
Printed books in general in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were, as we have seen, extremely expensive to produce and to purchase. By the eighteenth century, while books were still relatively dear, the growing proliferation of printers and the increase in literacy levels for many created a slowly rising demand for more books, many of them histories and novels. An examination of existing personal libraries of the period shows the incremental increase, during the course of the century, of books of all kinds. By the end of the century and the beginning of the next, the availability of books, newspapers, posters, leaflets, and other miscellaneous printed material had increased very substantially and was spreading from the aristocracy to the literate, growing middle class. Certainly, the acquisition of a family Bible and a Prayer Book had grown exponentially.

However, it must be pointed out that from the very beginning, in 1549, a 'pocket' Prayer Book had been printed in a later issue that year. From the middle of the seventeenth century a *Companion to the Altar Book*, and other commentaries, were available for binding with the Prayer Book itself. Many of these have been found with personal histories indicating single use, unlike the family Bible. It was not until the early nineteenth century, with the advent of publishers' binding, circa 1825, which were made of relatively inexpensive materials other than leather, that it became possible for almost anyone, save the poor, to obtain books. Heretofore, all books were purchased in sheets and were bound to order, adding to their cost.

Nineteenth-Century Books

The nineteenth century was a time of invention and discovery in Europe, some of which was to influence the development of the printed book. Chromolithography, a technique that employs the transfer of coloured inks from the surface of a prepared stone to paper, was invented in France in 1837. Unfortunately, this invention ushered in a period of badly designed, cheap editions that heralded the general debasement of much printing during the rest of the century. The increasing mechanization of book production–printing presses run by steam, machines for collating and binding–enabled the mass production of books, periodicals, and the like, giving the general public access to literature of all kinds for very little money. This mechanization was applied to the production of furniture, furnishings, and art and poster reproduction. Increasingly poorly designed, over ornamented, and often shoddily made products of all kinds, as well as books, were ushered in with the Victorian Age.

There were, needless to say, exceptions, such as the work of Owen Jones, a noted architect and designer. He contributed designs for many publications during his career, but his Book of Common Prayer for Viztelly Brothers & Co., John Murray, London, 1844, is among the best (*see* Illustration 18). It is a very elaborate production, using multicoloured ink with each of the eight sections having a separate title-page. The text is printed in black alternating with paragraphs in colour. Jones varies each section with floral borders or patterns based on Celtic motifs and initial letters adapted from medieval manuscripts. It is a stunning production, totally unlike the relatively restrained Prayer Books of the previous centuries, and



MORNING PRAYER.

In holiness and righteousness before him : all the days of our life.

And thou, Child, shalt be called the Prophet of the Highest : for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways;

To give knowledge of salvation unto his people : for the remission of their sins,

Through the tender mercy of our God : whereby the day-spring from on high hath visited us;

To give light to them that sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death : and to guide our feet into the way of peace.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son : and to the Holy Ghost;

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be : world without end. **Amen.**

¶ Or this Psalm.

Jubilate Deo. PSALM C.

O BE joyful in the Lord, all ye lands : serve the Lord with gladness, and come before his presence with a song.

Be ye sure that the Lord he is God : it is he that hath made us, and not we ourselves; we are his people, and the sheep of his pasture.

O go your way into his gates with thanksgiving, and into his courts with praise : be thankful unto him, and speak good of his Name.

For the Lord is gracious, his mercy is everlasting : and his truth endureth from generation to generation.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son : and to the Holy Ghost;

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be : world without end. **Amen.**

11

18. A Victorian 'Gothic' Prayer Book

Owen Jones, best known for his monumental book *The Grammar of Ornament,* was responsible for the design and decoration of this Book of Common Prayer, published in 1844. Although it makes use of several colours, individual pages are comparatively restrained. Here red is used for the inner framing line and the rubric, blue for the vines and leaves, while the initial 'O' has both.

ST MARK'S LIBRARY, THE GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH, NEW YORK.

points to the direction that books in general were to follow in the Victorian Age. From this time on decoration, often excessive in the hands of lesser artists than Jones, would flood the book world.

Coincidentally, 1844 also saw the publication of William Pickering's Book of Common Prayer. A trade publisher who produced much of the best mid-century book work, Pickering employed the Chiswick Press, founded in 1811, and was noted for his attention to detail. He insisted on good design, good materials, and precise and careful presswork. Joseph Blumenthal, America's last 'scholar-printer', in his book *The Art of the Printed Book,* called him 'The first conspicuous figure in the emerging separation of book design from printing and publishing' (Blumenthal, 33). This production and others like it were, in effect, antiquarian versions of earlier books, or separately printed sections like the Psalms, and as such were 'unofficial' and not bound by the same restrictions as officially warranted publications.

Pickering's Book of Common Prayer was an enormous undertaking. It was an edition of six volumes, all in folio size (9" × 13¾"), based closely on the Prayer Books of 1549, 1550 (Merbecke's book, 'noted' for chanting), 1552, 1604, 1637, and 1662, but they are not facsimile versions. The ornate title-page borders, designed and engraved by Mary Byfield, show a medieval frame of the arms of all the English and Welsh dioceses with Victoria's Royal Arms in the centre, surmounted by a crown (*see* Illustration 19). The title is printed in black-letter. Throughout the book the black-letter is enhanced by the use of beautiful calligraphic style initial letters (*see* Illustration 20). The paper, presswork, and binding are all of the highest quality; and the book is surely one of the finest productions of its age.

The First American Prayer Books

The first Book of Common Prayer in America was a small quarto volume printed in 1710 by William Bradford in New York. Bradford, a Quaker, immigrated to Philadelphia in 1685 and in 1686 produced the first printing for the Middle Atlantic Colonies, an almanac for that date. In 1789, a General Convention of the American church adopted a new Book of Common Prayer, which was printed by David Hall and William Sellers in Philadelphia. Hall had previously become the successor to Benjamin Franklin. The 1789/90 edition is small. The title-page has a double-ruled border surrounding the title itself, which is elegantly, if simply, printed in roman and italic type in a variety of sizes, with the only decoration being a swelled rule separating the printer's name. The term 'According to the use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America' follows the actual title. Within, the text is printed in double-column format (*see* Illustration 26, p. 181). The concept of 'standard books' or 'standard editions' is an American one. The year 1793 saw the publication of the first 'standard edition' Prayer Book to bear the designation 'By order of the General Convention'. It was not until the revised book of 1892, however, that the term 'standard book' was used.

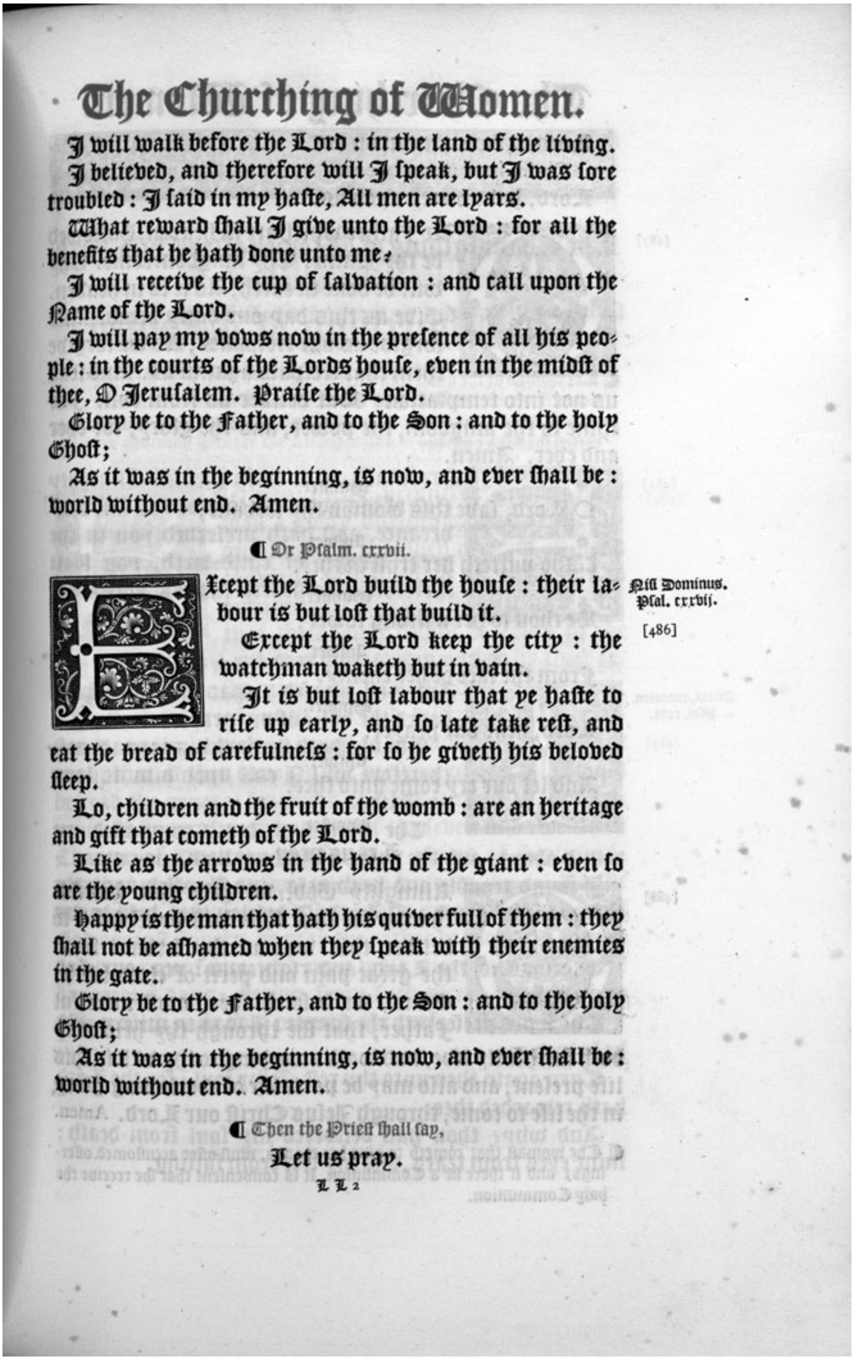
The General Convention of 1892 authorized a new revision of the Book of Common Prayer for the Episcopal Church, which was to be the standard from which all new and variously priced editions of the Prayer Book would be printed. The pagination was standardized, as were all other aspects of the book, from the text to the precise sequence, instructions, and so on. The Standard Book was made for presentation to various dioceses and dignitaries, with one, specially bound, to be kept by a 'Custodian of the Prayer Book'. The publication committee turned to Theodore Low De Vinne to print the text, and for the ornamental borders it approached a young printer, Daniel Berkeley Updike, who had recently founded his own press. Updike devised the design program and the architect Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue executed the vaguely medievalized floral borders that had to surround every page of De Vinne's modern type (*see* Illustration 22, p. 129). They tried their best to complement the text, but it must be said that they failed. However, the book, enhanced by handsome endpapers, with a beautiful gold-stamped parchment binding with ornate clasps – all designed by Goodhue – is a formidable piece of work. John Pierpont Morgan was



19. Pickering's Books of Common Prayer (1)

The wood engravings in William Pickering's elegant folio editions were the work of Mary Byfield. Probably she also designed the frame used on this title-page, which shows the arms of the Anglican dioceses in England and Wales. Pickering claimed to be *Aldi discipulus Anglus,* an 'English disciple of Aldus (Manutius)', one of the greatest early printers, whose famous 'dolphin and anchor' device appears below the title along with Pickering's motto.

BENTON COLLECTION, RARE BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS DEPARTMENT, BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.



The Churching of Women.

I will walk before the Lord : in the land of the living.

I believed, and therefore will I ſpeak, but I was ſore troubled : I ſaid in my haſte, All men are lyars.

What reward ſhall I give unto the Lord : for all the benefits that he hath done unto me?

I will receive the cup of ſalvation : and call upon the Name of the Lord.

I will pay my vows now in the preſence of all his people : in the courts of the Lords houſe, even in the midſt of thee, O Jeruſalem. Praiſe the Lord.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son : and to the holy Ghoſt;

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever ſhall be : world without end. Amen.

¶ Or Pſalm. cxxvii.

Except the Lord build the houſe : their labour is but loſt that build it. Niſi Dominus. Pſal. cxxvij. [486]

Except the Lord keep the city : the watchman waketh but in vain.

It is but loſt labour that ye haſte to riſe up early, and ſo late take reſt, and eat the bread of carefulneſs : for ſo he giveth his beloved ſleep.

Lo, children and the fruit of the womb : are an heritage and gift that cometh of the Lord.

Like as the arrows in the hand of the giant : even ſo are the young children.

Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them : they ſhall not be aſhamed when they ſpeak with their enemies in the gate.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son : and to the holy Ghoſt;

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever ſhall be : world without end. Amen.

¶ Then the Prieſt ſhall ſay,

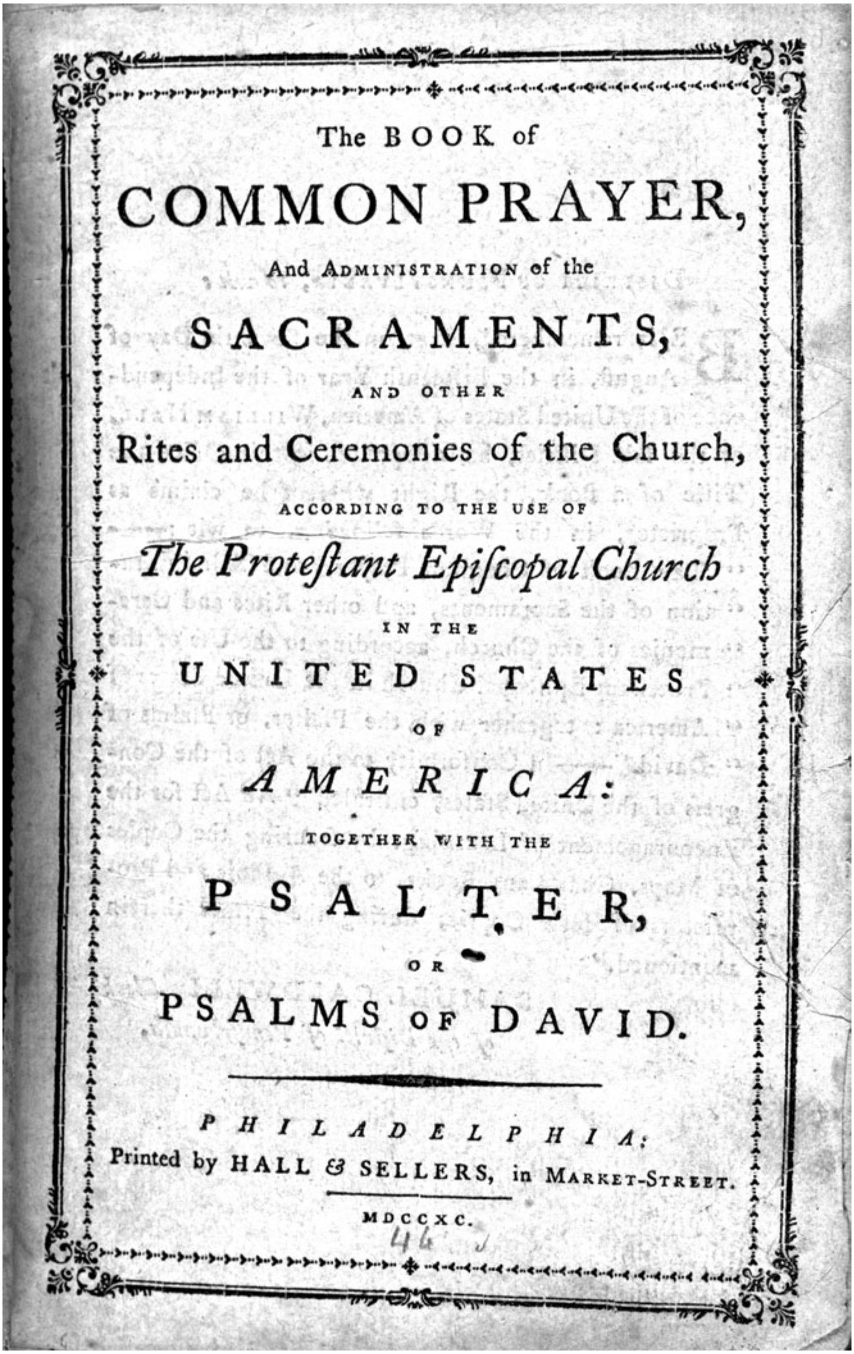
Let us pray.

L L 2

20. Pickering's Books of Common Prayer (2)

The typography of the Pickering editions deliberately emulates that of the earliest Prayer Books, including their decorative initials. This page from the 1662 service of Thanksgiving of Women after Childbirth, commonly called the Churching of Women (as in the heading printed in red at the top of the page) should be compared with Illustrations 1 and 2, which show Prayer Books printed in 1552 and 1549 respectively.

Benton Collection, Rare Books and Manuscripts Department, Boston Public Library.



The BOOK of

COMMON PRAYER,

And ADMINISTRATION of the

SACRAMENTS,

AND OTHER

Rites and Ceremonies of the Church,

ACCORDING TO THE USE OF

The Proteſtant Epiſcopal Church

IN THE

UNITED STATES

OF

AMERICA:

TOGETHER WITH THE

PSALTER,

OR

PSALMS OF DAVID.

PHILADELPHIA:

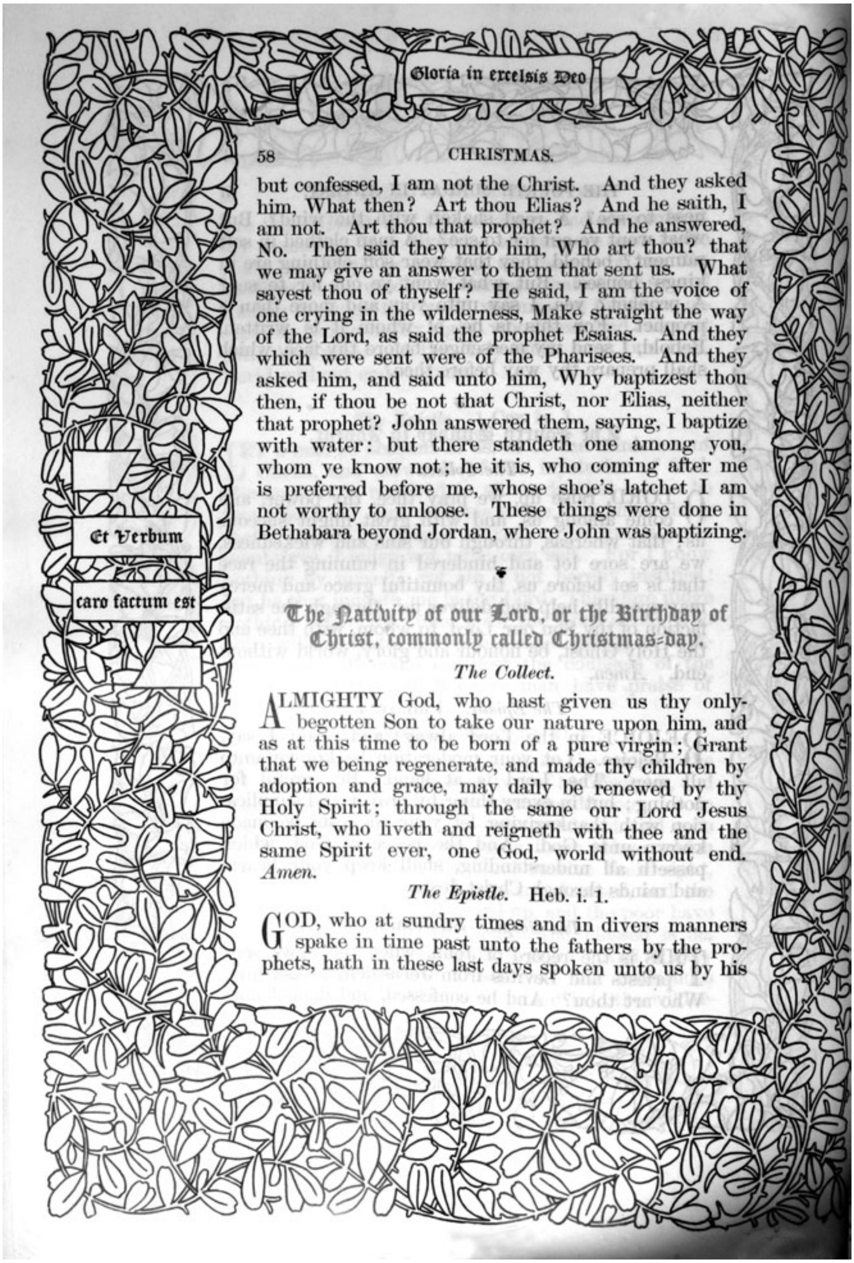
Printed by HALL & SELLERS, in MARKET-STREET.

MDCCXC.

21. The First American Prayer Book

The newly formed Protestant Episcopal Church adopted its own revision of the Book of Common Prayer in 1789. In January of the following year, the book went to the printer, and the first edition was ready for use in October, when its ratification took effect. The title-page follows the 1662 version closely, changing only the name of the church, but does not go on to mention the ordination services, which were not yet included in the American book. They would not be revised until 1792, immediately before the first consecration of a bishop in the United States.

Benton Collection, Rare Books and Manuscripts Department, Boston Public Library.



Gloria in excelsis Deo

58 CHRISTMAS.

but confessed, I am not the Christ. And they asked him, What then? Art thou Elias? And he saith, I am not. Art thou that prophet? And he answered, No. Then said they unto him, Who art thou? that we may give an answer to them that sent us. What sayest thou of thyself? He said, I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord, as said the prophet Esaias. And they which were sent were of the Pharisees. And they asked him, and said unto him, Why baptizest thou then, if thou be not that Christ, nor Elias, neither that prophet? John answered them, saying, I baptize with water: but there standeth one among you, whom ye know not; he it is, who coming after me is preferred before me, whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose. These things were done in Bethabara beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing.

Et Verbum

caro factum est

The Nativity of our Lord, or the Birthday of Christ, commonly called Christmas-day.

The Collect.

ALMIGHTY God, who hast given us thy only-begotten Son to take our nature upon him, and as at this time to be born of a pure virgin; Grant that we being regenerate, and made thy children by adoption and grace, may daily be renewed by thy Holy Spirit; through the same our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the same Spirit ever, one God, world without end. *Amen.*

The Epistle. Heb. i. 1.

GOD, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his

22. The ‘Standard Book’ of 1892

The specially-commissioned edition of the Episcopal Church’s 1892 Book of Common Prayer that is illustrated here was a collaboration: the text was printed by Theodore Low De Vinne, while Daniel Berkeley Updike was responsible for the design and Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue for the borders. On this page, only the black-letter rubric is printed in red. Appropriately for Christmas Day, the texts in the scrolls quote Luke 2:14, ‘Glory to God in the highest’, and John 1:14, ‘And the Word was made flesh’.

St Mark’s Library, The General Theological Seminary of the Episcopal Church, New York.

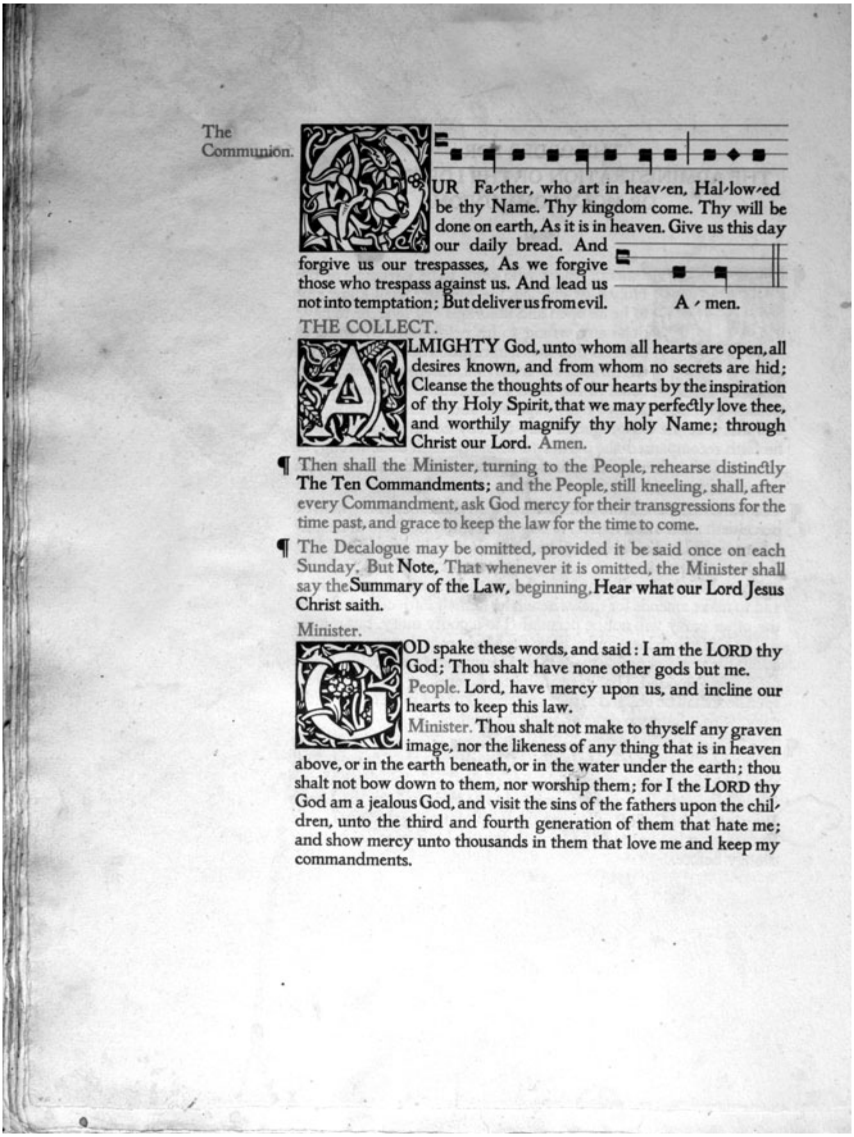
the great moving force behind the production of this book, collecting significant older Prayer Books in great number for the committee to evaluate and select. The enormous costs of the undertaking of the Standard Book were totally borne by him. So disappointed was Updike with the result, published in 1893, that he was determined to produce a work that would redeem the failure. With the authority of the church, and the underwriting of the project by his cousin, Harold Brown, he ultimately produced a masterpiece, *The Altar Book* of 1896 (*see* Illustration 23). To understand the phenomenon of *The Altar Book*, a Prayer Book of sophistication, graphic, and typographic beauty, emerging so early in Updike's career is to understand his determination to create a work that would vindicate him aesthetically, but also be worthy of his religiously informed passion to create a work worthy of his God. His understatement in his biographical *Notes* of 1933 belies the fact that the work was three years in the making and employed the considerable talents of artists and artisans both in Britain and America. Although often compared to William Morris's masterpiece of medieval style, *The Works of Chaucer*, which appeared about the same time, Updike ultimately found this style uncongenial to his Anglo-New England aesthetic, as his work from the turn of the century illustrates. Updike did not copy Morris; rather, he understood his intentions and style, and was able to produce a great work concurrently. The beauty of *The Altar Book* consists of the melding of all the elements of its design.

The 1928 Book of Common Prayer

More than a quarter of a century would pass before the General Convention of the Episcopal Church called for further revision of the Prayer Book, which would result in the 1928 Book of Common Prayer. This time it was Morgan's son, J. P. Morgan, Jr, who was to underwrite the cost of the new Standard Book. Because of the design problems that marred the making of the Prayer Book of 1892, it was decided to approach several printers and designers for completely developed trial entries, for which they were handsomely paid. The project was under the supervision of Belle da Costa Greene, librarian to both Morgans, father and son. During her tenure, and with her canny expertise, their private libraries grew into what was to become the great Morgan Library. At this point, she was very familiar with the printers and presses which were approached: the Oxford University Press (John Johnson); the Cambridge University Press (Stanley Morison); independent designer Bruce Rogers; and the Merrymount Press (Daniel Berkeley Updike). In due course, four handsome entries, with fully realized trial pages, various typographic layouts, papers, decorations, and bindings, were presented to the Prayer Book committee. It was ultimately Greene's recommendation with that of the commission that Updike and his Merrymount Press be awarded the enterprise.

Despite Updike's deep knowledge of the Episcopal rite, his own reputation for prior printing for and about the church, and his own innate superb typographic taste, the work of designing and printing the Prayer Book was an extraordinarily complicated and involved undertaking for his medium-sized company. However, the resulting work is one of the most fully realized books of the twentieth century. The key to the beauty of the Book of Common Prayer of 1928 is its utter simplicity. Except for a Caslon fleuron on the title-page, there is no decoration anywhere. Page after page of elegant Janson type, impeccably printed on beautiful handmade paper in black and red, is one of the most harmonious and felicitous expressions of faith, of taste and beauty in type. Five hundred copies (9½" × 13⅜"), printed on Kelmscott handmade paper, were produced, and twelve on Italian vellum, one copy of which was specially bound to become the Standard Book, deposited with the Prayer Book Custodian. It is not unusual still to find facsimiles of Updike's version in some Episcopal churches around the country.

The pursuit and examination of the myriad editions of the roughly five thousand Books of Common Prayer over nearly five centuries, with their endless additions, subtractions,



The Communion.

OUR Fa-ther, who art in heav-en, Hal-low-ed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth, As it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil. A - men.

THE COLLECT.

ALMIGHTY God, unto whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid; Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy Name; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ Then shall the Minister, turning to the People, rehearse distinctly **The Ten Commandments**; and the People, still kneeling, shall, after every Commandment, ask God mercy for their transgressions for the time past, and grace to keep the law for the time to come.

¶ The Decalogue may be omitted, provided it be said once on each Sunday. But **Note**, That whenever it is omitted, the Minister shall say the **Summary of the Law**, beginning, **Hear what our Lord Jesus Christ saith.**

Minister.

GOD spake these words, and said: I am the LORD thy God; Thou shalt have none other gods but me.
People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.
Minister. Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them; for I the LORD thy God am a jealous God, and visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me; and show mercy unto thousands in them that love me and keep my commandments.

23. The Updike *Altar Book*

Daniel Berkeley Updike devoted three years to producing his 1896 *Altar Book.* The initial letters and the typography invite comparison with the work of William Morris, but Updike's design has a character and integrity of its own. On this page from the beginning of the Communion service, the rubrics as well as the staff-lines are printed in red. The spacious margins at the bottom and the outer side of each page contribute much to the overall effect.

St Mark's Library, The General Theological Seminary of the Episcopal Church, New York.

emendations, proscriptions, and the like, make a study of the Prayer Book a challenging, if not daunting, prospect. Inconsistencies and confusion lie at every turn. The printing of the Prayer Book is no less so. While certain consistencies of order and pagination were often officially demanded, it really was not until the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with the Morgan-sponsored Prayer Books in America, that absolute precision was demanded and realized. However, all American Prayer Books have always been numbered. All the limited Standard Books, and the less expensive copies made for pulpit, pew, and personal use, bore a Certification from the Custodian of the Prayer Book, indicating that it is word-for-word and page-for-page correct. The dazzling and meticulously produced Prayer Books of 1892, 1896, and 1928 are now a matter of history. It is unlikely that, given the costs and public sensitivity to such extravagance, we shall ever see their like again.

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The Prayer Book as 'Sacred Text'

Kenneth Stevenson

Whenever a priest embarks upon a new post anywhere in the Anglican Communion, he or she must promise to use the church's authorized forms of service. In the Church of England, such a declaration is made publicly, and the words that are spoken refer both to the 1662 Prayer Book and to other forms that are 'authorized or allowed by canon'–which means *Common Worship* (2000), as well as the various seasonal and occasional forms of service that are from time to time agreed upon. Other provinces have corresponding provisions, according to need and context.

What does this say about the character of Anglicanism? It can give the false impression that Anglicans are interested only in liturgy, which is far from the truth. There are many Anglicans all over the world who, in the best sense of the term, take their liturgy for granted, while they struggle with the more immediate problems of hunger, disease, racial violence, or religious oppression. On the other hand, it does say clearly that for Anglicans, what we do when we worship expresses what we believe. There are historic formularies, like the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, which were agreed upon early in the reign of Elizabeth I (1563). But there is no 'confession of faith' analogous to those of the Reformed churches, nor do we have a central, doctrinal 'magisterium', as in the Roman Catholic Church. In the past, such factors placed a heavy emphasis on the 1662 Prayer Book as a unifying force. But even this was not to last. The Scottish Episcopal Church issued its own liturgy in 1764, after some time of experimentation, and the American Episcopal Church produced its own Prayer Book in 1789. A basic family likeness, however, was apparent, and it persists down to the present day.

Liturgy, both as an activity of worship and as a way of articulating what we believe about God, ourselves, the church, the meaning of life, has a habit of changing. Unlike the Bible, it does not have canonical status. Nonetheless, it cannot–and should not–change too often. This explains why the Prayer Book, whether it be that of 1662 for England, or 1789 for America, or 1929 for Scotland, has assumed a very special place: the locus of identity in worship and doctrine, which also means an area of (potentially controversial) debate.

Whenever I prepare couples for marriage, I always take them through the service. When they ask me, 'What does the church teach about marriage?' I always direct them to the vows they intend to make and the prayers I will read. All this and much more suggests for Anglicanism a particularly strong interpretation of what Prosper of Aquitaine, who was in effect Pope Leo the Great's chaplain, described in the fifth century as the way what we believe builds up how we pray. Such a dynamic relationship between public prayer and belief is often described as *lex orandi lex credendi*. This has led to the practice of a handsomely-bound copy of the Prayer Book, or its modern equivalent, being used as a confirmation or marriage gift. Such a view is not uniquely Anglican; it is shared by theologians in Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Methodist churches. But it does go some way to explain how we relate to our authorized liturgical texts, and why so many different kinds of commentaries have been written about the Book of Common Prayer. Some of these commentaries are written to defend the Prayer Book, some to expound it (sometimes for the purposes of revising it), and some as a springboard for writing an Anglican theology.

Defending: Richard Hooker and F. D. Maurice

The moment that the first Prayer Book was issued in 1549, it came under attack and not only from the people of Cornwall, who could not understand its form of English and preferred the old Mass. Reformed theologians also objected, such as Martin Bucer, who left Germany in the previous year to become a professor at Cambridge at Cranmer's invitation, and who influenced the more obviously Protestant direction taken by the second Prayer Book of 1552. Debate continued when Elizabeth I came to the throne in 1558, led largely by churchmen who had fled Mary Tudor's Catholic England, and who during that time were influenced by the centres of Reformed faith and practice in Frankfurt, Geneva, and, in particular, Zurich. As Elizabeth's reign went on, what kind of church Church of England people wanted continued to be a matter of dispute. In 1572, two 'Admonitions to Parliament' were produced, pressing for a presbyterian form of church government and a form of worship along the lines of Calvin's followers in Geneva, an English version of which soon appeared.

The man who addressed these issues head-on was Richard Hooker, who, after a high-profile ministry at the Temple Church, London, became a country parish priest. He set about writing his *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, a series of books which argued for the necessity of the church in a visible, historic form. The fifth book, which dealt specifically with the Prayer Book, appeared in 1598. Hooker's style is not easy, but it repays careful reading. He avoids polemical language, even in the face of fierce criticism of the Prayer Book, especially such practices as kneeling for communion, reciting the Lord's Prayer twice at a service, the use of the ring at marriage, and the signing with the cross at baptism (the only place where it remained after the Reformation). Hooker adopts a twofold method. First, he argues for general principles. God is God, and we must approach him humbly, and without too many words. People need rhythms in their public prayer, especially for those who are less articulate. Tradition provides the best kind of framework, when it has been judiciously reformed.

The second strand to his work, which some scholars think was inserted at the behest of friends, is made up of specific examples, where Hooker takes on the criticisms one by one. Kneeling at communion is a sign of reverence. The surplice is a dignified garment, symbolizing baptism. The Lord's Prayer at the start of any service is a form of preparation – as was the case in private devotion in the later Middle Ages. Reciting it straight after communion is a way of giving thanks for spiritual feeding – a practice Calvin did not allow, since he believed the prayer should normally be linked only with intercession.

Hooker's aim was to see in the Prayer Book the teaching of the church. He knew many of its critics took a different view, in which the inward and the outward were often regarded as separate. For him, however, the sacramental water, and the bread and wine, are chosen and used to express in a heavenly manner what the outward signs convey: water is for washing and birth, bread and wine are for eating and drinking. The words and gestures of the Prayer Book rites are meant to interpret these sacred actions as what they are intended for by the church. 'The divine mystery is more true than plain', Hooker remarks, in the face of those who seem to want every syllable and moment in worship to teach, and nothing else. In an equally pithy sentence, he distinguishes between the distinct functions of the two dominical sacraments: 'The grace which we have by the holy Eucharist doth not begin but continue life.' And to those who want to argue endlessly about eucharistic theology, he writes, 'I wish that men would more give themselves to meditate with silence what we have by the sacrament and less to dispute the manner how.'

Hooker's impact was in the long rather than the short term, but his writings keep returning to the theological scene. Some of the customs which he defends have not stood the test of time, such as dual recitation of the Lord's Prayer at the main services. It is, however, clear that the Prayer Book fed and nourished his personal piety as well as the way he articulated the things of God: 'No good is infinite, but only God: therefore he our felicity and bliss.'

Hooker on Common Prayer

A great part of the cause, wherefore religious minds are so inflamed with the love of public devotion, is that virtue, force, and efficacy, which by experience they find that the very form and reverend solemnity of common prayer duly ordered hath, to help that imbecility and weakness in us, by means whereof we are otherwise of ourselves the less apt to perform unto God so heavenly a service, with such affection of heart, and disposition in the powers of our souls as is requisite. To this end therefore all things hereunto appertaining have been ever thought convenient to be done with the most solemnity and majesty that the wisest could devise. It is not with public as with private prayer. In this [latter], rather secrecy is commended than outward show [Matthew 6:5–6], whereas that, being the public act of a whole society, requireth accordingly more care to be had of external appearance. The very assembling of men therefore unto this service hath been ever solemn.

Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, Book Five, chapter 25.

Frederick Denison Maurice, born in 1805, takes us to a different world altogether. We are no longer in an established church subjected to calls for radical change from within Parliament but in England after the Industrial Revolution, where the various churches (not just the Church of England) were making valiant efforts to relate to urban society, whether in building churches or setting up schools. Brought up a Unitarian, Maurice eventually found his home in the Church of England, but not without some considerable soul-searching. As chaplain to Guy's Hospital, preacher at Lincoln's Inn (like Hooker's Temple Church, a centre for the legal profession), and a London (and later Cambridge) professor, he wrote and preached the gospel in a way that strove to be faithful to tradition and aware of the new questions and contexts in which the church now found itself. In 1838, Maurice wrote *The Kingdom of Christ,* an extended dialogue with a Quaker on the coherence of the Prayer Book, with its forms of worship and ordering of bishops, priests, and deacons. Among his many sermons, he delivered nine on the Lord's Prayer, and nineteen on the main parts of the Prayer Book, at Lincoln's Inn in 1848.

Both *The Kingdom of Christ* and the sermons bring us into the urgency of Maurice's heart and mind. He is not always as clear as he might be. Unlike Hooker, who could be too compressed, Maurice has a tendency to repeat himself, though he is often trying to say something else as well! *The Kingdom* he describes as 'the little book upon Church and State', which

Maurice on the Collects

F. D. Maurice's nineteen sermons on the Prayer Book expound the different parts of Morning and Evening Prayer and the Communion service. This excerpt is taken from the sermon on 'Ejaculations and Collects', preached in 1849 on Matthew 6:7–8.

If you study the construction of them you will find that the principle, 'Our Father knoweth what things we have need of before we ask,' is assumed in all of them. . . . To begin *from* God, and to consider how He meets His creatures, not to begin from some mere chance feeling of ours, and consider how we may work ourselves into a right state; this, I think, is the blessed and pregnant hint which the Collects supply us with as a guide in all our reflections upon ourselves or upon the world around us. And that hint, as it puts us into the posture for thought, so also explains most livingly the connection of thought and prayer; how one should interpret the other. We think because there is One near us who is prompting us to think and teaching us how to think. Our confession of His presence and of Him as the spring of every movement of our inner mind, is a prayer. Thought and prayer both come from a hidden source; they go forth to fight with foes and gain victory in the external world; they return to rest in Him who inspired them.

takes further something that was dear to Hooker – the social setting of the church in any age. For Maurice, it is a distortion of the gospel to depart from the world into a private religious environment. The Prayer Book teaches a religion that is embodied in humanity, that speaks to and about the whole personality in daily life, including the social and the political. He expounds a Christianity that has learnt from such sixteenth-century figures as the reforming Catholic, Erasmus, Martin Luther, and John Calvin, as well as from more recent developments such as the Unitarianism of Maurice's youth and the questioning tendencies of eighteenth-century philosophy.

Like Hooker, Maurice refuses to let a wedge be driven between the inward and the outward, writing that 'the Holy Ghost does not break down eternal laws and ordinances, for the mere sake of bearing witness to his power'. At the end of his first sermon on the Prayer Book, he becomes the champion of the thinking person in the pew: 'Most of all, I claim this Prayer Book as a witness against your sins and mine.' For Maurice, the Prayer Book addresses human nature, and becomes a modest, reticent, but nonetheless effective vehicle of God's redeeming grace. Like Hooker, Maurice continues to be a source of inspiration for Anglicans and others, largely because of the combination of inclusiveness and challenge that undergirds his theology.

Expositors: Charles Wheatly, F. E. Brightman, Marion Hatchett

Many commentaries on the Prayer Book appeared in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, among them one published in three editions between 1710 and 1720 from the pen of Charles Wheatly, entitled *The Church of England Man's Companion, or a Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer.* Wheatly was an Oxford theologian who went on to serve in parish ministry from 1713 until his death. Like many other such publications, the *Rational Illustration* is a step-by-step commentary on every main part of the Prayer Book, and it works on two levels. The first concerns ancient sources of liturgy, which was increasingly a priority of Anglican liturgical writing from the seventeenth century onwards. It was important to demonstrate that the services of Morning and Evening Prayer, of Baptism and the Eucharist, had their roots in the ancient church. By going back to these ancient sources, such commentaries revealed a Prayer Book that was free of later medieval developments reflecting the unreformed papacy.

Cranmer, of course, provided no sources for his many compositions – with one exception, the so-called Prayer of St Chrysostom, which in the 1662 Prayer Book begins, 'Almighty God, who hast given us grace at this time with one accord to make our common supplications unto thee'. Wheatly enjoys pointing out the prayer's possible source in the Greek Liturgy of St John Chrysostom, and his second aim is to offer a theological and devotional exposition of his material. This pastoral intent he fulfils on virtually every page as he reassures his readers not only as to the sheer fact of God and the challenge that life presents because of the weakness of our nature, but also to our own capacity to amend our lives with the grace and help of God.

The three editions of this work indicate a shift in Wheatly's views about the sacraments to a 'higher' position, particularly with regard to the Eucharist. In many ways Wheatly helped to give impetus to those who looked back to the 1549 Prayer Book's rite as expressing a more traditional approach, with the eucharistic prayer as a unity, rather than (as from 1552 onwards) spread out into separate units. He also increasingly yearned for what the 1549 had but the 1552/1662 did not: a reference to the work of the Holy Spirit in the consecration of the bread and wine, which he would have seen in parallel with the liturgies of the Christian East. What Wheatly provides is a knowledge of liturgical history and a commitment to that blend of moral and ascetic theology that was the hallmark of much seventeenth-century writing. As we keep seeing in these classical Anglican writers, to live morally and to worship prayerfully are not two separate exercises. They belong together.

Wheatly on Holy Communion

Charles Wheatly published his *Rational Illustration* as a digest of 'every thing liturgical' in the work of 'all former ritualists, commentators, or others' who had written on the Prayer Book, together with 'new observations' of his own. These sections come from his commentary on the beginning of Holy Communion.

Sect. II.–*Of the Lord's Prayer*

There can be no fitter beginning for this sacred ordinance, which so peculiarly challengeth Christ for its author, than that divine prayer which owes its original to the same person, and which St. Jerome tells us, Christ taught his apostles, on purpose that they should use it at the holy Communion. To which the primitive fathers thought it so peculiarly adapted, that they generally expounded that petition, *Give us this day our daily bread,* of the body of Christ, the bread of life, which in those times they daily received for the nourishment of their souls.

Sect. III.–*Of the Collect for Purity*

As the people were to be purified before the first publication of the law [Exodus 19:14], so must we have *clean hearts* before we be fit to hear it; lest, if our minds be impure, *sin take occasion by the commandment* to stir up concupiscence [Romans 7:8]: for prevention of which, when the Commandments were added in the second Book of king Edward, it was thought proper that this form should immediately precede them; not but that the form itself was in our first Liturgy, and, as far as appears, in the oldest offices of the Western Church.

Sect. IV.–*Of the Ten Commandments*

These divine precepts of the moral law as much oblige Christians as they did the Jews: we vowed to keep them at our baptism, and we renew that vow at every Communion: and therefore it is very fit we should hear them often, and especially at those times when we are going to make fresh engagements to observe them. Upon which account, since we are to confess all our sins before we come to this blessed Sacrament of pardon, the Church prudently directs the minister, now standing in the most holy place, to *turn himself to the people,* and from thence, like another Moses from Mount Sinai, to convey God's laws to them, *by rehearsing distinctly all the Ten Commandments;* by which, as in a glass, they may discover all their offences, and, *still kneeling,* may, *after every Commandment, ask God mercy for their transgression thereof*. . . .

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries we have Frank Edward Brightman, who typifies a different and more focused approach, concerned purely with sources and reflecting the fragmentation of knowledge that begins to recognize 'liturgiology' as a separate science. An Oxford scholar, Brightman's liturgical output on sources was considerable. In 1894, he produced the first volume (on the eastern liturgies) of his *Liturgies Eastern and Western*; the second never appeared. In 1902, he published an edition of the *Preces Privatae* ('Private Prayers') of the seventeenth-century bishop Lancelot Andrewes, in which Brightman supplies not only detailed sources, ancient and more recent, but a wealth of parallels with Andrewes' own sermons. As if this were not enough, in 1915 appeared his elaborate two-volume study of the texts and sources of the 1662 Prayer Book, the most comprehensive so far. Since the time of Wheatly, many advances had been made in the kind of knowledge available about what went into the Prayer Book. In Brightman's *English Rite* it is possible, at a glance, to view the 1662 text on the far right-hand page, the 1552 text on its left, the 1549 text on the right-hand side of the left-hand page, and the sources themselves on the far left.

Although it is dated, anyone wanting to know about the origins and development of the English Prayer Books and their many derivatives has to study Brightman. One can see, for example, how Cranmer composed his well-loved collects from their Latin originals, and how he took the declaration, 'Those whom God hath joined together let no man put

asunder' (Mt 19:6) straight from Martin Luther's marriage service of 1529. It is also possible to see the many editorial changes made for the 1662 book: for example, the gospel for the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (2 February) was extended to include Anna the prophetess (Lk 2:22–40), as it was in the Christian East.

The liturgical revisions of the twentieth century produced a demand for further studies in the Brightman tradition of close reading of text and sources. Marion Hatchett's *Commentary on the American Prayer Book* appeared in 1980. Less elaborate than Brightman, Hatchett's work goes through each item in the Book of Common Prayer (1979), perhaps the finest example of Anglican liturgical revision of its day, and provides a basic historical guide to each service and its sources as far as they are known. Thus we can learn that the prayer for blessing the water at baptism was drafted by Leonel L. Mitchell, well-known specialist in the baptismal liturgy, and that a number of collects were drafted by the nineteenth-century scholar William Reed Huntington, one of the moving forces behind the revisions that led to the publication of the 1892 American Prayer Book. From this mosaic of sources, reflecting the work of many people, both behind the scenes and in open debate, the praying heart of Anglicanism is revealed afresh.

Theologians: Lancelot Andrewes and Michael Ramsey

Lancelot Andrewes is probably the greatest figure of the early seventeenth-century English church. He was master of Pembroke College, Cambridge; London City vicar; dean of Westminster for both the funeral of Elizabeth I and the coronation of James I; and successively bishop of Chichester, Ely, and Winchester. A scholar of Near Eastern languages, Andrewes chaired the group charged with producing the opening books of the Old Testament for what came to be known as the King James Version in 1611, and preached regularly before the king. After his death, ninety-six of his sermons were collected together and edited. They were reprinted and read a great deal; for example, it is clear that Charles Wesley had the 1619 Christmas sermon on the song of the angels (Lk 2:14) open in front of him when he wrote the original version of 'Hark! The herald angels sing'. Andrewes' sermons are extraordinary productions, rich in language, at one moment dense and technical, at another direct and almost colloquial. He had the ability to preach about the text for the day in what seemed to be any direction, which earned him his critics as well as his admirers. Brightman's study of his *Preces Privatae*, a collection of prayers originally written in Andrewes' own hand in their original languages of Latin, Hebrew, Greek, and English, throws light on the extent to which how he prayed reflected what he preached.

The sermons all have an implicitly liturgical context; Andrewes is acutely aware of the time of the occasion, whether it is Christmas, Easter, Whitsun, or any other day. Preaching in Holyrood Palace Chapel, Edinburgh, at Whitsun 1617, for the fiftieth anniversary of James's coronation as King of Scotland, he gently deals with the question of ordination, a burning issue in the Northern Kingdom because James was known to favour imposing an Anglican structure on what was a largely Presbyterian country. For Andrewes, ordination is a gift, not something earned, which is why 'we do well avow that, we say, "Receive the Holy Ghost" '. He goes on in referring to sources of authority to mention 'this book chiefly', that is the Bible, which in the Anglican rite is presented to the new priest in the ordination service, though it is not a Presbyterian custom. Towards the end of his life, preaching on Ash Wednesday in 1622, Andrewes takes care to note the old custom of ashing, which was abolished at the Reformation, and in so doing, emphasizes the importance of the liturgical observance of Lent as a corporate, annual journey for the whole church. In a context not so different from Hooker's, in which the Prayer Book also had its critics, Andrewes realized that no opportunity should be lost in articulating what we in retrospect will identify as the Reformed Catholicism of the Anglican tradition.

In a somewhat different mode is the work of the great twentieth-century Archbishop of Canterbury, Arthur Michael Ramsey. He published *The Gospel and the Catholic Church* in 1937, a major ground-breaking work. There he set forth an evangelical Catholicism that saw the church's life reflected not in some free-floating set of experiences, nor in a cold system that had to be kept intact, but in the death and resurrection of Christ. Throughout the book, Ramsey keeps returning to the central place of the liturgy, whether baptism, Eucharist, ordination, or daily prayer. In so doing he not only expresses his own devotion to the Prayer Book, but also sees that liturgical revision was inevitable: his funeral in 1988 followed the Church of England's 1980 *Alternative Service Book* provisions to the letter. When he writes about the Eucharist, Ramsey takes care to use the threefold headings of 'sacrifice', spelled out in the Prayer Book, and nuanced by Anglican writers like Andrewes, as well as 'communion' and 'fellowship', arguably more popular themes. In the spirit of Andrewes (who, as a London priest, got into trouble for preaching about private confession on the Sunday after Easter, 1600), Ramsey constantly refers to the spiritual benefits of the Prayer Book form of confession and absolution.

Conclusion

To speak of the Prayer Book as 'sacred text' is not to elevate it to an improper height. All these writers were aware of its provisional nature: Hooker had to defend it against its virulent detractors, whereas Ramsey was writing in an England still struggling with the legalities of liturgical revision carried out and authorized by the church, not by Parliament–his last day as Archbishop in 1974 saw the 'Worship and Doctrine Measure' pass through the House of Lords. Such burdens are unknown elsewhere in the Anglican Communion, but whenever forms of worship are discussed, whether in their defence, their source, or their meaning for the Christian life, there will always be for Anglicans the sense that worship is not to be offered primarily for the benefit of the worshipper, but for the mission of the church on its own terrain–and the glorification of Almighty God.

In an age that sees the production of a new liturgical text almost by the year, what we perhaps need to discern is where the patterns of future stability are to be found, how we can use responsibly the 'communion' that we already share, and where it is that we can perceive the hand of God in the new cultures that are springing up around us. Since the Lambeth Conference of 1958, there has been a growing recognition that we are now no longer dealing with one 'sacred text', but rather with texts that at their best have a judicious flexibility. Perhaps the development of precisely the three ways of writing about Anglican liturgy noted here–defending, expounding, and doing theology around it–may go some way towards providing a new kind of stability, a new measure of communion, a new culture of diverse but coherent prayerfulness.

The Prayer Book as Literature

Paul G. Stanwood

For many literary critics and historians, the Book of Common Prayer stands as a monument to admire, just as one admires the accounts of creation in Genesis or the Christmas story in Luke, told in the language of the Authorized Version. At one time students of English literature who were reading for an advanced degree could expect to see the Book of Common Prayer on any sixteenth- or seventeenth-century syllabus, as well as Thomas More, Sir Philip Sidney, Spenser, Shakespeare, Donne, and Milton, together with the general advice that most of the corroborative books of the Bible must be read also. There certainly has been and there remains still–though vaguely–a sense that the Book of Common Prayer is a cultural and literary document of the first importance. That it is an essentially devotional and liturgical work born in the English Reformation is of interest to many, but its continued life as literature, only incidentally as defining religious experience, places it in a special age–like Shakespeare, 'for all time'.

Some of the statements in the Book of Common Prayer, so felicitous and shaped with such memorable inevitability, speak across the centuries:

> Almighty, and most merciful Father, We have erred, and strayed from thy ways like lost sheep, We have followed too much the devices, and desires of our own hearts, We have offended against thy holy laws, We have left undone those things, which we ought to have done, And we have done those things, which we ought not to have done, And there is no health in us.

These lines from the General Confession, said at the beginning of Morning and Evening Prayer, have found their way into the common tongue, and they echo, at least, in the minds of English speakers. The language of the Prayer Book is well known, even when unattributed: 'Give peace in our time, O Lord' (from the versicles of the daily offices); 'for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love and to cherish, till death do us part' (matrimony); 'earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust' (burial of the dead).

Literary discussion of the classical Prayer Book of 1662 often compares it with other, usually later service books, liturgies, and translations, often to their disadvantage. But the Book of Common Prayer does have features that set it apart from other devotional and liturgical works. There are special qualities of style, and *style* is difficult to describe without comparison. Nor is it possible simply to discuss the Prayer Book as a unified whole, for it is made up of many distinct parts–some translation, some adaptation, some prose, some poetry, some doctrinal instruction (in rubrics and the Catechism), some controversial statements of belief (in the Articles of Religion). The version that remained essentially unchanged for nearly three centuries is a compilation and a redaction of earlier materials, beginning with the first Prayer Book of 1549. Carefully revised in 1552, it was reissued in 1559 at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, and again in 1604 after James's accession, retaining for the most part the language of 1549. The first two versions, usually called the First and Second Books of Edward VI, are attributed principally to Thomas Cranmer. He may have worked with

Translating the Collect for Peace

The first of the two constant collects at Evening Prayer, presumably one of Cranmer's translations, was not the earliest English version of the tersely-worded Latin original, which had been assigned in the medieval sacramentaries to a 'mass for peace'.

Sarum Missal		14th-century Primer	1549 Prayer Book
Deus, a quo sancta desideria, recta consilia, et justa sunt opera; da servis tuis illam, quam mundus dare non potest, pacem: ut et corda nostra mandatis tuis dedita, et, hostium sublata formidine, tempora sint tua protectione tranquilla. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum: qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus, per omnia saecula saeculorum.	(God, from whom are holy desires, right counsels, and just works: give to thy servants that peace which the world cannot give: that both our hearts, given over to thy commandments, and also, fear of enemies being put away, [our] times may under thy protection be tranquil. Through our Lord Jesus Christ thy Son, who with thee liveth and reigneth in the unity of the Holy Spirit God, through all ages of ages.)	God, of whom ben hooli desiris, riȝt councels and iust werkis: ȝyue to thi seruantis pees that the world may not ȝeue, that in our hertis ȝouun to thi commandementis, and the drede of enemyes putt awei, owre tymes be pesible thurȝ thi defending. Bi oure lord iesu crist, thi sone, that with thee lyueth and regneth in the unitie of the hooli goost god, by all worldis of worldis.	O God, from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed; Give unto thy servants that peace which the world cannot give; that both our hearts may be set to obey thy commandments, and also that by thee we, being defended from the fear of our enemies, may pass our time in rest and quietness; through the merits of Jesus Christ our Saviour.

others, but he was the leader and certainly the most influential architect. Cranmer's aim was to compile a service book that might provide a single order of worship, to be followed throughout England, 'in such a tongue as the people understandeth'. The church's liturgy was to be reformed by using the vernacular and by simplifying what had become a bewilderingly complicated and sizeable number of liturgical offices. The work was based on various Latin service books, especially those in use at Salisbury Cathedral and known throughout the Southern Province; and it drew also upon a variety of other prayers and devotional works, translating, adapting, and sometimes creating new expressions for traditional forms. (*See* 'Translating the Collect for Peace'.) Two examples will serve by way of introducing the result.

The Great Litany is a familiar and important section of the first Book of Common Prayer and all subsequent editions. It was composed by Cranmer, who adapted his own earlier Litany of 1544. Its literary importance is great–some of the most sustained and brilliantly conceived prose of the whole book appears in the Litany. From the first petition, 'O God the Father of heaven: have mercy upon us miserable sinners', to the statements that inevitably follow, pushing ever onward, gathering ideas and surging forward through repetition and response, the Litany has power, assurance, and 'rightness'. There is much parallel construction, and many doublets and triplets:

> From lightning, and tempest; from plague, pestilence, and famine; from battle, and murder, and from sudden death,
> *Good Lord, deliver us.*
> That it may please thee to give to all nations unity, peace, and concord,

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.
That it may please thee to succour, help, and comfort all that are in danger, necessity, and tribulation,
We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

Sometimes one hears the complaint that this kind of language uses two (or three) words that mean nearly the same where one would be sufficient. Yet this is seldom, if ever the case. The word pairings refine the meaning, just as clausal parallels do.

Another example, the Prayer of Humble Access in the Communion service, with its carefully balanced and repeated phrases, is illustrative of Cranmer's fine crafting too:

> We do not presume to come to this thy Table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies. We are not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy Table. But thou art the same Lord, whose property is always to have mercy: Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood, and that we may ever more dwell in him, and he in us.

Much may be said of its theology, but the plangency of this prayer, as of so many others in Cranmer's Prayer Book, depends partly on the singular pronouns. 'Thou' and its inflected forms were in general use for speaking familiarly, especially to God or Christ. Only gradually would they be replaced by the plural 'you' now used universally in ordinary English and nearly always in contemporary liturgical texts. Paradoxically, 'thou' forms now seem to sound formal. Yet unless these prayers retain their original forms they suffer a kind of diminution and verbal confusion.

The work of Cranmer is the more remarkable when one considers the kind of vernacular devotional literature that was current in the earlier sixteenth century. The various primers and instructional books are often quite wordy, the language cumbersome and awkward, the translations unused to English syntax and rhythm. For example, Psalm 51, which appears in most medieval and early modern primers, gives considerable trouble. Verse 12 reads, 'strengthen me with a spiritual spirit' in one version (John Gowghe, 1539); but the translation of the Great Bible (1539) has 'O give me the comfort of thy help again: and stablish me with thy free Spirit.' The translator was Miles Coverdale, whose version of the Psalms was to become the most widely known and used of all English versions. With their effortlessly condensed elegance, his Psalms offered an excellent resource to Cranmer, for he was labouring in a largely untested liturgical idiom. The most confident writing of this period is in Latin; the great English prose stylists, such as Sir Philip Sidney and Richard Hooker, appear only at the end of the century. The possibilities of the vernacular were still largely untested when, with little direction but considerable literary tact, the compilers of 1549, notably Cranmer himself, produced a document remarkable for its directness, simplicity, and harmony. Indeed, the language of the first Prayer Book possesses 'finality', a sense of completeness. One may wonder but well understand that later revisions show so little change. In 1662 the Authorized or King James Version was adopted for the text of the liturgical epistles and gospels; but apart from modernized spelling and punctuation, the book retains the same speech, the same linguistic and literary qualities, as its predecessor.

C. S. Lewis once remarked that the first Book of Common Prayer, notably in its adaptation of the collects from the Sarum rite, has 'pithiness'–a term beloved by the Tudors–a condensing of thought into its most particular constituents, the ability to say much in very few words that leaves one with a great deal to reflect upon. The age also liked antithesis and epigram, features which we see regularly in the collects and often elsewhere. The set collects for Morning and Evening Prayer, surely of Cranmer's composition, demonstrate well

these features. Said daily at Morning Prayer is the Collect for Peace, followed by the Collect for Grace:

> O God, who art the author of peace and lover of concord, in knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life, whose service is perfect freedom: Defend us thy humble servants in all assaults of our enemies; that we, surely trusting in thy defence, may not fear the power of any adversaries; through the might of Jesus Christ our Lord.

> O Lord our heavenly Father, Almighty and everlasting God, who hast safely brought us to the beginning of this day: Defend us in the same with thy mighty power; and grant that this day we fall into no sin, neither run into any kind of danger; but that all our doings may be ordered by thy governance, to do always that is righteous in thy sight; through Jesus Christ our Lord.

And at Evening Prayer, there is another notable Collect for Peace:

> O God, from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed: Give unto thy servants that peace which the world cannot give; that both our hearts may be set to obey thy commandments, and also that by thee we being defended from the fear of our enemies may pass our time in rest and quietness; through the merits of Jesus Christ our Saviour.

Then, finally, in a collect outstanding for its simple and quiet beauty, Cranmer is at his most memorable and best:

> Lighten our darkness, we beseech thee, O Lord; and by thy great mercy defend us from all perils and dangers of this night; for the love of thy only Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Here is liturgical language that is also poetry.

Lewis notes that the 'authors' of the Prayer Book delight in the musical effect that is often achieved through the *cursus,* an adaptation of the quantitative patterns of classical prose. It is difficult to illustrate and assess, for some critics see many examples of the *cursus* in the Prayer Book, while others avoid searching or seeing altogether. There are four different sorts of *cursus*, which depend on the location of final accents, all of them common in Latin and certainly well known to the Prayer Book compilers, so that such instances as 'all desires known' and 'from whom no secrets are hid' may not be accidental. The general rule is that there should be not less than two, generally from two to four, unaccented syllables before the last accented syllable of a sentence. In the Prayer Book there is certainly a contrast of strongly accented syllables with light ones, 'the succession', as Lewis says, 'of peaks and valleys, the peaks being those syllables on which . . . there is a full accent, and perhaps long quantity and emotional value as well'. This helpful judgement seems to accord well with the pleasing accentual rhythms of the Prayer Book.

To make English out of Latin, a highly inflected language with its own rules regarding rhythm and accent, requires subtle deliberation and a keen sense of the qualities inherent in both languages. The Sarum rite gives, for example, *Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris: & viam famulorum tuorum in salutis tue prosperitate dispone: ut inter omnes vie et vite huius varietates, tuo semper protegantur auxilio.* In the Prayer Book this becomes 'Assist us mercifully, O Lord, in these our supplications and prayers, and dispose the way of thy servants, towards the attainment of everlasting salvation; that among all the changes and chances of this mortal life, they may ever be defended by thy most gracious and ready help.' The differences are not great, but they bring into English and emphasize the contrasts or balances which the Latin only suggests: 'in *these* our supplications *and prayers*'. There is the play on *viam, vie et*

vite . . . varietates' (in two separate clauses) which becomes '*way . . . changes and chances*'. *Tuo semper protegantur auxilio* is '*gracious* and *ready* help'. Many fascinating glimpses may be gained through this kind of study, and examples are almost endless. The well-known collect at the beginning of the Communion alters the coordinate clauses so that *Deus cui omne cor patet & omnis voluntas loquitur, & quem nullum latet secretum* is interestingly expanded: 'Almighty God, unto whom all hearts be open, all desires known, and *from whom no secrets* are hid'. These instances are among many which demonstrate the sensitivity of the language of the Book of Common Prayer as it attempts to translate and to adapt one language into another.

The qualities of the Prayer Book suggested by these several illustrations are its sonority, harmony, and balance, especially in those portions intended to be pronounced in the *public* liturgy or services of the church. The genius of the Prayer Book is its recognition that the liturgy is for speaking (or for some, singing) and listening, not principally for reading in quiet privacy. At the same time, the Prayer Book does include much that is to be meditated and reflected upon, such as the rubrics and especially the prefaces, the Catechism, the creeds, the Articles of Religion, the calendars, and various tables. Much of this extra- and non-liturgical matter gives us insight into the making of 'common prayer'. The prefaces are especially fascinating both for their literary and contextual value. 'Of Ceremonies' explains the need for unity by condemning 'the wilful and contemptuous transgression and breaking of a common order and discipline'. No private person ought to 'presume to appoint or alter any public or common Order in Christ's Church, except he be lawfully called and authorized thereunto'. Some would tenaciously retain old forms, others embrace the latest 'new-fangled' innovations. The aim in presenting one Book of Common Prayer is eloquently summed up: 'The most weighty cause of the abolishment of certain Ceremonies was, That they were so far abused, partly by the superstitious blindness of the rude and unlearned, and partly by the unsatiable avarice of such as sought more their own lucre, than the glory of God, that the abuses could not well be taken away, the thing remaining still.'

Although the revision of 1662 retains the essential features of its sixteenth-century predecessors, there are many detailed, sometimes small alterations. These additions include a number of new or greatly revised collects, especially for saints' days. In these one may discern the work of John Cosin (1595–1672), Restoration bishop of Durham and, like Cranmer, a formidable liturgical scholar. Early in the reign of Charles I, Cosin had compiled *A Collection of Private Devotions* (1627), based on Elizabethan and earlier primers, and on the Divine Office set out in Roman Catholic service books; moreover, he refers often to the church fathers and other ecclesiastical commentators. His influence may be seen in his collect of St Stephen's Day (26 December). The brief and simple 1549 version reads:

> Grant us, O Lord, to learne to love our enemies by the exaumple of thy martir Saincte Stephin, who prayed to thee for his persecutours: whiche livest and reignest. &c.

The 1662 collect by Cosin is much fuller; it possesses a sure literary sense, with an orderly progression of clauses, and an excellent balancing of ideas:

> Grant, O Lord, that, in all our sufferings here upon earth for the testimony of thy truth, we may stedfastly look up to heaven, and by faith behold the glory that shall be revealed; and being filled with the Holy Ghost, may learn to love and bless our persecutors by the example of thy first Martyr Saint Stephen, who prayed for his murtherers to thee, O blessed Jesus, who standest at the right hand of God to succour all those that suffer for thee, our only Mediator and Advocate.

This splendid collect draws freely on the epistle for the day (Acts 7:55), which in the service would follow it at once; it also paraphrases Romans 8:18: 'the sufferings of this present time

are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us'. Cosin also has an eye on the gospel, Matthew 23:34, on prophets and persecutors. The collect thus brings carefully into focus the scriptural passages appointed for this day.

Likewise, the collect for the Third Sunday in Advent underwent considerable expansion in 1662, again through Cosin's intervention. The original, 'Lord, wee beseech thee give eare to our prayers, and by the gracious visitation lighten the darkenesse of our hearts, by our Lord Jesus Christ', now becomes:

> O Lord Jesus Christ, who at thy first coming didst send thy messenger to prepare thy way before thee: Grant that the ministers and stewards of thy mysteries may likewise so prepare and make ready thy way, by turning the hearts of the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, that at thy second coming to judge the world we may be found an acceptable people in thy sight, who livest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Spirit, ever one God, world without end.

Cosin has cleverly quoted from Luke 1:17 and drawn a parallel between John the Baptist and the ministers who help to disclose Christ's mysteries. Also, wayward hearts are balanced by wisdom, and disobedience by right action. Again, the collect draws on both the epistle and gospel for the day. St Paul writes in 1 Corinthians 4:1 of 'the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God', while Matthew 11:2 records Jesus' words to his disciples about his mission, with reference to John: 'Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee'. The new collect has gathered the theme of the day, carefully playing on imagery of prophecy, ministry, and fulfilment in the mystery of the Second Coming.

The sixteenth-century Prayer Books provide for five Sundays after Epiphany, but in some years there is a sixth, and at Cosin's suggestion an epistle and gospel appropriate for this pre-Lenten Sunday were added in the book of 1662, together with a collect that is no doubt of his authorship. As in the instances already noted above, it anticipates and brings together the accompanying scriptures. This familiar collect is especially successful:

> O God, whose blessed Son was manifested that he might destroy the works of the devil, and make us the sons of God, and heirs of eternal life: Grant us, we beseech thee, that, having this hope, we may purify ourselves, even as he is pure; that, when he shall appear again with power and great glory, we may be made like unto him in his eternal and glorious kingdom.

The nicely contrasted clauses recall the epistle, many of the words of 1 John 3:1, and the powerful and apocalyptic conclusion of Matthew 24:23: 'After the tribulation . . . shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory.' Collect, epistle, and gospel form a satisfying linguistic group, as we have seen in previous examples, in which particular terms receive stress and reinforce the theme–*destroy-devil, make-sons, heirs-life-hope, purify-pure, power-glory, eternal-glorious*. The progression from 'the works of the devil' to 'his eternal and glorious kingdom' seems inevitable in the rolling and gathering of the words towards utmost finality.

One more illustration displays the careful attention to the *literary* language of the Book of Common Prayer. There is in 1549 no collect for Easter Eve, but Cosin reworked and adapted one that had appeared in the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637. One may understand best Cosin's mastery of English prose style by showing the original and then its revision:

> O Most gracious God, look upon us in mercy, and grant that as we are baptized into the death of thy Sonne our Saviour Jesus Christ; so by our true and hearty repentance

> all our sins may be buried with him, and we not fear the grave: that as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of thee, O Father, so wee also may walk in newnesse of life, but our sins never bee able to rise in judgment against us, and that for the merit of Jesus Christ that died, was buried, and rose again for us.

The revision is more cogent, relying less on explanation and more on confident assertion:

> Grant, O Lord, that as we are baptized into the death of thy blessed Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, so by continual mortifying our corrupt affections we may be buried with him; and that through the grave, and gate of death, we may pass to our joyful resurrection; for his merits, who died, and was buried, and rose again for us, thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord.

There is a continuity of parallel compound-complex clauses, beginning with the imperative finite verb 'grant', with subsidiary clausal verbs in the subjunctive mood; the result is extraordinary syntactical assurance, 'that as . . . so by . . . we may be buried; . . . and that through . . . we may pass'. Cosin has cleverly borrowed a phrase or idea from the Easter Day epistle, Colossians 3:1, 'Mortify your members', and he has introduced the 'gate of death' (from Psalm 9:13) in order to contrast it with 'the gate of everlasting life', which appears in the collect for Easter Day.

Of course, the collects that change according to the liturgical year are said not only at the beginning of the Communion service but also at the end of the daily offices of Morning and Evening Prayer. Those offices themselves represent a radical simplification of the elaborate scheme of seven canonical 'hours'. Yet certain features remain, notably set prayers, a clearly organized lectionary of scriptural readings, and the Psalms. The Psalter, which in 1662 began to be printed as part of the Prayer Book, is to be read in its entirety on a monthly cycle. Thus it occupies a uniquely important place in the liturgy, and its cadences are especially well known. Perhaps not so well known is that the Prayer Book Psalter is, with only a few minor amendments, essentially the work of Coverdale, who first translated the Psalms from the Vulgate in 1535, and continued to revise his work for the Great Bible (1539–1541). The Scottish Prayer Book had used the Psalm translations in the Authorized Version, but in England they seem to have been thought inappropriate – perhaps too 'rough' or perhaps not so familiar as Coverdale's popular version. Since then there have been many other attempts at translation, some no doubt more accurate than Coverdale's. But Coverdale, although he probably knew little of the original Hebrew, did understand the rhythms of English prose, with its love of repetition and alliteration. He was not so much translating the Psalms as providing an English mirror of their sense: he translated by 'conferring', not with original texts, but with their derivatives. Three illustrations, and comparison with other versions, may show the stylistic qualities of the Coverdale Psalter.

> One deep calleth another, because of the noise of the water-pipes:
> all thy waves and storms are gone over me. (Psalm 42:9, 1662 BCP).
> Deep calleth unto deep at the noise of thy waterspouts:
> all thy waves and thy billows are gone over me. (AV)
> Deep calls to deep at the thunder of thy cataracts;
> all thy waves and thy billows have gone over me. (RSV)
> Deep calls to deep in the roar of thy cataracts,
> and all thy waves, all thy breakers, pass over me. (NEB)
> One deep calls to another in the noise of your cataracts;
> all your rapids and floods have gone over me. (1979 US BCP)
> Deep calls to deep in the thunder of your waterfalls;
> all your breakers and waves have gone over me. (*Common Worship*)

‘One deep calleth another, because of the noise of the water-pipes’ is simple and forceful; the synonymous ‘waterspouts’ is also archaic, but the altered phrasing upsets the rhythm of the prepositional phrases. One of the twentieth-century liturgical versions substitutes ‘rapids and floods’, which forces a literalism on ‘thy waves and storms’ besides destroying the poetic movement, and subtly changes the mood of the verb form: ‘are gone’ suggests a finality that is not implicit in ‘have gone’.

Forsake me not, O God, in mine old age, when I am gray-headed:
    until I have shewed thy strength unto this generation,
    and thy power to all them that are yet for to come. (Psalm 71:16, 1662 BCP)
Now also when I am old and grayheaded, O God, forsake me not;
    until I have shewed thy strength unto this generation,
    and thy power to every one that is to come. (AV)
So even to old age and gray hairs, O God, do not forsake me,
    till I proclaim thy might to all the generations to come. (RSV)
And now that I am old and my hairs are grey,
    forsake me not, O God,
    when I extol thy right arm to future generations. (NEB)
And now that I am old and gray-headed, O God, do not forsake me,
    till I make known your strength to this generation
    and your power to all who are to come. (1979 US BCP)
Forsake me not, O God, when I am old and grey-headed,
    till I make known your deeds to the next generation
    and your power to all that are to come. (*Common Worship*)

The Prayer Book version opens with the imperative verb in a form that is more concise and also more formal. But ‘old and gray-headed’ suggests decrepitude, not a mellowing age that possesses strength and wisdom. The concluding phrases of the most recent versions are very wordy and flat. The earlier ‘to all them that are yet for to come’ is more archaic – yet easy to understand – and poetic, with three anapestic feet, in nine monosyllables (˘˘ – / ˘˘ – / ˘˘ –).

Whither shall I go then from thy Spirit:
    or whither shall I go then from thy presence? (Psalm 139:6, 1662 BCP)
Whither shall I go from thy Spirit?
    or whither shall I flee from thy presence? (AV and RSV)
Where can I escape from thy spirit?
    Where can I flee from thy presence? (NEB)
Where can I go then from your Spirit?
    where can I flee from your presence? (1979 US BCP)
Where can I go then from your spirit?
    Or where can I flee from your presence? (*Common Worship*)

This illustration demonstrates Coverdale’s fondness for repeating whole phrases for emphasis. The use of ‘whither shall I go’ represents an older, less idiomatic form of English, but it suggests a kind of desperation. ‘Shall’ conveys a meaning quite different from ‘can’. Coverdale’s verse is easy to remember, hauntingly poetic.

These brief examples may really say more about the peculiarities of one Tudor prose stylist than they do about later translators. Surely Coverdale’s version affected Cranmer’s own mode of composition; for there is an obvious harmony between them – a linguistic and literary kinship, so that to study the one is to see something of the other. Of course, Cranmer designed the Book of Common Prayer, not the Psalter; but in approving Coverdale’s

work, he must have recognized the kind of style towards which he himself aimed. Thus it is appropriate to return once more to Cranmer's writing, especially to the collects, the genre in which he particularly excelled. We owe to him the sequence of the seasonal collects, of which he was the original composer of some twenty-four. Notable among these concise, finely wrought prayers are his collects at the beginning of Advent. For the first Sunday, Cranmer employs the splendidly effective imagery of darkness and light, coupled with Christ's glorious return at the end of our time:

> Almighty God, give us grace that we may cast away the works of darkness, and put upon us the armour of light, now in the time of this mortal life, in which thy Son Jesus Christ came to visit us in great humility; that in the last day, when he shall come again in his glorious Majesty, to judge both the quick and dead, we may rise to the life immortal; through him who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, now and ever.

The collect draws on similar phrases in the epistle from Romans 13, and anticipates also the gospel from Matthew 21 that describes Jesus' final entry into Jerusalem. For the second Sunday, Cranmer's collect emphasizes scriptural teaching, an obviously important concern of the Reformation:

> Blessed Lord, who hast caused all holy Scriptures to be written for our learning: Grant that we may in such wise hear them, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them, that by patience and comfort of thy holy Word, we may embrace and ever hold fast the blessed hope of everlasting life, which thou hast given us in our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Again, the collect is connected with the epistle and gospel, Romans 15 recommending that 'through patience and comfort of Scriptures' we might have hope. The 'signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars' referred to in Luke 21 offer a further kind of book to read.

Cranmer wished people to understand the liturgy. By knowing what is said, all the members of a congregation might participate more fully and wholesomely in their edification. He was the chief begetter of a Prayer Book that is a compendium of rich materials drawn from his own words and from others, in a particularly fertile age of English prose and poetry. The Prayer Book manages to arrange this rich stock into a sober and calming mood—never more exclamatory than its scriptural sources and ancient authorities. C. S. Lewis aptly declares that at its greatest the Book of Common Prayer 'shines with a white light hardly surpassed outside the pages of the New Testament itself'.

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PART THREE

The Prayer Book Outside England

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Plantations, Missions, and Colonies

William L. Sachs

On 16 August 1849, William Long, priest at Graaf Reinet in the Eastern Cape region of South Africa, wrote an enthusiastic letter to Bishop Robert Gray of Cape Town. 'I have much pleasure in informing you that the foundation stone of the new church is at last laid. The ceremony was performed on Thursday, 9th August. . . . After Morning Prayer and an Address of the nature suggested by your Lordship, the Civil Commissioner of the District laid the stone. The school room where divine service has been performed was crowded and the people both English and Dutch took a much lively interest in the proceedings–a collection was made to the amount of £16.'

Long's letter conveys both the tenor of colonial Anglican life and the role of worship in it. The familiar hallmarks of episcopal oversight and civil authority, as well as an emphasis on worship according to the Book of Common Prayer, suggest that in the colonial world the fabric of the English church was intact. But by the time of Long's letter it was becoming clear that Anglicans could no longer rely on the colonial order for the church's identity and vocation. A profound discontinuity was appearing between Anglicanism's establishment past and its increasingly global character. As Long depicts in the South African context, not everyone who took part in the worship of the English church was an English subject; Anglicans faced the challenge of ministering to varied peoples in novel settings. A new understanding of mission had begun to unfold by the mid-nineteenth century, encouraging the church to expand not only with but beyond the limits of colonial order. However, the opportunity for mission required that the church adapt its forms to new, contextual realities, and worship according to the Book of Common Prayer exemplified this adaptive challenge.

Long came to represent one of the most striking aspects of the church's adaptation. Only a few years after he posted this letter, he began a series of legal challenges to the church's colonial adaptation and disputed the right of Bishop Gray to call a South African church synod whose legislative authority would be binding. Long believed church synods were a dangerous innovation, turning the South African church away from reliance on English ecclesiastical oversight. Although it ministered in the South African context, he insisted, it was the English church. In the short run Long found legal reassurance. But in the long run Anglicans around the globe found themselves in circumstances where contextual forces compelled them to adapt the accustomed forms of church life to novel realities and balance the weight of English precedent with the force of local experience. As they did so, they successfully faced the challenge of mission, which required grounding the church in realities far removed from its origins. At the heart of mission lay the task of adapting the church's manner of worship.

Adaptive processes in organizations entail striking a balance between continuity and change. This article will describe the stages by which Anglicans adapted Prayer Book worship to colonial circumstances, discussing three major themes in Anglican colonial experience from its origins to 1900: the informal forms of worship that characterized the early phases of life in each colonial setting; the church's more developed colonial role; and the ways in which it did not remain within the limits of colonial order, but began to organize

for mission. In effect there is a typically Anglican manner of adapting the church's worship to contextual exigencies while maintaining points of continuity with English precedent. The Book of Common Prayer embodied the tension Anglicans experience between continuity and change. On the one hand, the Prayer Book offered secure grounding for those who prized the church's English heritage; on the other, it served as a template for novel patterns of worship suitable for a church in the mission field. It is striking that the Prayer Book was not always viewed as Anglicanism's literal icon to be passed on intact in each circumstance, but as the basis for a pattern of worship that secured the church's identity in unfamiliar situations.

The Prayer Book grounded the life of a church that was developing previously unimaginable variegation. More specifically, Prayer Book worship came to symbolize an ideal of faith community that redefined the church's nature for Anglicans: no longer merely a symbol of the English social order, it represented the church's calling to be an embodiment of the kingdom of God, uniting people of all cultures in response to God's love. To reflect this eschatological hope, Prayer Book worship had to be adapted to contextual realities.

A Necessary Informality

The expansion of England began with disparate forms of exploration and trade. Gradually, and primarily for commercial reasons, settlement began in North America, the West Indies, and at a few initial points in Africa. Patterns of colonization took shape as the intention of consolidating English influence in various overseas locations became a priority for policy makers. Only in the second half of the nineteenth century did the idea of empire as a clear result of expansion and control finally flower.

The Church of England's overseas growth began in equally haphazard fashion. As English exploration unfolded, the earliest instances of colonial Anglican worship were recorded. Typically, Prayer Book daily offices were read at least once a week on ships at sea, sometimes by the captain. Surviving accounts of voyages also refer to the recitation of the burial office. As vessels neared unfamiliar shores, the Book of Common Prayer of 1662 provided the hope and solace a migratory people sought.

Once ashore, the vessel's passengers found that society had to be built, a task that included building the church. At first its presence was embodied in the ministrations of a few clergy. Perhaps dispatched by a Church of England mission society, or simply seeking their own fortunes, the earliest colonial clergy had to create the church anew while scrambling to secure their livelihoods. Most started schools, or taught in ones already established. In either case worship according to the Prayer Book was part of the school's daily regimen.

In the early nineteenth century a 'Rev. W. Wright' in the Cape region of South Africa founded a school at Wynberg and conducted Sunday worship there. At first the school consisted of small huts with one designated as a chapel. A congregation grew quickly and reached one hundred twenty people in a few weeks. With the consolidation of British control over the region, a church building replaced the hut and Wright began more formal worship observances including 'the Holy Communion'. Wright's success was not entirely welcomed by the local English population, for most of his pupils and parishioners were persons of mixed race. From its seventeenth-century beginnings until the early nineteenth century the colonial church gave little thought to evangelism beyond the bounds of the English populace. But as Wright's experiment suggests, even early in its colonial experience the English church faced the prospect of becoming more than English.

More often, early colonial clergy confined their worship and ministrations to the English residents, but lack of proper facilities slowed the church's advance even among its natural constituency. In September 1825 the Revd Edward Judge, newly arrived in Cape Town, wrote to his English sponsors that 'the great desideratum here seems to be an English church, and the delay in building that seems to be the origin of angry feelings unrestrained in various

quarters'. Judge admitted that before his arrival he could not have imagined 'that this subject could have been of that vital importance which I now see that it possesses. . . . Our congregation consists of a few persons, scattered here and there without a church, though if there were proper accommodations I have no doubt we should be literally crowded.' Until the church was sufficiently organized, worship in its Prayer Book fullness was not possible.

But in every colonial setting, the provision of regular worship according to the Prayer Book was the basis of the church's development. One of the first colonial clergy, Alexander Whitaker, who served in Virginia from 1611 to 1617, noted that 'every Sabbath we preach in the forenoon and catechize in the afternoon. . . . Once every month we have a communion and once every year a solemn fast.' An early account of the Jamestown, Virginia, colony, moreover, includes a detailed description of the setting and conduct of worship: 'The chapel was in length sixty feet, in breadth twenty-four, and the Lord Governour had repaired it with a chancel of cedar and a communion table of black walnut; all the pews and pulpit were of cedar, with fair broad windows, also of cedar, to shut and open, as the weather shall occasion. The font was hewn hollow like a canoe, and there were two bells in the steeple at the west end.' The presence of a space designated for worship, moreover, encouraged regular Prayer Book observance. Every morning at ten o'clock, the report stressed, 'each man addressed himself to prayers, and so at four of the clock before supper. There was a sermon every Thursday and two sermons every Sunday, the two preachers taking their weekly turns.' Special provision was made for the Lord Governour. He 'sat in the choir in a green velvet chair, with a velvet cushion before him on which he knelt, and the Council, Captains, and officers sat on each side of him'. Virginia provided an early instance of the colonial shape of Anglican worship (Brydon, *Religious Life in Virginia*, 7).

The Jamestown church moved more rapidly than most colonial Anglican settings to build elaborate structures and formalize its worship. Typically the first settings and conduct of colonial worship were informal, yet the content was familiar. Daily offices predominated, with readings from scripture, prayers, and a sermon based on scripture. There would be little if any music until church buildings became more elaborate. Writing from the west coast of Africa in 1836, American missionary James Thompson gave a vivid instance of the informality that prevailed in new colonial settings. Thompson noted that he held 'meetings on the Sabbath, which are attended by the governor of the colony, my own family, and the native children. There are among them two who understand the English tongue pretty well, and during service they endeavor to join in the responses, and the Lord's prayer and creed in particular' (*Spirit of Missions*, I, #10).

Anglican clergy in colonial circumstances often struggled to build congregations. From the west coast of Africa in August 1842, John Payne reported that 'this afternoon I administered the communion table several times to the small flock that God hath given me. This includes the teacher located at Grahway, which has been placed under my pastoral care, and his wife, Mrs. Payne, one male, and two female scholars, and our cook. On this occasion two visitors communicated with us.' Payne persisted in offering a variety of occasions for worship, but faced cultural obstacles as he did so. On 9 September 1842 he noted that 'the evening of this day is given every week to a service for the benefit of the women held at [a] house. Until recently we have been much pained at the little interest manifested by these persons in religious services. This, I now think, has been owing in some measure to the custom of the country, which is rather opposed to their assembling with the men. Since the commencement of this meeting, the number attending has been steadily increasing, and tonight amounted to twenty.'

The church did not always grow readily. In 1836, two American missionaries passing through Guangzhou ('Canton'), China commented that worship was conducted 'for the benefit of the Foreign residents', with thirty to fifty persons of various nationalities and Christian affiliation attending, though sometimes 'the number is more than twice as large'. The American visitors noted that 'a large proportion of the gentlemen here are English, and

of course have a preference for our service. The English company, while it existed, maintained a Chaplain here and held regular public worship, but it has been discontinued, and their Chapel has been closed for some time' (*Spirit of Missions*, I, #3). But in various locations in Africa, Asia, and North America, the Church of England took root. As colonial order emerged, the church found the social footing it required and its worship acquired a familiar cast.

The Embodiment of Colonial Order

The rise of an enduring English presence in a new setting required the church to adapt its worship to the task of organizing congregational life. As a semblance of English colonial order took hold, the church developed the structures and forms befitting a religious establishment. Foremost among these was regular, formal worship according to the Book of Common Prayer of 1662. The achievement of colonial order permitted a range of Prayer Book usage that reflected English custom of the time. The first opportunity for such reliance upon the Prayer Book in the colonial church outside the British Isles was in Virginia.

The church in Virginia was notable for the extent to which it achieved a particular, eighteenth-century expression of colonial order. Recent scholarship on Anglicanism in colonial Virginia offers vivid insights into how use of the Book of Common Prayer partook of this vision of social order. Typically, Sunday service started at 11 A.M. regularly and consisted of Morning Prayer, the Litany, and Ante-Communion read from the Prayer Book, and an expository sermon on some portion of scripture. In many localities there would also be Sunday evening worship. Generally, the Holy Communion was administered four times a year. Parishioners anticipated that worship would last from seventy-five to ninety minutes.

The colonial order that provided the context for Prayer Book worship in Virginia was also apparent in the style of church architecture that prevailed by the mid-eighteenth century. It was a simple design, taking an oblong shape that approximated the outline of a Greek cross and built of brick. Inside there was a 'lofty, light-filled' space intended to direct one's devotions to heaven. Gradations in seating were according to social standing, with special sections reserved for the leading families of the locality. The pulpit, towering above the pews and reading desks, was the embodiment of the Virginia church's worship. Its vertical design, calling the gaze of worshippers upward, suggested a fixed, stratified understanding of social order. Such assumptions pervaded colonial life. But the centrality of the pulpit and the messages that typically came from it revealed that the church had a conception of colonial life, and an impact upon it, that went beyond endorsing a static social order. The set liturgies of the Prayer Book, though seemingly reinforcing social injunctions by rote worship, were also intended to encourage a gradual transformation in the lives of individuals. Although not envisioned as a means for conversion, as Evangelicals would have liked, Prayer Book worship edified and spiritually formed those presumably converted by virtue of having been born English.

Spiritual formation was intended for the private as well as the public lives of English colonials. Active participation in worship instilled a sense of self-discipline and of sustaining a crucial spiritual journey. Instead of a dramatic, decisive, singular rescue from sin and damnation, the Prayer Book offered an ongoing deepening in faith expressed in performing good works and fulfilling family duties as well as in manifestations of personal piety. Using scripture and the Prayer Book as guides, the English believer's task was to follow the example of Christ in daily living. Public worship was not an end in itself or a pillar of social order. The liturgies of the Prayer Book were applied to the ongoing challenge of keeping English colonial people on their proper spiritual course.

In Virginia, the depth of this sentiment was such that private devotions and family devotions were as important as public worship, if not more so. One of colonial Virginia's gentry, William Byrd II, sometimes found himself distracted from personal devotions by what he

encountered at public worship, especially when the parson's sermon took a turn Byrd disliked. Leading Virginia clergy periodically admonished their colleagues to conduct worship in ways that enhanced their parishioners' devotional lives rather than distracted from them. Clergy generally encouraged regular devotions that relied on the Book of Common Prayer, which played a formative role in personal and family life.

Virginia's colonial gentry sometimes found their private devotional lives in conflict with the church's public exercises. In the years just preceding the American Revolution, wealthy landowner Landon Carter was often in conflict with his clergy. On a Sunday evening in 1772 he noted in his diary that the minister had appointed that day as a 'Sacrament day' and Carter, as 'Church Warden . . . had all the Elements and plate ready. We had notice to begin at 11. The Parson came there at about 10, read prayers, and was gone before anybody but a few was there and said it was 11 mints after 11 o'clock by his watch.'

Carter's distaste for this parson was already apparent. In 1771 he wrote in his diary that when he had asked 'the Rector in a very drye spell why he had not prayed for rain, he alleged that no one had mentioned it to him or he would. And Yesterday I asked him to give me an opportunity of Joining in prayer for rain. He seemed to think we could not want it, because he had a fine rain at his house. I answered so had I for about 10 mints but after 17 days hot drowth so little presently soaked in. . . . I was answered he would pray for rain at my house if I went home. I replyed, if I had thought that, I would go home and not go into church.' Carter had also come into conflict with his cleric over whether baptism must be performed in the church or whether, as Carter believed, baptism was principally a family rite that must be conducted in the home. In his stalemates with clergy, Carter's own priority of private and family devotion over public worship was reinforced. His view was not unique. Rites of passage according to the Book of Common Prayer were as commonly performed in the homes of gentry as they were in the local church.

Nevertheless, attendance at public worship was important, and regular absence brought murmurings of concern among parishioners. On 13 May 1760 Maria Taylor Byrd noted in a letter to her son that the absence of a Mr Davis had occasioned conversation, for Davis was apparently intent on replacing the minister. But she noted that the minister had preached regularly and well and 'has published giving the Sacrament this month, so I cant think what the people would have more'.

The impact of lay sensibility, and of the spirituality that bolstered it, was often decisive in the colonial church. Colonial gentry typically provided the patronage the colonial church and its clergy required. In the 1730s a young man named William Proctor arrived at Westover, the Virginia plantation of William Byrd II, to serve as librarian and tutor. The position was intended to be temporary, but Byrd helped Proctor to secure his future as a Virginia parson. Such aid to a person or a locality was not uncommon. The Virginia church, like most colonial Anglican churches, relied upon both wealthy laity and such prerogatives as the English religious establishment could extend overseas. The most apparent tasks were the provision of clergy and the securing of land and construction of church buildings.

The creation of congregations and the provision of worship space for them entailed more than the extension of institutional religious structures beyond Britain. As the example of Virginia illustrates, the church's colonial intention was to instil a manner of life rooted in worship according to the Prayer Book. Sustaining the Christian life required the creation of an ethos that fostered recognition of sacred occasions and sacred space. The Virginia experience demonstrates how the colonial church utilized the advantages of religious establishment to build chapels and parishes where its Prayer Book–based ethos could flourish. In a number of colonial situations, Anglican gentry built chapels on their estates to promote regular worship for the family and its retinue of servants. This pattern was more common in colonies where a largely agrarian, plantation-centred life prevailed. Even so, many family chapels later became incorporated into the system of parishes that usually arose.

But in colonial settings where ports and towns were central, the church grew by creating

congregations and parish systems outright. This approach was facilitated by the munificence of sympathetic gentry or by colonial government itself. For example, between 1825 and 1830 four churches were built in the Cape region of South Africa. As there was no resident bishop until Robert Gray arrived two decades later, the governor was considered the ordinary and appointed all colonial chaplains. All Anglican congregations were governed by a special ordinance, issued by the governor and the Council of the colony, which ensured that worship, and the settings necessary for it, were provided. As the colony grew, the civil authority was active in expanding church facilities. By 1846, on the eve of Robert Gray's arrival as bishop of Cape Town, there were congregations in Cape Town, Bathurst, Wynberg, Rondebosch, Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth, Sidbury, and Fort Beaufort.

A similar circumstance prevailed in the church's early years in Australia. Before the 1820s the church existed as an arm of government, receiving financial support; colonial government supported chaplains and provided land for churches and schools as well as for parsonages. Convict labour often constructed the necessary buildings, and the clergy saw themselves as members of the civil establishment under the governor's direction. In turn, governors were expected to set an example by worshipping regularly in the Church of England, and many did so. Formally and informally, the church enjoyed considerable advantage and used it to expand. The Australian church also had the responsibility of providing places of worship for the convict population, which was required to attend Sunday Morning Prayer, often with the Litany and Ante-Communion. Accounts of early Australian experience suggest the convicts were not often receptive, but the chaplains soon developed worship and ministry focused on the youth, who often were the progeny of convicts.

Even in colonial settings where the sinews of English establishment became firm, the church encountered significant adaptive challenges. In addition to providing buildings and clergy, the church faced the task of altering the tenor of worship to the task of Christian formation in a new environment. One of the first hints of what that implied surfaced in an address given by Thomas Bray to the clergy of Maryland in May 1700. Appointed by the bishop of London as commissary, or overseer, of the Maryland church (an office that was itself an adaptation to colonial American life), Bray was also noted for his creative work in education as founder of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK). His address cited the necessity of teaching and the centrality of Prayer Book worship to the church's task. The basis for teaching, he emphasized, lay in preaching, for there the clergy 'may more effectually impress the great Doctrines of Christianity upon the Minds of the People, as well as more Religiously observe the great Festivals of our Church. . . . There being multitudes, not only of Children, but adult Persons in this Province, who abstain from Baptism,' he added, 'we will frequently preach upon the Nature and Necessity of that Sacrament.' For Bray, Prayer Book worship was the centre of the church's life. But the manner of worship had to be adapted to colonial demands. Bray was among the first Anglicans to grasp that the church could not rely upon its established, English status.

In North America this was particularly clear in New England, with its Puritan religious establishment. Puritans had settled New England as a haven for freedom of worship. There they installed their own established church that initially tolerated little variation. Drawn into the English colonial web in the late seventeenth century, however, they were compelled to allow Anglican congregations with Prayer Book observances. Anglicans capitalized on the opportunity to grow in New England by tapping a new English resource. Founded in 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) offered efficient support for mission. Its missionaries were equipped to visit neglected places and preach basic Christian belief, stressing familiarity with the sacraments and offices of the Book of Common Prayer as the basis of a 'sober, righteous, and godly life'.

The SPCK and the SPG were the first of several mission societies in the Church of England. Early in the nineteenth century the Church Missionary Society (CMS) began work in

Africa and gradually spread across that continent and into parts of Asia. Later, in the mid-nineteenth century the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) began mission work by sending bishops created for the purpose of building the church. Nor were these the only Anglican mission societies, as Canadian and Australian Anglicans had organized mission work by the second half of the nineteenth century. Early in that century the Episcopal Church adopted 'The Domestic and Foreign Mission Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church' as its official name, signalling its emphasis on mission.

Among the foremost SPG missionaries in North America, George Keith worked tirelessly to build the church in New England, devoting his time to British colonists, and with ample reason. A number of New England residents had little contact with any church and most had no acquaintance with the Church of England. They had to be formed as Anglicans, starting with familiarity with the Prayer Book. Keith and other Anglican clergy realized they had to combat the notion that Prayer Book worship lacked warmth and was done by rote. There was also the practical reality that many of those drawn to Anglicanism did not know the prescribed responses of the Prayer Book and some behaved boorishly in church. As a result New England's Anglican clergy considered various means to enliven worship. In the 1730s, Matthew Graves, priest in New London, Connecticut, thought that while he should strictly follow the Prayer Book in churches, he should have the SPG's encouragement to alter worship conducted in homes among non-Anglicans. The noted Samuel Johnson, whose conversion to Anglicanism had shaken Puritan Connecticut in 1722, took a similar tack. Unbending in his faithfulness to Prayer Book forms, he varied the content of prayer for people unfamiliar with the Church of England and dismissed complaints to the SPG on the grounds that modifications in Prayer Book forms were minor, made necessary by the challenge of rooting the church in New England soil.

Such changes in the wording of Prayer Book forms proved inconsequential compared to subsequent challenges to the church and its manner of worship. As the middle of the eighteenth century approached, colonial Anglicans felt the impact of the Great Awakening, the first surge of evangelical Christianity. Most often linked to the ministrations of John Wesley in England, the movement took on transatlantic shape through the ceaseless travels of evangelist George Whitefield. Ordained a deacon in the Church of England, Whitefield often shunned parish churches and Prayer Book forms. Because he cultivated informal public rallies which highlighted his energetic preaching, Whitefield ran afoul of ecclesiastical authority. In 1740 in Charleston, South Carolina, the church's local commissary, Alexander Garden, tried to prohibit Whitefield from leading worship, but it was impossible to thwart Whitefield or to defuse evangelical energies. Some colonial Anglican clergy explored ways of incorporating the evangelical style into Prayer Book worship, but without lasting imprint. Evangelicalism thus represented one aspect of the adaptive challenge ahead for traditional, English Prayer Book worship.

Another kind of challenge was apparent by the middle of the nineteenth century, when the influence of the Oxford Movement in the Church of England began to spill over into colonial settings. This movement emphasized the recovery of ancient Christian theological and liturgical foundations as the means of securing the church's identity instead of reliance upon its allegiance to the English throne. Such an emphasis resonated with the perceptions of many colonial Anglicans, who sought what they viewed as an authentic basis for the church's mission apart from its dependence upon the state. Colonial soil was already fertile ground for such an ideal, as the construction of church facilities and organization of parish systems fostered more elaborate patterns of ceremonial in worship. But colonial church leaders such as Bishop William Broughton had more in mind than the elaboration of the church as an institution. The first bishop in Australia, Broughton took office before the Oxford Movement was born. An old-fashioned high churchman, he stressed that the church's distinctive character was grounded in its worship and ministry. As the Oxford Movement

spread beyond England, this premise would have a profound and sometimes confrontational effect.

The experience of the church in the province of Natal, South Africa, offers a well-documented instance. In the 1850s, James Green, dean of the cathedral at Pietermaritzburg, insisted on frequent celebrations of the Holy Communion as a counter to temptations of 'worldliness' in the church. Green was noted for ceremonial that by the twentieth century would be unremarkable, such as having a choir and encouraging the congregation to sing and make the Prayer Book responses. Similar steps were taken elsewhere in Natal in the 1850s. St Andrew's Church developed a vested choir, while canticles and psalms were sung during Morning Prayer. In 1856, at the consecration of St Andrew's, there was a vested choir and clergy wore surplices, stoles, and hoods, which was widely reported in the press. At St Paul's, Durban choir stalls were built in the sanctuary and added ritual, such as bowing at the name of Jesus, became common. More noticeably, a few clergy introduced elevations of the host and chalice and genuflections during eucharistic celebration. By the 1860s a few parishes offered only a sung Eucharist as Sunday worship and, a decade later, eucharistic vesture such as copes and chasubles appeared. An Anglo-Catholic style of worship was not confined to South Africa; its influence reached Zanzibar and several parts of eastern and southern Tanganyika, as well as North America. In much of the West Indies a high church style of worship had been prevalent, so churches readily absorbed Anglo-Catholic ritual observance.

In 1882 Bishop Macrorie of Natal reported that there were twelve parishes at which 'Holy Communion was celebrated at least weekly, and he hoped to be able to report soon that there was not a parish in which that was not the case'. He also noted with obvious approval that observance of choral Evensong and reliance on *Hymns Ancient and Modern* were widespread. Although there was heated opposition to liturgical enhancement in a number of Natal parishes, this turn towards enhanced worship as a guarantee of the church's distinctive nature seemed secure. What Macrorie and other liturgical innovators did not say was that these adaptations were reshaping the church's habitual understanding of the role of the Book of Common Prayer. That realization dawned as the church began to transcend its colonial identity for the sake of mission.

The Rise of Anglican Mission

'The provision for the spiritual wants of our English brethren we must regard, I think, as in the main completed', Bishop Robert Gray of Cape Town declared early in 1861. Henceforth the church's task across the burgeoning Anglican world was mission to non-English peoples, as Anglicans shifted their emphasis from adaptation to the colonial order to planting the church in non-English cultures. As the extent of Anglican mission increased, the job of adapting the Book of Common Prayer to unfamiliar contexts intensified. For example, early worship among the Zulu in the 1870s moved dramatically in a ritualistic direction. The first instance in Natal of the use of an altar cross and lighted candles took place in a mission church. Baptisms of converts, usually in rivers and streams, were frequently accompanied by choral eucharistic celebrations led by vested clergy and choirs. There was no essential variation from the forms of the Prayer Book, but the mission field encouraged a shift in Prayer Book usage from the early colonial pattern of the Litany and Morning Prayer to the Holy Communion. In addition, the celebration of Holy Communion soon became not only ritualistic but somewhat idiosyncratic. Nor were such shifts incidental to mission work–one missionary after another emphasized that worship was the core of the church's life.

The extent of what mission entailed was gradually becoming clear as Anglicans gained experience in the field. Mission entailed introducing the textual basis of the Christian faith–the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer–to peoples who often lacked such a basis for their culture. These texts were cited as repositories of the truth of the missionary message. Liturgy as an expression of the Prayer Book served to dramatize the message of God's love



FRONTISPIECE

24. Royal Largesse to Native Americans
This frontispiece appears in a 1787 edition of the Mohawk Prayer Book published in London with support from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. It shows King George III and Queen Charlotte, enthroned between bishops in full episcopal attire, presenting the Book of Common Prayer to Red Indians, as they were then called. Earlier editions of the Mohawk translation had been printed in Boston and New York. This one, which has the Mohawk and English versions on opposite pages, also includes the Gospel of Mark. The translator, Captain Joseph Brant, a Mohawk whose native name was Thayendanegea, presented this copy to the Harvard College Library in 1789.

revealed in Jesus Christ. However, missionaries consistently struggled to secure sufficient numbers of Bibles and Prayer Books and to explain their use to peoples who in some cases had little facility with any printed text, especially as the repository of truth. The Anglican experience among western Canada's native communities in the late nineteenth century is revealing; missionaries sent by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and the SPG struggled to learn unfamiliar languages not only for daily use, but also for translating portions of scripture and the Prayer Book into the vernacular. An inherent adaptive process was required. Some missionaries doubted the value of wholesale translations made available in printed volumes; instead they found that tracts or pamphlets containing pertinent texts and liturgies were more practical among the tribal cultures in which they ministered. A few in the mission field, such as William Duncan of the CMS in British Columbia during the 1870s, concluded that the printed Prayer Book could be an obstacle to effective mission and preferred simple prayer and preaching that eschewed clericalism, formalism, and printed texts.

Duncan's blunt views were not widely espoused. Generally missionaries did link conversion to solid grounding in scripture and the Prayer Book, and they selected portions of each to guide the development of their convert congregations. Inevitably these texts could not easily be used. Adaptations were necessary, and how to make such adaptations was a frequent missionary consideration by the second half of the nineteenth century. Late in 1880 South African bishop Henry Callaway revealed in a letter how complex the task had become, stating emphatically that he had 'no wish to admit radical innovation, but would rather place obstructions in the way of change to ensure thorough and weighty consideration'. But it appeared to him that the liberty of the church's Synod to explore advisable modifications should not be hindered, 'especially where the Church is working amidst a heathen people'. Sufficient safeguards on excessive change would be inherent in the requirement that the South African Synod consider proposed modifications in the form and use of the Prayer Book.

Callaway himself had made a variety of modifications for the mission field. 'When at South Vale, with the sanction of the Bishop of Maritzburg, I adopted for our Native Prayer Book the shortened ante-communion. And it appeared to me that it was a great advantage to have the option of using it, when we have, as we have in Natal churches, frequent Communions.' Other changes were proposed and adopted where necessary. The words of administration at communion were altered by several missionaries. In addition, 'the Exhortation at the beginning of the Confirmation Service is such a [difficult] bit of English to translate into Zulu, that I requested to be permitted to give its specifics without being tied to its words. It appears to give a good benefit. And I think to deprive churches of such liberty would be undesirable.' Callaway's words reveal not only the importance of adapting the Prayer Book to mission situations, but the emergence of an Anglican strategy for balancing English precedent in Prayer Book use with effective strategies for building indigenous mission congregations.

Missionaries placed great emphasis on baptizing and confirming local converts to the Christian faith. They were never prouder than when reporting large numbers of people receiving these sacraments. For example, a Church Missionary Society report from Tinnnevelly, India, on the recent visit of the bishop of Madras featured the announcement that 'candidates for Confirmation, belonging to the three districts of Nalloor, Surrandei, and Pavoor, assembled in the church. The service commenced at eleven and the Bishop confirmed 313 persons.' A similar report, from Travancore, noted that 132 persons had been baptized by missionaries there in little less than a year. Worship according to the Book of Common Prayer served as the rite of passage that admitted converts and offered the means of sustaining them in their newfound faith. As the numbers of converts grew, congregational worship could be placed on more of a regular footing, buildings could be built, local leaders trained, and the church made indigenous (*Spirit of Missions,* 18, #10).

It must be emphasized that the various Church of England mission societies differed in their strategy. The historically high church SPG emphasized mission as planting the church in the fullness of its worship and ministry, as did the more recent Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA), which originated in response to David Livingstone's call for sustained mission just after the middle of the nineteenth century. Often both the SPG and the UMCA, which later merged into the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG), relied upon the efforts of a missionary bishop sent to launch a new mission or place an incipient mission on a more organized basis. The SPG and UMCA thus understood mission specifically as the conveyance of the Church of England in its worship and ministry.

The Church Missionary Society also understood that its missionary work focused on planting the church. Under the influence of its general secretary, Henry Venn, in the nineteenth century, the CMS took the lead in articulating and pursuing an Anglican strategy for creating indigenous churches. But the prior task, CMS missionaries believed, was basic Christian evangelism. Missionaries went into new areas so that they might make converts. To that end missionaries put their energies into basic preaching, teaching, and worship without immediate regard for Anglican distinctiveness. The CMS intended to build up the church in local areas before securing episcopal oversight and ecclesiastical infrastructure.

Despite such disparities in strategy and the periodic frictions that ensued between the Church of England's mission agencies, there was considerable confluence in missionary styles and goals as well as in their use of the Prayer Book. For all Anglican missionaries, the intent was the formation of an indigenous church with its own leadership yet recognizably Anglican in its worship and ministry. Without fail Anglican missionaries sooner or later laboured to steep converts in Prayer Book liturgies. Thus, if one contrasts the Niger River and New Zealand missions of the CMS and SPG, one finds that the goal of indigenous episcopate and worship was consistently espoused. Consequently Anglican missionaries became astute students of local cultures and adroit at translation of texts, especially the Prayer Book, and adaptation of its usage. Though discussion of how Christianity truly became indigenous in cultures beyond the western world would become more substantive in the twentieth century (*see* Douglas, 'Inculturation', pp. 271–76), Anglican missionaries became attuned to the complexities of the issue early on. In part their sensitivity resulted from questions about the nature of worship in a mission community and about adaptation of the Book of Common Prayer in the mission setting. The global spread of the Anglican Communion by the second half of the twentieth century suggests the care with which Anglicans have balanced change with continuity in conveying their traditions.

By the late nineteenth century it was clear that a substantive process of adapting the traditions of the Church of England was underway. The form and use of the Book of Common Prayer were keys to the creation of appropriate indigenous forms, and it had become clear that more than translation of texts and provision of familiar forms of worship was necessary. English and American reliance on printed texts had to be supplemented by clear adaptive strategies. By the late nineteenth century, refined understandings of how to use the Prayer Book in pursuit of mission were emerging.

'How shall we reach the masses?' a missionary wondered in a feature article in *The Spirit of Missions*, the American Episcopal Church's magazine, in 1875. Beyond adequate church structures and music, the author emphasized, 'hearty worship' featuring 'shorter and more flexible Services' was necessary. In noting this was a difficult question, the author stressed that he would 'yield to no man living in love and veneration for the Prayer Book, and I would stand out to the last against changing a single syllable of it' (*Spirit of Missions*, 36, #5).

But changing the Prayer Book and adapting it to novel circumstances were not the same thing. 'I do claim that the Church has the power of adapting it to the needs of the living present', he continued. 'What we want is not license, but the liberty of law; not the change of . . . any Office or any paragraph, but only flexibility in their use.' The sort of flexibility he

envisioned was not clearly spelled out. But the task at hand was for clergy and lay leaders in mission fields, and at home, to join in teaching the faith in ways that would encourage more baptisms, especially of young people, who typically required a different approach from that to which the church was accustomed among English and American populations.

Discussion of how the Prayer Book should be used in mission acquired still further nuance in the 1870s. *The Spirit of Missions* also published a series of articles on appropriate reading and preaching in worship. The principal author, Francis Russell of the Berkeley Divinity School in Connecticut, argued that the church's missionary work required 'a more expressive use' of the language of the Prayer Book. The Prayer Book, he continued, should be studied attentively so that its 'deeper meanings' might reach 'the heart of the worshipper'. The utterances of the worship leader should be faithful to the natural distinctions within each liturgy. More especially, in reading Prayer Book liturgies, care should be taken to note that each prayer includes an invocation, petition, and conclusion, each of which deserves a distinct manner of expression. To extend full force to Prayer Book words by careful presentation would 'add so much to the meaning and effectiveness of the utterances'. The church's missionary intent rested not only upon the form of the Prayer Book but on the 'emotional character' of its expression (*Spirit of Missions*, 36, #5, 6).

By the end of the nineteenth century Anglicans had a revised and nuanced missionary approach, and changes in their use of the Prayer Book revealed its shape. The church's intention guided how the Book of Common Prayer was adapted to new settings as the church shifted from viewing itself as the colonial arm of English religious establishment to an understanding of itself as a missionary body seeking to convey the faith. What this meant for Anglican self-understanding and for the role of worship was becoming clear. In pursuit of this ideal, the dean of Cape Town emphasized late in the century, the 'great energies' of the English church must all be directed towards its call to be a missionary body.

The church's leaders knew they faced a daunting task. But they were convinced of the end to be pursued, and the means of doing so. Called to establish God's kingdom on earth, Anglicans would do so, in part, by the adaptation of their worship to the work of mission. Consistently Anglicans would find in the twentieth century that the Prayer Book must undergo extensive revision in the Communion's various provinces, and that revision would entail respect for local forms. But in the main there would be Prayer Book revision along similar lines, guided by similar intention. Among Anglicans something of a principle had arisen: no longer rooted in colonial life, the church was called to embody the kingdom of God, a distinct society dedicated to mission and grounded in worship. That this was consistently an Anglican approach to the most basic Christian tasks was clear, for throughout its shift to mission the church remained grounded in worship according to the Book of Common Prayer. The Prayer Book has provided the necessary basis for forming Anglican expressions of Christian identity and vocation as the church has become a global Communion.

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Scotland: Episcopalians and Nonjurors

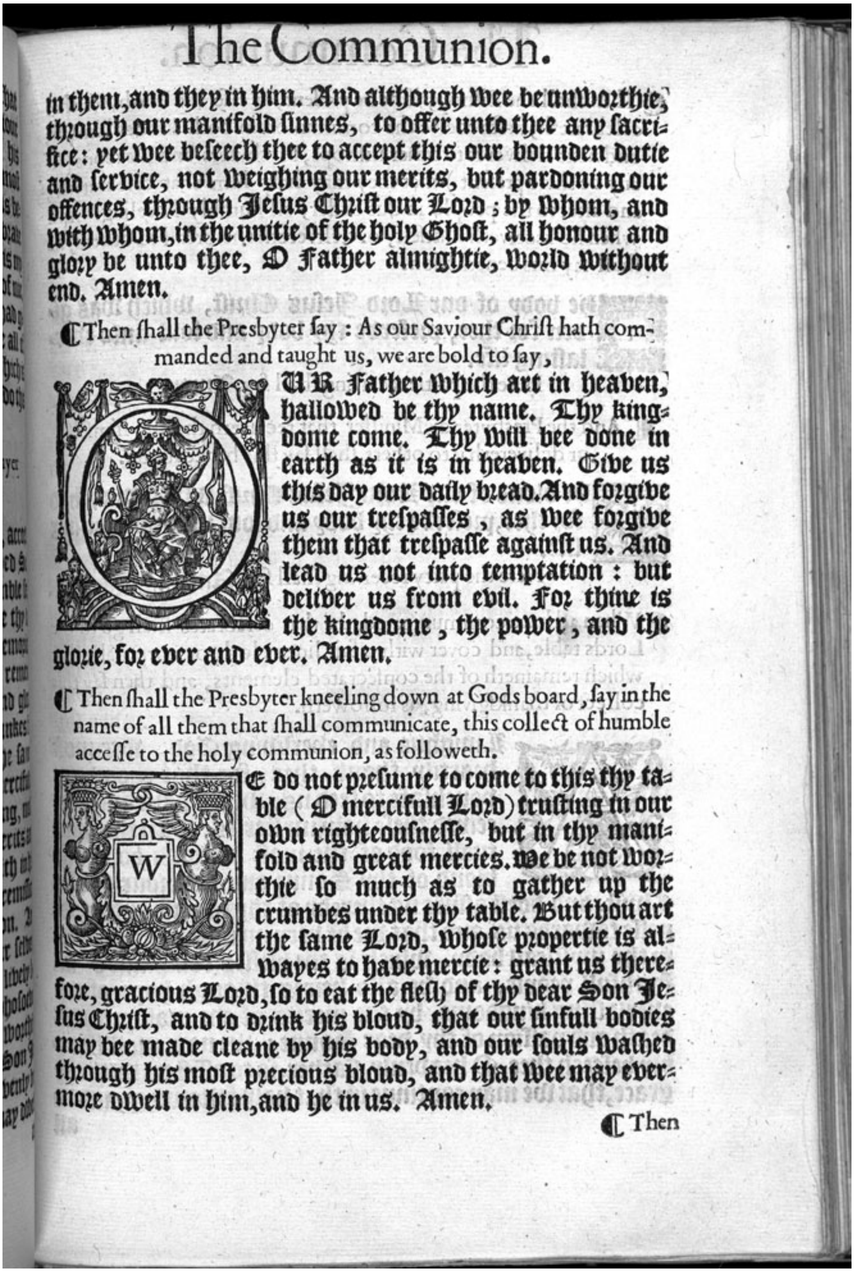
Charles Hefling

The first complete Book of Common Prayer intended for use outside England made its brief appearance in 1637. Ill-judged though it may have been, and ill-fated though it certainly was, this Scottish Prayer Book would in the course of time influence liturgical developments of importance not only to Scotland but to the Anglican Communion at large.

The preface of the book opens with the perhaps deliberately provocative statement that the Christian church 'hath in all ages had a prescript Form of Common Prayer'. Because a set liturgy promotes uniformity, and uniform public worship prevents schism and division, a single form of prayer for the whole church is much to be desired, if too much to hope for. Meanwhile there should certainly be uniformity in churches that are 'under the protection of one sovereign prince', as the Scottish Kirk and the Church of England had been since 1603, when James VI King of Scots succeeded Queen Elizabeth to become James I of England as well. Already, under James, episcopacy had been introduced into the strongly presbyterian church in Scotland, and such practices as kneeling to receive communion and observing Christmas and Easter were required; but the 'prescript form' for public worship was still 'Knox's Liturgy', the Book of Common Order, which had officially replaced the Prayer Book some seventy-five years before. Proposals for a new Scottish service book had been mooted, but nothing came of them until the accession of Charles I in 1625. 'Not suffering his father's good purpose to fall to the ground', the preface continues, the new king 'gave order, soon after his coming to the crown, for the framing of a Book of Common Prayer'.

How and by whom it was framed is not entirely clear. It was called 'Laud's Liturgy' from the first, and still is, but the name is misleading. William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1633, certainly thought well of the Scottish Prayer Book, and he did defend its departures from the book used in England, particularly those in the Communion service, which became the bone of fierce contention. These changes, however, were none of his own doing. He would have preferred, and had recommended, that the Scottish church should simply adopt the existing Prayer Book from cover to cover. In the event, it was to a revised book that Laud gave his approval and the King his authorization, but the revising seems not to have been carried out in England at all but in Scotland, and the credit or blame for the revisions belongs mainly to the bishop of Dunblane, James Wedderburn, not the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Whoever made them, the alterations in the Communion office have always been recognized as especially important. In contrast to the Elizabethan rite, the Scottish Prayer Book directs the celebrant to 'offer up' bread and wine before placing them on the holy table, prescribes manual acts, and requires the Lord's Prayer to be said before the reception of communion. The forms it provides for use at the distribution both stop at 'preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life', without the further sentences about eating and drinking 'in remembrance'. Its Prayer of Consecration, which is so named, invokes the blessing of God's word and Spirit to sanctify the bread and wine, and adds a 'memorial or prayer of oblation'



The Communion.

in them, and they in him. And although wee be unworthie, through our manifold ſinnes, to offer unto thee any ſacrifice: yet wee beſeech thee to accept this our bounden dutie and ſervice, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord; by whom, and with whom, in the unitie of the holy Ghoſt, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father almightie, world without end. Amen.

¶ Then ſhall the Presbyter ſay: As our Saviour Chriſt hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to ſay,

OUR Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdome come. Thy will bee done in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our treſpaſſes, as wee forgive them that treſpaſſe againſt us. And lead us not into temptation: but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdome, the power, and the glorie, for ever and ever. Amen.

¶ Then ſhall the Presbyter kneeling down at Gods board, ſay in the name of all them that ſhall communicate, this collect of humble acceſſe to the holy communion, as followeth.

WE do not preſume to come to this thy table (O mercifull Lord) truſting in our own righteouſneſſe, but in thy manifold and great mercies. We be not worthie ſo much as to gather up the crumbes under thy table. But thou art the ſame Lord, whoſe propertie is alwayes to have mercie: grant us therefore, gracious Lord, ſo to eat the fleſh of thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſt, and to drink his bloud, that our ſinfull bodies may bee made cleane by his body, and our ſouls waſhed through his moſt precious bloud, and that wee may evermore dwell in him, and he in us. Amen.

¶ Then

25. The Scottish Prayer Book of 1637

The Communion office in 'Laud's Liturgy' differed from England's Book of Common Prayer at several points, some of which appear on this page. It shows the end of the Prayer of Consecration, restored to the form Cranmer had originally given it and followed, as in the 1549 Prayer Book, by the Lord's Prayer. The rubric below is the source of the name 'Prayer of Humble Access' commonly used to refer to the prayer at the bottom of the page.

following the words of institution. Because all this gives the Scottish service a marked resemblance to the Prayer Book of 1549, it can be construed as a deliberate effort, for better or worse, to undo Cranmer's later, more 'Protestant' or 'continental' alterations, which had remained untouched when the Prayer Book was reissued in 1559 and 1604. By no means, though, do all the changes move in the same direction. The Scottish book's biggest innovation is that the text of the liturgical gospels and epistles, as well as the canticles, Commandments, and other scriptural passages, follows the newly 'authorized' translation of the Bible requested by the Puritan divines at the Hampton Court conference. In the rubrics, the biblically correct word 'presbyter' is substituted for 'priest' throughout, and lessons from canonical books are appointed instead of the Apocrypha. Besides these responses to long-standing Puritan complaints, there are a number of small but interesting changes evidently meant to accommodate traditional Scottish usage, such as printing 'Yule' as a name for Christmas and 'Pasch' for Easter. On the other hand, far from allowing saints' days to be eliminated, the King added more, and he saw to it that a handful of noncanonical passages were put back into the table of lessons. The Litany too remains, as do versicles and responses, offensive though such forms of prayer were to presbyterian ears, in that they lowered the minister's status and dignity by giving the congregation more to say than 'Amen'. Nor is there any concession to Puritan convictions in the rubrics that prescribe posture, order the sign of the cross and the wedding ring, and permit lay baptism.

On the whole, it is conceivable that the 1637 Prayer Book, with its various compromises, might eventually have come to be accepted in Scotland. It never got the chance. Its official life ended the day it began, at a service in St Giles's Cathedral that turned into a riot–probably the only episode in Prayer Book history that has won a place in popular folklore. The instigator, so the story runs, was one Jenny Geddes, a vegetable-seller, who let the bishop of Edinburgh know what she thought of his prayers by throwing a stool at his head. However that may be, the disruption had probably been planned in advance, and the demonstrators were at least as much opposed to episcopacy, and to episcopal imposition of any service book, as they were to the book itself or what it may have contained. Their protest was a harbinger of upheavals soon to follow–the Bishops' Wars in Scotland, civil war in both kingdoms, and the abolition of episcopal polity and Prayer Book worship alike, together with monarchy, under the Commonwealth. Any influence the 1637 liturgy was to have would be posthumous.

Monarchy, in the person of Charles II, was restored in 1660, and with it an episcopate in Scotland. Nothing was done, however, to change the existing structure of kirk-sessions, presbyteries, and synods. Nor was any attempt made to require liturgical uniformity, much less a 'prescript form of Common Prayer'. In practice, episcopalians worshipped in much the same way presbyterians did, except that they said the Lord's Prayer and sometimes a doxology. But it would not be long before the tide of politics turned again. The high-handedness and the papistry of James II and VII, who succeeded his older brother Charles as king, soon became intolerable, the more so in that his second, Roman Catholic wife had borne him a son, raising the spectre of a papist succession. The 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688–1689 deposed the King and made William of Orange and his wife Mary Stuart, James's daughter, joint sovereigns of England and then of Scotland. The Scottish bishops hesitated to recognize them as such, whereupon William, a Dutch Calvinist, reinstated presbyterianism as the polity of the established Church of Scotland, which has remained presbyterian ever since.

For the episcopalian party, which at the time of the Revolution included perhaps a third of the Scots, the next hundred years were politically difficult, ecclesiastically complicated, and liturgically important. Most of the clergy and all the bishops became conscientious objectors, named 'Nonjurors' because they refused to violate their sworn loyalty to James and his successors by taking the new oath of allegiance to William and Mary that was required

of all ecclesiastical persons. Some episcopalian incumbents who did not scruple to take this oath, as well as some Nonjurors, stayed on in their parishes, but many were 'rabbled' out. Not until 1712 was toleration granted in law, and then only to those episcopalians who formally accepted Mary's sister Anne as queen. Meanwhile, Parliament had excluded Roman Catholics from succession to the crown, which consequently passed at Anne's death in 1714 to the next Protestant heir, the elector George of Hanover in Germany. Again an oath of allegiance to the new dynasty was required, together with abjuration of the claims of Anne's Roman Catholic half-brother, the 'Old Pretender'. Many Scots, and among them many episcopalians, maintained their loyalty to the exiled House of Stuart, to the point of armed rebellion in 1715. One of the measures enacted to put down this Jacobite movement tightened the restrictions on episcopalian worship. Ministers could qualify for toleration only if they had taken holy orders in one of the established episcopal churches, English or Irish. Scottish bishops who ordained their own clergy were by that very act disqualifying them. The result was a separation of the episcopalian minority into two branches that lasted into the nineteenth century. Congregations with 'qualified' ministers tended to be outposts of the Church of England, using its Prayer Book and enjoying English support. Nonjuring congregations, more numerous at first and more Scottish, but less wealthy and more isolated, tended to favour the Jacobite cause and were subject to penal laws and a governmental policy of repression.

The bishops, Nonjurors to a man, were slow to organize a church separate from the state, since episcopacy might yet be restored to the Kirk by the rightful king, as had happened in 1660. In the meantime, they were careful to maintain an episcopal succession. The Prayer Book of 1637 was not quite forgotten, but to put out a new edition would have been costly, and updating the state prayers would have meant declaring in black and white which royal family was to be prayed for. Constrained by poverty and politics, those of the Nonjuring clergy who used 'read prayers' were for the most part content to read them from the English book. It was not much different from the Scottish, except in the second half of the Communion office, and occasions when that was called for were few and far between. When they did arise, some of the clergy evidently found ways to make use of the 1637 rite, and others approximated to it by inserting suitable prayers into the English service. Presently a solution to some of these practical difficulties appeared in the shape of 'wee bookies', as they came to be known. These pamphlets, typically twenty-four pages, five inches by eight, had as their title *The Communion Office for the use of the Church of Scotland, as far as concerneth the ministration of that Holy Sacrament,* to which some of them added *Authorized by K. Charles I.* The earliest one that bears a date (1722) accurately reproduces the text of the rite in the Scottish Prayer Book, abridged by leaving out the long optional exhortations, the collects and rubrics at the end of the service, and everything from the beginning through the creed – including the collects for the king, who consequently is never identified by name. What remains, 'as far as concerneth the ministration', is everything that was distinctive in the 1637 Communion service, printed in an inexpensive form small enough to slip into an English Prayer Book, which would supply the texts common to both rites. The idea caught on. 'Wee bookies' continued to be published at intervals for the rest of the eighteenth century and beyond, keeping the tradition of the 1637 Communion office alive.

It was not a static tradition. Whereas in England printers were obliged to see that their Prayer Books conformed to a standard text, no such regulation applied to Scottish Episcopalians, and there were never 'sealed books' to conform to, as there were for the 1662 Prayer Book. As time went on, the reprints began to vary, sometimes in their wording and sometimes in the arrangement of parts and paragraphs. By 1764, when the version that was to become the recognized standard appeared, a number of interesting and significant alterations had accumulated. Their significance is best understood by considering some of the theological developments that influenced them.

The English Nonjurors' Liturgy

The 'Glorious Revolution' was no more acceptable to some of the clergy in England than it was to many Scots. Nine English bishops, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, refused to swear allegiance to William and Mary. Together with some four hundred other clerics, they paid for their principles by forfeiting their sees and parishes. As in Scotland, the deprived bishops consecrated successors, initiating a line of Nonjuring prelates-at-large that lasted in England through most of the eighteenth century. Separated as they were from the established church, Nonjurors were under no legal obligation to conform their worship to the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. Most of them did so, especially at first, but little by little some began to take advantage of their independence by introducing variations and interpolations, especially in the service of Holy Communion. By 1716 these practices, four of them in particular, had become matters of dispute. 'Usagers' regarded them as essential and their absence from the 1662 liturgy as a grave defect. To more conservative Nonjurors, they were unnecessary or anyhow inexpedient. Two of these 'greater usages' were the ceremonial mixing of water with the eucharistic wine, and public prayer for the departed. The other two affected the contents of the central eucharistic prayer, the Prayer of Consecration.

This prayer, as set out in the established church's liturgy, the Usagers had weighed and found wanting. For them as for the Caroline divines whose theology they inherited, it was not enough, where eucharistic doctrine was concerned, only to negate Romanist error. The church had need of a fuller, more positive teaching, such as had been expressed in the earliest Christian liturgies–especially the 'Clementine' Liturgy preserved in the *Apostolic Constitutions,* which at the time was thought to be the earliest and most pristine of all. This and other ancient rites all have certain components that the Prayer Book lacks. In the Prayer of Consecration, following Christ's words of institution, they go on to add 'oblation' and 'invocation': the bread and wine are explicitly offered to God, in remembrance of Christ's saving work; and the coming of the Holy Spirit is invoked upon these offered elements, to bless and sanctify them, making them Christ's body and blood. Persuaded as they were that this more extended form of the consecration prayer was more genuinely apostolic than Cranmer's, the Usagers numbered oblation and invocation among the 'greater usages'. But they did not make this appeal to antiquity on merely antiquarian grounds. The liturgical forms they sought to restore implied, and were implied by, a theological conception of what the Eucharist is and does. The Prayer of Consecration, which constitutes the Eucharist as *sacrament,* had its counterpart in a doctrine of the Eucharist as *sacrifice,* especially in relation to the one great sacrifice offered by Christ himself.

On this difficult and much-disputed point, the Usagers relied above all on the authority of a learned member of the established church, John Johnson of Cranbrook. In *The Unbloody Sacrifice,* his chief work, Johnson argued that the Eucharist is truly sacrificial and therefore, like all sacrifice, propitiatory. But he also argued that the slaying of a victim is not in itself the rite by which sacrifice is offered. Thus the 'sacrificial solemnity' of Christ's self-oblation did not consist in crucifixion alone; it began with his institution of the Eucharist and was not complete until his entry into heaven, the Holy of Holies, as high priest. One sacrifice, in other words, took place at the Last Supper *and* on Calvary *and* in the ascension. For Johnson, 'distinguishing the oblation in the eucharist, from that on the cross, and that afterwards in heaven, is really a confounding or obscuring of the whole mystery, and rendering it perplext and intricate'. On this understanding of sacrifice, an unusual one for its time, Christ's crucified body and shed blood were offered by Christ himself, but they were offered actively and voluntarily, though 'in mystery', as represented by bread and wine. Such an offering the church too makes, in its eucharistic oblation. But it was by Christ's own act of offering, dedicating himself to God, that bread and wine were consecrated at the Last Supper, and no agency less than his could have brought about so great a blessing. For that reason, only the Holy Spirit can be the principal agent of consecration at the church's Eucharist. Not until

the Spirit has been invoked is consecration complete, and not until it is complete can intercession for the living and the dead be made, not only in Christ's name, as is done whenever Christians pray, but with Christ's sacramental body and blood on the altar before God.

Such was the eucharistic theology of Johnson and those who followed him. Not surprisingly, they found much to admire in the 1549 Prayer Book, which includes at least some form of all four 'usages', and in the Scottish liturgy of 1637, with its prayers of invocation and oblation. On the other hand, it is not easy to see in the 1662 Communion service an 'unbloody sacrifice' such as Johnson expounded. Yet he was loath to alter the statutory liturgy in his own practice, as were many of the Nonjurors. Others were of a different mind. Shortly after Johnson's book was published, four Nonjuring bishops, two English and two Scottish, determined that a service more 'agreeable to the primitive liturgies' should be drawn up. In 1718 the new rite appeared under the title of *A Communion Office, taken partly from Primitive Liturgies: and Partly from the First English reformed Common Prayer Book.* It provides for two of the 'usages' by ordering water to be mixed with the wine 'in the view of the people' and restoring the Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church to its original form, which has a petition on behalf of those 'who are departed from us with the sign of faith, and do now rest in the sleep of peace'. This intercessory prayer is to be said following the consecration, and at the consecration itself a paraphrase of the 'Clementine' prayer takes the place of the one in the Prayer Book. Thus oblation and invocation, the other two 'usages', are both included, explicitly and in their ancient place between the institution narrative and the intercessions.

The publication of this 'New Office' did nothing to assuage the dispute between Usagers and those who felt obliged to abide by the Prayer Book. Quite the contrary. After some years of pamphlet warfare, mutual excommunications, and rival ordinations to the episcopate, an attempt was made to set the Usagers' liturgy aside in the interest of restoring unity. It was formally agreed that Nonjurors, all of them being 'sufferers in one common cause for conscience sake', would use but one common form of worship, and that one the Prayer Book. They would use it, however, with the express understanding that certain phrases in its Communion service would be taken to mean what was meant by the prayers in the 1718 liturgy. Which of the two parties gained more than it conceded in this rather Anglican compromise does not much matter, because it fell apart almost at once. One of the bishops who had sired the New Office would have nothing to do with disinheriting it, and those Nonjurors who acknowledged his jurisdiction kept it in use until his successor, Thomas Deacon, replaced it with his own *Compleat Collection of Devotions, both Publick and Private: Taken from the Apostolical Constitutions, the Ancient Liturgies, and the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England.* The eucharistic rite in Deacon's compilation is usually called the Nonjurors' liturgy of 1734. It has a little of the Prayer Book in it, together with a great deal of the *Apostolic Constitutions.* But by 1748, when Deacon appointed it as 'our liturgy or Book of Common Prayer', Nonjurors were being reabsorbed into the established church, and Deacon himself no longer considered that he was a bishop of 'the Church of England as she was before the late revolution'. How far the *Compleat Collection* was actually used in his 'Orthodox British Church' remains largely unknown.

The Scottish Communion Office of 1764

In Scotland, meanwhile, the four 'greater usages' had found increasing support among Nonjuring Episcopalians, a few of whom seem to have made use of the 1718 liturgy. One of these was Thomas Rattray, who was later to become a bishop and then Primus. His own scholarship led him to conclusions much the same as Johnson's, and he would have preferred to introduce not only the 'usages' but the whole Liturgy of St James, of which he made a translation intended for use in worship as well as for study. The Scottish liturgy, however, was the only alternative to the English Prayer Book that had the bishops' approval. By recommending it 'in the strongest manner', they had in effect given their episcopal sanction to

the 'wee bookies', since the 1637 Prayer Book was not readily available. The 'bookies', though, were not all the same. Strict liturgical uniformity was not an ideal that had ever taken root in Scotland, even among the Episcopalian clergy, who evidently allowed themselves certain liberties in using the office their bishops recommended. The sequence of the prayers is known to have been altered in practice, and in turn the printed order seems to have been adjusted to bring it into line with what was actually being said and heard in worship.

In 1735, for example, a 'bookie' was published which announces on its title-page that 'all the parts of this office are ranked in the natural order' and puts the Prayer for the Whole State after the consecration, as in the Nonjurors' liturgy, instead of before, as in the Scottish Prayer Book. It also emphasizes one of the 'usages', prayer for the dead, by removing the words 'militant here in earth' from the bidding before the prayer 'for the whole state of Christ's church', and emphasizes another of them, oblation, by adding a few words to the Prayer of Consecration. Here the original version states that 'we thy humble servants do celebrate and make . . . with these thy holy gifts, the memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make'. This edition inserts a clause printed in capitals, so that the memorial is said to be made 'with these thy holy gifts, WHICH WE NOW OFFER UNTO THEE'. Who was responsible for these alterations, and why they were made, no one knows for sure, but evidently they were not found objectionable at the time. They remain in a subsequent republication (still claiming to be 'authorized by K. Charles I'), and in 1764 they were adopted in the edition that was to become the standard. There are also 'bookies' in which the invocation is moved from its 1637 position, before the words of institution, to the end of the consecration, again following the English Nonjurors and the primitive order; and this change too was included in the definitive 1764 version.

That version, although it was put out by the Primus and another bishop, does not seem to have owed its authority to official authorization so much as to a gradual and almost entirely informal process of reception. Its merits were recognized, its use was sanctioned by custom, and other versions ceased to be reissued. Moreover, it appeared following forty years of what might be called 'trial use'. Changes influenced by the learning of Johnson, Rattray, and other scholars had been put to the practical test of actual worship; some had been accepted, others not. The 1764 wording was still very largely Cranmer's, derived from his first Prayer Book through the Scottish book of 1637, but little by little the 'shape' of the liturgy had come to be almost exactly the same as that of the Nonjurors' New Office. While there is no prayer for worthiness before the consecration, no exchange of the peace, and no version of 'Christ our Passover', these differences are less significant than the invocation's 'eastern' position, after the words of institution, and the placement of the whole consecration prayer before the intercessions. The same theological rationale that explains this sequence seems to be reflected in one of the textual changes that made their way into the 1764 version. Every Prayer Book since 1549, after mentioning the crucifixion, had continued with a clause referring to Christ, 'who made *there*, by his *one* oblation of himself once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction'. In the Scottish office of 1764 this clause reads: 'who, by his *own* oblation of himself once offered, made a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice', and so on. The eucharistic prayer, thus modified, is open to an interpretation of Christ's sacrificial self-offering as embracing the Last Supper and the Eucharist together with the cross, but does not exclude an interpretation that would identify his one sacrifice with one event, the crucifixion.

It was the Scottish Communion Office in its 1764 form that Samuel Seabury is thought to have brought back with him when he returned to America as the first American bishop. Having been selected for that office by the Anglican clergy who remained in the former colony of Connecticut when the War of Independence was over, he had made the journey to England for episcopal ordination. There he met with an obstacle: the establishment of the established church, and specifically the oath of allegiance required of every new bishop. Seabury, no longer a British subject, could hardly take such an oath. The English bishops,

The Scottish Communion Office and its Antecedents

1549 BCP	1637 BCP	Nonjurors' 1718	Scottish 1764
OFFERTORY	OFFERTORY	OFFERTORY	OFFERTORY
	intercession		
	(Prayer for Whole State)		
	exhortations		
	invitation, confession, absolution, comfortable words		
		prayer for worthiness	
salutation		salutation	salutation
Sursum corda	*Sursum corda*	*Sursum corda*	*Sursum corda*
preface and *Sanctus*	preface and *Sanctus*	preface and *Sanctus*	preface and *Sanctus*
PRAYER OF CONSECRATION:	'PRAYER OF CONSECRATION':	PRAYER OF CONSECRATION:	'PRAYER OF CONSECRATION':
bidding			
intercession			
(Prayer for Whole State)			
invocation	**invocation**		
institution narrative	**institution narrative**	**institution narrative**	**institution narrative**
memorial	**'memorial or prayer of oblation'**	**memorial and oblation**	**'the oblation'**
		invocation	**'the invocation'**
			bidding
		intercession	**intercession**
		(Prayer for Whole State)	(Prayer for Whole State)
	bidding		bidding
Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer
		peace	
Pascha nostrum		*Pascha nostrum*	
invitation, confession, absolution, comfortable words		invitation, confession, absolution, comfortable words	invitation, confession, absolution, comfortable words
collect of humble access	'collect of humble access'	collect of humble access	'collect of humble access'
COMMUNION	COMMUNION	COMMUNION	COMMUNION
Agnus Dei			
'post-communion'			
salutation		salutation	bidding
prayer of thanksgiving	prayer of thanksgiving	prayer of thanksgiving	prayer of thanksgiving
	Gloria in excelsis	*Gloria in excelsis*	*Gloria in excelsis*
blessing	blessing	blessing	blessing

Note: Components in quotation marks are so named in the text.

though not unsympathetic, could not dispense with it on their own. The government, for largely political reasons, declined to cooperate. So it was that in November 1784 the service at which Dr Seabury became Bishop Seabury took place in Aberdeen and the ordaining prelates were Nonjuring Scots, who themselves were not bound to the Anglican establishment. The next day, the newly consecrated bishop and his consecrators signed and sealed a 'concordat' between their churches, with an article on liturgy. The Scots stated their ardent wish that Seabury would make the celebration of Communion in Connecticut 'conformable to the most primitive doctrine and practice' by following 'the pattern the Church of Scotland [*sic*] has copied after in her Communion Office'. Of this office Seabury was urged to take a serious view, and in introducing it he was to use 'gentle methods of argument and

persuasion'. How far the new bishop of Connecticut was able to make good on his pledge belongs to another story. So too do the negotiations that led to the adoption of a Scottish rather than an English form of the Prayer of Consecration when the newly constituted Protestant Episcopal Church compiled its first Book of Common Prayer. Suffice to say that 'gentle methods of argument and persuasion', the intrinsic merits of the Scottish form, and a good deal of politicking all played a part. But adopted it was, and through the American Prayer Book the Scottish tradition that went back to 1637 would go on to influence eucharistic worship in many other churches that claim the Anglican heritage.

In Scotland itself, the later fortunes of the 1764 Communion Office were bound up with the ecclesial identity of Scottish Episcopalians. By the last quarter of the eighteenth century it was becoming more and more difficult to maintain that Presbyterianism and the Hanoverian dynasty were temporary aberrations, that *the* church of Scotland was not the body legally so called but rather (as in the Seabury concordat) the one in communion with the Nonjuring bishops, or that an heir of James II and VII was or ever would be king. When James's grandson, the 'Young Pretender', died in 1788, Jacobitism was pretty much extinct as a serious political threat. The penal statutes enacted to extirpate it had lost their purpose, and Nonjurors their reason for being Nonjurors. The tiny Episcopalian church had already begun to dissociate itself from the remaining English Nonjurors and to establish friendly relations with the Church of England. In 1792 civil disabilities were at last repealed, contingent upon acceptance of the Thirty-nine Articles and public prayer, by name, for the royal family. Once these conditions had been met, the 'qualified' congregations joined themselves one by one with the Scottish dioceses, and the clergy ordained in England or Ireland acknowledged the jurisdiction of the formerly Nonjuring bishops.

Worship proved to be an impediment to harmonious union. Canons enacted in 1811, at the first General Synod held since the Revolution, assigned primary authority to the Scottish Communion Office and required the use of it at synods and consecrations, while at the same time guaranteeing that formerly 'qualified' congregations, mainly English, could keep the 1662 liturgy. But by the mid-nineteenth century the Episcopal Church had become more English and more Anglican, especially in the south of Scotland. One bishop, who deplored this trend and held the Scottish office to be the church's 'mark of distinction, as an independent, national church', took it upon himself to publish an edition of the whole 1637 Prayer Book, updated to accommodate the eighteenth-century development of its Communion rite. But his single-handed zeal failed to commend itself to his episcopal colleagues, and Anglo-Catholic enthusiasts like the hymn-writer John Mason Neale, who published *An Earnest Plea for the Retention of the Scotch Liturgy,* probably did it as much harm as good. Assimilation to the Church of England continued, to the point that in 1863 the official primacy of the Scottish office was reversed and its use made merely permissive. Far from being a mark of distinction, it was for a time in danger of disappearing altogether. Then, towards the end of the century, it began to be esteemed once more, not despite but because of its Scottishness. The renascence owed a good deal to John Dowden, then principal of the Episcopal Church's theological college, whose book on the Scottish Communion Office, first published in 1884, argued strongly for the 1764 text as definitive. Only with its invocation did he find fault: there was no precedent whatever for praying that 'bread and wine . . . may *become* the body and blood' of Christ. In 1889 the bishops, Dowden now among them, proposed a revised form that used 'be' rather than 'become', with a view to making the office more generally acceptable. Their proposal was not adopted, but it showed that the pendulum had swung. Presently new canons removed restrictions, and in 1912 an official version of the Scottish Communion Office with a carefully balanced invocation was included when–for the first time since 1637–a complete Book of Common Prayer for Scotland was published.

But the 'national eucharistic service', as it was sometimes called, might be said to have reached its high point in the Scottish Book of Common Prayer published in 1929. It was ten years in the making, during which time debates in England over the Prayer Book proposed

there in 1927 had a considerable influence, and it had been referred to diocesan synods for acceptance before General Synod authorized it. Its form is classical: calendar, tables of lessons and psalms, Morning and Evening Prayer, Litany, the collects, gospels, and epistles, Holy Communion, the occasional offices, ordinal, and Psalter. There are enrichments too: an office of Compline, two shorter litanies, and a versicle and response at the beginning of many of the prayers for various occasions. Most conspicuous, however, among the contents are two complete eucharistic rites: 'The Scottish Liturgy . . . commonly called the Scottish Communion Office' and 'The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion'. The latter, as its title would suggest, is to all intents the Communion office of 1662. Preceding it is a further if not a final rescension of the eucharistic rite that evolved from 1637 through the 'wee bookies' of the eighteenth century, to the modified version of 1912, here modified yet again. In Scotland as everywhere else in the Anglican Communion, much has happened since then in matters liturgical. Yet the Scottish Liturgy of 1929 is still in print, now once more as a separate publication–in fact, a 'wee bookie'.

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The Colonies and States of America

Marion J. Hatchett

The first Prayer Book service of Holy Communion on American soil was conducted by Robert Hunt, an Anglican clergyman, at the settlement of Jamestown on 14 May 1607. The leaders of the settlement were soon conducting daily worship within their fort, using the English Book of Common Prayer with its obligatory prayers for the king, the royal family, and Parliament. Prior to independence, the strength and status of Anglican congregations varied greatly. In some of the English colonies, the English church was established; in others, its adherents were a minority surrounded by heirs of Puritan and Nonconformist traditions. Evidence for the way the Prayer Book was put into practice is scant, but in general it seems that there was not much difference from what was being done in England. On Sundays the usual forms of worship were, in the morning, the sequence of Morning Prayer, Litany, and Ante-Communion, with sermon and prayers, followed later in the day by Evening Prayer, again with a sermon. Holy Communion was celebrated four times each year, although there was a monthly Communion service in some places. In style, all these services were plain. Any music was restricted to 'Old Hundredth' and other metrical psalms. Broadly speaking, Prayer Book worship resembled what was said and done in Puritan congregations more than among Lutherans or Roman Catholics.

At the time of the War of Independence, many Episcopalians took the loyalist side. Although their clergy included a number of Scots, most had either been sent from England or else ordained there, and so had taken the usual oath of allegiance to the king, for whom prayers were ordered in all the regular Prayer Book services. After 4 July 1776, they returned to England or fled to Canada. Those few who remained either suspended services, omitted the state prayers, or adapted them to the new political situation. It was not until 1785, when representatives of seven states met in Philadelphia to consider the organization and constitution of an independent church, that the question of revising the whole Book of Common Prayer began to be addressed in a concerted way.

Books of Common Prayer, 1786 and 1789

The idea of a thoroughgoing revision was not entirely new. In 1689, following the 'Glorious Revolution', a commission had been set up in England to alter the statutory services with a view to making them more acceptable to Presbyterian and Congregationalist Protestants. But as the preface of the first American Book of Common Prayer would later put it, this 'great and good work' – known as the 'Liturgy of Comprehension' – 'miscarried at that time; and the civil authority has not since thought proper to revive it'. (*See* 'American Difficulties with the English Prayer Book'.) Other revisions, even more drastic, had also appeared. Benjamin Franklin had taken a hand in one of these, which was published in London in 1773. Shortly after the American Revolution, John Wesley adapted the Prayer Book liturgy for the benefit of Methodists in America, and at least one Anglican congregation, King's Chapel in Boston, had devised a Prayer Book of its own (*see* Hefling, 'Comprehension'; Tucker, 'Methodists'; and Scovel, 'King's Chapel').

American Difficulties with the English Prayer Book

Besides replacing the state prayers for the king, the first attempt at an American Book of Common Prayer, printed in 1786, introduced a number of other revisions. Its preface appeals for precedent to the 1689 'Liturgy of Comprehension', which had been drawn up by divines 'than whom (it hath been truly acknowledged) the Church of England was never, at any one time, blessed with either wiser or better since it was a church'. Thirteen queries regarding the 1662 liturgy are listed, including the ones below. Most of these were also taken into account in the Prayer Book that was officially adopted in 1789.

1st. Whether the *public service* on Sunday mornings be not of too *great length,* and tends rather to diminish than encrease devotion or especially among the lukewarm and negligent?

2d. Whether it might not be conveniently *contracted,* by omitting all unnecessary *repetitions* of the same prayers or subject matter and whether a better adjustment of the necessary parts of the three different services, usually read every Sunday morning in the church, would not render the whole frame of the service more uniform, animated and compleat?

4th. Whether *all the* Psalms of David, are applicable to the state and condition of *christian societies,* and ought to be read *promiscuously,* as they now are; and whether some other method, of reading them might not be appointed; including, a *choice* of psalms as well for ordinary use, as for the *festivals* and *fasts,* and other special occasions, of public worship?

5th. Whether the subject matter of our *psalmody* or *singing* psalms should not be extended beyond those of David . . . and whether much excellent matter might not be taken from the New Testament, as well as parts of the Old Testament, especially the prophets; so as to introduce a greater variety of *anthems* and *hymns* . . . ?

8th. Whether our epistles and gospels are all of them well selected; and whether after so many other portions of scripture they are necessary . . . ?

9th. Whether our *collects,* which in the main are excellent, are always suited to the epistles and gospels; . . . and whether there is any occasion of using the collect for the day twice in the same service?

10th. Whether the Athanasian creed may not, consistently with *piety, faith* and *charity,* be either wholly omitted, or left indifferent in itself?

11th. Whether our catechism may not require illustration in some points and enlargement in others; so that it may not only be rendered fit for children, but a help to those who become candidates for confirmation? . . .

It turned out that drafting a book which would find acceptance among all the congregations that came together to form the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America was no easy task. When the leaders of some of the southern churches met in Philadelphia as a convention in 1785, one of the papers in their hands was a series of proposals for Prayer Book revision that had come from a convocation of clergy in Middletown, Connecticut, which had received Samuel Seabury as bishop. Representatives from the other New England states had met, adding further proposals. The book that actually emerged from the Philadelphia convention, however, introduced a number of changes that not only caused Seabury to turn against it, and with him other clergy from Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York, but also raised concerns on the part of the bishops in England. As might be expected, the 1786 Prayer Book eliminated references to King and Parliament. Also eliminated, however, were both the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds. The service of baptism made no reference to 'regeneration', and did not require the sign of the cross; members of the clergy were never referred to as 'priests'. These latter changes, favoured by evangelical Episcopalians in the southern and middle states, together with some in New England, were unacceptable to the high church party that was strong in other regions.

When the General Convention of the new church met in 1789, again at Philadelphia, it adopted as the official book of worship a modified version of the 1786 proposal that dispensed with many of its more controversial features. The Athanasian Creed was still omitted,

Sources of the Oblation and Invocation in the 1789 American Prayer of Consecration

Scottish BCP 1637	English BCP 1662
MEMORIAL OR PRAYER OF OBLATION Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the institution of thy dearly-beloved Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, we thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before thy Divine Majesty with these thy holy gifts,	
the memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make; having in remembrance his blessed passion, mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension; rendering unto thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same.	
(before Words of Institution)	(*before Words of Institution*)
Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee; and of thy almighty goodness vouchsafe so to bless and	Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee;
sanctify, with thy word and holy Spirit, these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine,	and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine,
that they may be unto us the body and blood of they most dearly beloved Son; so that we, receiving them	
according to thy Son our Savior Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of the same his most precious body and blood: who in the night . . .	according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood: who, in the same night . . .

to the consternation of some; but the Nicene Creed was restored, printed though not required, as an alternative to the Apostles' Creed. One difficult phrase in the Apostles' Creed – the clause which declares that Christ 'descended into hell' – was dealt with by inserting an unusual rubric. Any church was permitted either to omit the clause entirely, or to substitute the words 'he went to the Place of departed spirits'.

It was in the Holy Communion service, however, that one of the most noteworthy innovations appeared. Here the Prayer of Consecration, as compared with the one in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, is much longer. The tradition it belongs to is not that of English Prayer Books since 1552, but the one that begins with the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637, which had drawn on the original 1549 Prayer Book, and continues through the 'wee bookies' used by the Nonjurors in Scotland. It was this form of the Communion service that had been commended to Samuel Seabury by the Scottish bishops who consecrated him, and he endeavoured to introduce a modified form of it in his diocese of Connecticut. But the consecration prayer that was eventually included in the American Prayer Book makes certain changes, notably with respect to the *epiclesis* or invocation. The 'definitive' 1764 version of the Scottish Communion Office has a clause praying that the bread and wine 'may become the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son'. This clause the American book omits. The English Prayer Books, beginning in 1552, had replaced it with a petition for worthy reception ('Grant that we . . . may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood'), which the Scottish tradition had included, following the

Scottish Communion Office 1764	American BCP 1789
THE OBLATION	THE OBLATION
Wherefore, O Lord, and heavenly Father, according to the institution of thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, we thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before thy divine majesty, with these thy holy gifts,	Wherefore, O Lord, and heavenly Father, according to the institution of thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, we, thy humble servants, do celebrate and make here before thy divine majesty, with these thy holy gifts,
WHICH WE NOW OFFER UNTO THEE,	which we now offer unto thee,
the memorial thy Son hath commanded us to make;	the memorial thy Son hath commanded us to make;
having in remembrance his blessed passion, and precious death,	having in remembrance his blessed passion, and precious death,
his mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension; rendering unto thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same.	his mighty resurrection and glorious ascension; rendering unto thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same.
THE INVOCATION	THE INVOCATION
And we most humbly beseech thee, O merciful Father, to hear us, and of thy almighty goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with thy word and Holy Spirit, these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine,	And we most humbly beseech thee, O merciful Father, to hear us; and, of thy almighty goodness, vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with thy Word and Holy Spirit, these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine;
that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son;	
	that we, receiving them
	according to thy Son our Savior Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood.

epiclesis, in the 1637 Prayer Book and in 'wee bookies' down to 1755, though it does not appear in later ones. This petition also appears in the American book. Though not all the details are clear, it is evident that various versions of the Scottish Communion Office were known to the American clergy, and that they influenced the wording of the Prayer of Consecration that was adopted in 1789 and remains in the American Prayer Book to this day.

Scottish usage was the source of other differences from the 1662 Communion service as well. The Summary of the Law appears in the American Book of Common Prayer of 1789 as an optional extension of the Decalogue, and the *Gloria tibi* is appointed before the reading of the gospel.

The principal Sunday morning service, however, was still Morning Prayer, Litany, and Ante-Communion, and in this respect the 1789 book makes few changes. Some of the language is updated; for example 'Our Father, who' instead of 'Our Father, which' and 'those who trespass' instead of 'them that trespass'. One long-standing Puritan complaint about the Prayer Book had been its 'vain repetitions': the *Gloria Patri* might be said as many as a dozen times in a Sunday service conducted according to the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. The new American book required it to be said only once. In the lectionary for Sundays the number of readings from the prophets was increased, and there is a table of proper New Testament lessons for Sundays. The scheme of reading the whole Psalter 'in course' over thirty days is retained, but there is also a set of ten 'Selections of Psalms, To be used instead of the Psalms of the day, at the discretion of the minister'. No lessons from the Apocrypha

are appointed for Morning and Evening Prayer, and the gospels and Acts are to be read through twice rather than three times in the course of a year.

Another objection to the classical Book of Common Prayer had been its inclusion of the 'gospel canticles'–the *Benedictus, Magnificat,* and *Nunc dimittis.* In the judgement of some, these songs were so particular to Zechariah, Mary, and Simeon, respectively, as to make them unsuitable for congregational singing or saying. Evening Prayer in the first American Prayer Book has neither the *Magnificat* nor the *Nunc dimittis,* psalms being provided instead, but Morning Prayer does keep the first four verses of the *Benedictus,* perhaps because these could stand on their own as a hymn of praise. The wording of the familiar Collect for Aid against Perils is changed, because of what was thought at the time to be an unfortunate word-play on 'light' and 'darkness' (*see* 'The Collect for Aid against Perils'). Two forms that had been among the optional, 'occasional' prayers in the 1662 Prayer Book became mandatory: the prayer for clergy and people was always to be followed by the prayer 'for all conditions' and the General Thanksgiving.

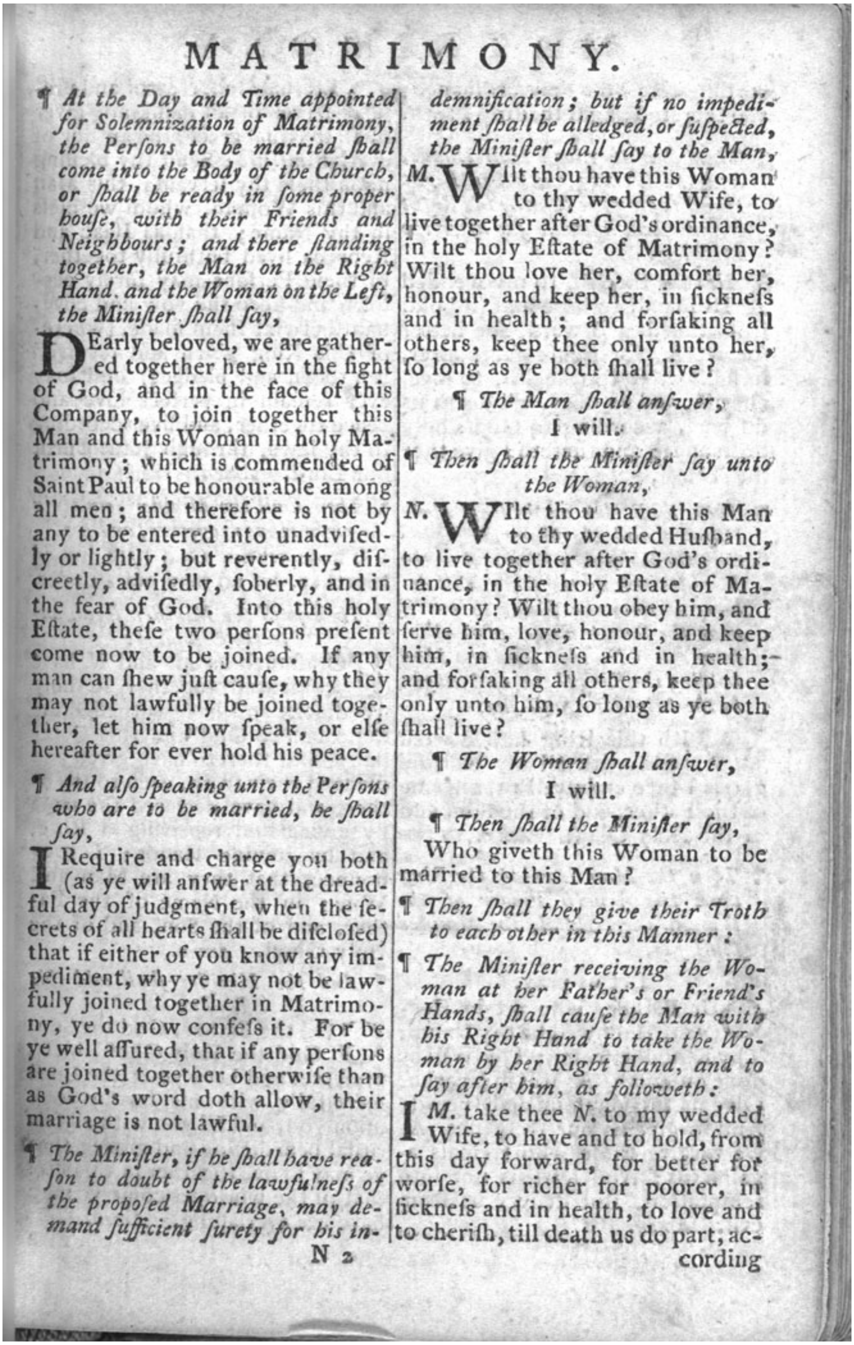
Certain changes in the occasional offices are worth noting. At baptism, parents could serve as sponsors–a change that the early Puritans had sought–and a simple question, 'Dost thou believe all the Articles of the Christian Faith, as contained in the Apostles' Creed?' was substituted for the full form of the creed. At the request of the sponsors, the sign of the cross and the words that accompany it could be omitted, responding to another request from the early days of Puritanism. Changes in the Catechism were relatively minor. Probably the most significant were the elimination of use of the word 'elect', almost surely because of its Calvinistic connotation, and the change in the answer to the question 'What is the inward part, or thing signified?' regarding the Lord's Supper. Instead of 'The Body and Blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received', the new answer reads: 'The Body and Blood of Christ, which are spiritually taken and received'.

Holy Matrimony in the 1789 Prayer Book is a much shorter service than in 1662. It could be performed in 'some proper house', rather than in a church, a provision that took into account the widely scattered population in many regions of the new country. Omitted are the 'causes for which Matrimony was ordained', with their reference to satisfying 'men's carnal lusts and appetites, like brute beasts that have no understanding', as well as the procession to the holy table, with its psalms and the prayers and exhortation that followed. The Order for

The Collect for Aid against Perils

The American Book of Common Prayer followed the recommendations of the 1689 Commission by changing, in its own way, the beginning of this third collect at Evening Prayer, presumably because that service was frequently said in the afternoon. The original wording would later be restored.

1662 Book of Common Prayer	1689 'Liturgy of Comprehension'	1789 American Prayer Book
Lighten our darkness, we beseech thee, O Lord; and	Almighty God who hast hitherto preserved us in safety this day,	O Lord, our heavenly Father, by whose Almighty power we have been preserved this day;
by thy great mercy defend us from all perils and dangers of this night; for the love of thy only Son, our Saviour, Jesus Christ.	by thy great mercy defend us from all perils and dangers of this night; for the love of thy only Son, our Saviour, Jesus Christ.	by thy great mercy defend us from all perils and dangers of this night; for the love of thy only Son, our Saviour, Jesus Christ.



MATRIMONY.

¶ *At the Day and Time appointed for Solemnization of Matrimony, the Perſons to be married ſhall come into the Body of the Church, or ſhall be ready in ſome proper houſe, with their Friends and Neighbours; and there ſtanding together, the Man on the Right Hand. and the Woman on the Left, the Miniſter ſhall ſay,*

DEarly beloved, we are gathered together here in the ſight of God, and in the face of this Company, to join together this Man and this Woman in holy Matrimony; which is commended of Saint Paul to be honourable among all men; and therefore is not by any to be entered into unadviſedly or lightly; but reverently, diſcreetly, adviſedly, ſoberly, and in the fear of God. Into this holy Eſtate, theſe two perſons preſent come now to be joined. If any man can ſhew juſt cauſe, why they may not lawfully be joined together, let him now ſpeak, or elſe hereafter for ever hold his peace.

¶ *And alſo ſpeaking unto the Perſons who are to be married, he ſhall ſay,*

I Require and charge you both (as ye will anſwer at the dreadful day of judgment, when the ſecrets of all hearts ſhall be diſcloſed) that if either of you know any impediment, why ye may not be lawfully joined together in Matrimony, ye do now confeſs it. For be ye well aſſured, that if any perſons are joined together otherwiſe than as God's word doth allow, their marriage is not lawful.

¶ *The Miniſter, if he ſhall have reaſon to doubt of the lawfulneſs of the propoſed Marriage, may demand ſufficient ſurety for his indemnification; but if no impediment ſhall be alledged, or ſuſpected, the Miniſter ſhall ſay to the Man,*

M. WIlt thou have this Woman to thy wedded Wife, to live together after God's ordinance, in the holy Eſtate of Matrimony? Wilt thou love her, comfort her, honour, and keep her, in ſickneſs and in health; and forſaking all others, keep thee only unto her, ſo long as ye both ſhall live?

¶ *The Man ſhall anſwer,*

I will.

¶ *Then ſhall the Miniſter ſay unto the Woman,*

N. WIlt thou have this Man to thy wedded Huſband, to live together after God's ordinance, in the holy Eſtate of Matrimony? Wilt thou obey him, and ſerve him, love, honour, and keep him, in ſickneſs and in health; and forſaking all others, keep thee only unto him, ſo long as ye both ſhall live?

¶ *The Woman ſhall anſwer,*

I will.

¶ *Then ſhall the Miniſter ſay,*

Who giveth this Woman to be married to this Man?

¶ *Then ſhall they give their Troth to each other in this Manner:*

¶ *The Miniſter receiving the Woman at her Father's or Friend's Hands, ſhall cauſe the Man with his Right Hand to take the Woman by her Right Hand, and to ſay after him, as followeth:*

I *M.* take thee *N.* to my wedded Wife, to have and to hold, from this day forward, for better for worſe, for richer for poorer, in ſickneſs and in health, to love and to cheriſh, till death us do part, according

N 2

26. Matrimony in the First American Prayer Book

Many of the changes in the Book of Common Prayer that was adopted in 1789 by the Protestant Episcopal Church were made in order to shorten the services. In the marriage rite, the minister's address to the congregation, shown here on a page from the earliest printing (1790), drastically abbreviates the form that had been prescribed in the Church of England's Prayer Book since 1549, notably by omitting the three 'causes for which matrimony was ordained'.

Benton Collection, Rare Books and Manuscripts Department, Boston Public Library.

From the Order for the Burial of the Dead

Among the amendments adopted in the first American Prayer Book was one that changed the emphasis in the first of the two prayers that follow the Lord's Prayer in the burial service.

1662	1789
Almighty God, with whom do live the spirits of them that depart hence in the Lord, and with whom the souls of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and felicity:	Almighty God, with whom do live the spirits of those who depart hence in the Lord, and with whom the souls of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and felicity;
We give thee hearty thanks, for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world; beseeching thee, that it may please thee, of thy gracious goodness, shortly to accomplish the number of thine elect, and to hasten thy kingdom;	We give thee hearty thanks for the good examples of all those thy servants, who, having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labours.
that we, with all those that are departed in the true faith of thy holy Name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in thy eternal and everlasting glory; through Jesus Christ our Lord.	And we beseech thee, that we, with all those who are departed in the true faith of thy holy Name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in thy eternal and everlasting glory; through Jesus Christ our Lord.

the Visitation of the Sick makes no mention of confession or absolution, in line with many proposals and revised liturgies of the time. Whereas the English Book of Common Prayer denied use of the Order for the Burial of the Dead to all who die unbaptized, the American rubric specifies only 'unbaptised adults'. In the service itself, there are revisions in the form of the committal of the body – 'looking for the general Resurrection in the last Day' instead of 'in sure and certain hope of the Resurrection to eternal life' – and in the somewhat objectionable prayer that follows the Lord's Prayer.

The state services annexed to the 1662 Book of Common Prayer have no equivalent in the American book, except the service for Thanksgiving Day, which somewhat resembles them. Also included are 'Forms of Prayer to be Used in Families', first published in 1705 by Edmund Gibson, later bishop of London, for use in the parish of Lambeth, which had been widely circulated in the colonies by the Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge. There was at first no ordinal, but the next General Convention approved slightly revised ordination rites in 1792. The most important change was the inclusion of an alternative form for use with the laying-on of hands at the ordination of a priest: 'Take thou Authority to execute the Office of a Priest in the Church of God, now committed to thee by the Imposition of our hands. And be thou a faithful Dispenser . . . '.

The 1892 Revision

After the less than satisfactory beginning of 1786, the Prayer Book of 1789 wore well for nearly a hundred years. At the General Convention of 1880, William Reed Huntington introduced a resolution to study the possibility of a revision that would bring 'liturgical enrichment and increased flexibility of use'. For some time there had been calls for revision on the part of clergy attempting to conduct worship in a very different context from that of the Episcopal Church's earliest days. The second half of the nineteenth century saw a large influx of immigrants, both to the factories in the cities and towns, and to remote missionary frontiers, where lengthy Sunday worship was impractical. Desires for a new book were

also influenced by the 'Catholic revival' in Anglicanism, with its renewed emphasis on the sacraments and its interest in the study of liturgy generally. In 1883 a complete Prayer Book was printed for consideration by Convention, and over the next few years there were many other proposals for liturgical change, from eliminating the Ten Commandments at the beginning of Holy Communion to preaching the sermon after the gospel instead of the creed.

In the end, however, the 1892 revision turned out to be extremely conservative. Nearly all the most notable changes affected the two daily offices. The *Magnificat* and the *Nunc dimittis* were restored to Evening Prayer, as well as the omitted verses of the *Benedictus* in Morning Prayer. Since 1552 the beginning of these services had been markedly penitential, and the sentences with which they opened were selected accordingly. The new 1892 Book of Common Prayer provided as well a set of sentences for Morning Prayer that are instead appropriate to the different seasons of the liturgical year. The rubrics allowed the exhortation to be replaced, except on Sunday, by the short invitation 'Let us humbly confess our sins unto Almighty God'; the service might also end with the Collect for Grace and the 'grace' from 2 Corinthians 13:14. The whole of the introductory section – exhortation, General Confession, and absolution – could also be omitted if Morning Prayer was followed immediately by Holy Communion. That sequence had always been the usual Anglican practice, but in the 1892 Prayer Book it was no longer required; Morning Prayer, Litany, and Ante-Communion could be used separately. Permission was also given for what came to be known as a 'third service', in addition to Morning and Evening Prayer, provided it was compiled from the Prayer Book and introduced 'subject to the direction of the Ordinary'. For Evening Prayer itself there were similar provisions for shortening the service, and the Collect for Aid against Perils took back its original wording. The lectionary for both daily offices was changed to include, for the first time in the American church, readings from the Apocrypha, and for the first time in any Anglican Daily Office lectionary, readings from the book of Revelation.

Similar trends can be discerned in the Communion service. The Decalogue need only be said at one of the services on a Sunday; when omitted, the Summary of the Law must be said, and followed by the *Kyrie*. Either the Nicene Creed or the Apostles' Creed was to be said if it had not been said immediately before in Morning Prayer. The 1789 Prayer Book never required the use of the Nicene Creed; the 1892 revision required its use on Christmas, Easter, Ascension, Whitsunday, and Trinity Sunday. It also gave permission to omit the long Exhortation, which had been required between the Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church and the invitation to Communion, provided it had 'been already said on one Lord's Day in that same month'. The people were no longer to join in saying the conclusion to the preface, but they did still say the *Sanctus*. Provision was made for two celebrations of Holy Communion on Christmas and Easter, by adding for each a suitable collect, epistle, and gospel.

The 1892 Book of Common Prayer added one new service, 'A Penitential Office for Ash Wednesday', including Psalm 51, to be said following the Litany. The first American Prayer Book had omitted the Commination service, appointed for Ash Wednesday in the 1662 Prayer Book, and had marked the day only by ordering two prayers and a unison form from that service to be added to the Litany.

The Revision of 1928

The first steps towards a new revision, which would be authorized in 1928, were taken at the General Convention of 1913. This was a little too soon for the revision to be influenced by the beginnings of the Liturgical Movement in Europe, so, as with the 1892 revision, the changes made in 1928 were fairly conservative. They did, however, include printing a

broader range of prayers, among which are petitions for social justice and a prayer 'For the Family of Nations', as well as a new collect for Independence Day. The Daily Office lectionary was for the first time arranged according to the church year rather than the civil calendar, and in Morning Prayer a short canticle from the Apocrypha, *Benedictus es*, was provided as an alternative to the *Te Deum* or the *Benedicite.*

The controversies in which this revision was involved were in some ways the same ones that have beset revisions of the Prayer Book from the first. The first of these was public prayer for the dead. The complete elimination of any phrase that might be interpreted as such a prayer is one of the important differences between the Prayer Book of 1552 and the original version of 1549. But prayers for the departed were among the 'usages' insisted upon by the English and Scottish Nonjurors and for some Anglo-Catholics in the later nineteenth century they were regarded as a matter of principle. In the United States, the use of such prayers in church spread at the time of the First World War and following the influenza epidemic of 1918. The 1928 revision provided prayers for the departed in its burial rite and among the additional prayers printed after Family Prayer. These, however, were optional. The controversial phrase, which was not optional, came in the revised Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church: 'And we also bless thy holy Name for all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear; beseeching thee to grant them continual growth in thy love and service.'

A second controversial matter was the rearrangement of the component parts of the Communion service. Here the lightning-rod was the position of the Prayer of Humble Access. In the English Prayer Books, this prayer had since 1552 had a position following the *Sanctus* and the Prayer of Consecration, and before the communion and the Lord's Prayer. In the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637, however, and in the 'wee bookies' that continued its tradition, the order is: preface and *Sanctus,* consecration, Lord's Prayer, and Prayer of Humble Access; then communion (*see* p. 173). Although the first American Prayer Book had adopted the Scottish form of the consecration prayer itself, the overall structure of the service resembled that of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. In 1928 the proposal to adopt instead the Scottish arrangement was resisted on the ground that it implied and promoted eucharistic adoration.

Many of the changes in the occasional offices were small yet significant. The 1928 Prayer Book no longer permits the sign of the cross to be left out at baptism, and in case of emergency it explicitly permits any baptized person to baptize. In the marriage service, the bride's promise to obey is gone, and the bridegroom does not say, 'with all my worldly goods I thee endow', but a form for the (optional) blessing of the ring is added. Alterations in the service 'commonly called the Churching of Women' continue on the path by which this became less the 'purification' of a woman after childbirth (its original title) and her reincorporation into the church, and more a thanksgiving for safe deliverance and for the newborn child. But there was a radical reworking of the Order for the Visitation of the Sick, which eliminates the exhortation and examination, and reintroduces the 1662 rubric directing that the sick person is to be 'moved to make a special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any matter'. There is also a litany for the dying and the revival of an ancient practice in a new form for anointing or laying-on of hands. The burial office is much the same as in the 1892 Prayer Book, but there is a separate service for the burial of a child.

The same Convention that authorized the Prayer Book of 1928 also set up a Standing Liturgical Commission to prepare for future revision. Its first important work was a revised Daily Office lectionary, the first in any Anglican church to appoint specific psalms for every day of the church year. In 1950, by which time the effects of the Liturgical Movement were being felt throughout the Anglican world, the Commission published the first of a series of important *Prayer Book Studies,* and in 1967 there appeared the first of a series of services for trial use, which would lead to the next revision, the Prayer Book of 1979.

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British North America and Canada

William R. Blott

Canada began as a group of separate colonies and territories known collectively, after the American War of Independence, as British North America. They coalesced into one nation in 1867. The Church of England in Canada, with similar origins, followed suit more slowly while questions of governance and jurisdiction were worked out. Leaders of the church understood that the 1662 Book of Common Prayer must be accommodated to the twentieth-century country taking shape before their eyes, but officially the church had no defining criteria. While the Church of England was limited to reforms that accorded with the civil law by which it was established, the Church of England in Canada had no similar restrictions. Once the principle of revision was endorsed, there was no third party to whom disputants could turn for a judgement on the rightness of a course, and thus no limit to what might be done.

This situation was remedied at the Winnipeg Conference of 1890, where it was agreed that a General Synod would have jurisdiction in matters of doctrine and worship. Later, at the first meeting of the General Synod in 1893, this authority was hedged about by a Solemn Declaration which affirmed the Church in Canada to be in full communion with the Church of England throughout the world as an integral part of the 'One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church'. Change could now take place in a controlled and orderly fashion.

There remained, however, formidable obstacles in the path. One of these was the 1662 Prayer Book itself, which, whatever its shortcomings, was time-honoured, familiar, and expedient. Others were the vast distances across which the church was thinly stretched, and the very limited resources with which it faced the challenges of encompassing the new nation. But the most prominent obstacle through all these years was the intense and passionate debate over the nature of the church. This was given expression in two opposing groups: the high church party, which leaned towards the church's Catholic heritage, and the low church party, which emphasized the Protestant reforms of the sixteenth century and sought to maintain the status quo of 1662. It was this controversy that the bishops feared most, for the strife had become institutionalized in rival seminaries and threatened to divide the church.

The First Approach to Revision

When the first request for revision was made at the General Synod of 1902, the conservative Upper House of bishops declined to consider anything more than the drawing up of required services to be published in an appendix to the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. The subsequent attempt brought into play all the other obstacles: distance, financial constraints, and party strife. A committee was established to carry out the task, but members, separated by thousands of kilometres, were never able to meet as a group and delegated one of the bishops to put together a proposal. When the Canadian appendix to the Prayer Book was presented to the General Synod in 1905 it was approved in the Lower House by a vote of more than two to one. However, in the debate preceding the vote, a group of low church-

The Solemn Declaration, 1893

In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

WE, the Bishops, together with delegates from the Clergy and Laity of the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada, now assembled in the first General Synod, hereby make the following Solemn Declaration:

WE declare this Church to be, and desire that it shall continue, in full communion with the Church of England throughout the world, as an integral portion of the One Body of Christ composed of Churches which, united under the One Divine Head and in fellowship with the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, hold the One Faith revealed in Holy Writ, and defined in the Creeds as maintained by the undivided primitive Church in the undisputed Ecumenical Councils; receive the same Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as containing all things necessary to salvation; teach the same Word of God; partake of the same Divinely ordained Sacraments, through the ministry of the same Apostolic Orders; and worship One God and Father through the same Lord Jesus Christ, by the same Holy and Divine Spirit who is given to them that believe to guide them into all truth.

And we are determined by the help of God to hold and maintain the Doctrine, Sacraments, and Discipline of Christ as the Lord hath commanded in his Holy Word, and as the Church of England hath received and set forth the same in 'The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England; together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches; and the Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons'; and in the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion; and to transmit the same unimpaired to our posterity.

men who opposed it had stirred up such heated argument that the bishops in the Upper House took alarm and refused to support the motion out of concern for 'the best interest of the church'. Nothing would move them from this decision and so this first attempt by the Canadian church to revise its Prayer Book came to nothing.

However, three years later the Lambeth Conference declared that 'adaptation and enrichment of forms of service and worship' was advisable and even essential in order for the church to carry out its mission to different races and cultures. This gave the Canadian bishops, returning home to prepare for a General Synod that fall, both warrant and guidelines within which orderly revision could be undertaken. Moreover, as the primate, Archbishop Matheson, would say later, they had been urged by some English bishops that the Canadian church, unfettered by civil law, 'should lead in the issue of such a safe and wise revision of the Prayer Book as will show the Book can be revised and enriched and yet remain in its essential and precious features the same Book'. As for the financial constraints, these were alleviated when the Cambridge University Press agreed to underwrite the venture in return for the book's copyright. A motion for revision was brought to General Synod. Low churchmen again objected, but their fears were swept aside and the project was begun.

The Revision of 1918/1922: A Successful Beginning

The first job for the revisers was to establish the basic criteria required for any suggested revisions. High churchmen wanted to draw on the Solemn Declaration of 1893, which would have opened the way for a 1549-type Eucharist and, indeed for the whole catholic theology revived by the Tractarians. Low churchmen, on the other hand, insisted that there be no addition or change that would 'involve or imply a change of doctrine or fundamental principles' from the 1662 Prayer Book, and their wishes prevailed.

As a result, when the revised Prayer Book appeared the Eucharist was left virtually unchanged from 1662, except for the recognition of some practices which were already customary, such as the use of the Summary of the Law in place of the Ten Commandments, and the omission of the long Exhortations. This led some high church clergy initially to

A Mission Prayer, 1922

The petitions of this prayer, from the Special Service for Missions in the 1922 Canadian Book of Common Prayer, reflect both the attitudes of the day and the vision of settlers scattering into the vast Indian lands of the Canadian West.

Almighty God, who by thy Son Jesus Christ didst give commandment to the Apostles that they should go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature: Grant to us whom thou hast called into thy Church, a ready will to obey the Word, and fill us with a hearty desire to make thy way known upon earth, thy saving health among all nations. Look with compassion upon the heathen that have not known thee, and upon the multitudes that are scattered abroad as sheep having no shepherd. Raise up we pray thee true and faithful men, to seek and find thy sheep dispersed and lost, and by thy help to bring them home to thy flock, that they may be saved forever; through the same thy Son, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Spirit, ever one God, world without end.

reject the new book, and it set the stage for two decades of lobbying that finally resulted in the matter of revision being reopened.

Morning Prayer retained the customary separation of the Sunday liturgy into its three component parts: Matins, Litany, and Holy Communion. The revisers also added a number of opening sentences, made optional the controversial Athanasian Creed ('Whosoever will be saved: before all things it is necessary that he hold fast the Catholick Faith'), and authorized a sermon and an offering of money. Matins now was able to stand alone as the Sunday morning service. But the revisers' most interesting work was done in making the Prayer Book conform to the needs of Canadian society. Two new services spoke directly to the political and economic situation of the proud young nation, barely fifty years old: a Service for Dominion Day and Other Occasions of National Thanksgiving, and, in a country which boasted of being 'the breadbasket of the world', a Thanksgiving for the Blessings of Harvest. The church also had a pioneering role to play, expressed in the addition of a Special Service for Missions with distinctive opening sentences, canticles, lessons, and prayers. There was also a service of Mid-Day Prayers for Missions, a Service for Children which provided for catechizing, and Forms of Prayer To Be Used in Families.

In dealing with the occasional offices, the revisers for the most part accepted things as they found them, but made some changes reflective of the culture rather than any change in theology. The confirmation service is an example. Surrounded by denominations which rejected this sacrament, the church needed to defend it. Consequently they inserted a section in the service stating the reasons for confirmation and followed this with supportive readings from Acts and the epistle to the Hebrews. Similarly, in the Solemnization of Matrimony new rubrics recognized the appearance of government licensing and also the presence of divorce. The 1662 Prayer Book's forthright references to marriage as a remedy for carnal lusts, brutish appetites, and fornication were replaced with polite and more positive statements about hallowing the union between man and woman. The Visitation of the Sick presented a problem; in the England of 1662 illness was a visitation by God to punish one's sins or try one's patience. By the time Prayer Book revision began, the situation had completely changed, with modern medicine and a real possibility of recovery, so an alternative list of prayers and readings was provided.

The 1662 Prayer Book had no service for the introduction of a priest into a parish. In England the appointment was often done privately by the bishop and then followed by the granting of access to the church by the lord of the manor or whoever held the gift of the temporalities. Now, in Canada, these separate acts were combined within a service of worship: the Form of Institution and Induction. This took place in the designated church in the presence of the congregation. The bishop (or his archdeacon) formally installed the priest as rector, and the churchwardens presented him with the keys to the building in token of their

acceptance of him as lawful incumbent. Similarly, new churches were seldom built at the time of the 1662 Prayer Book, whereas in Canada just the opposite was true. Thus a series of services were provided for the laying of a foundation stone, the consecration of a church or chapel, and the consecration of a churchyard or cemetery. These probably derived from forms drawn up by Bishop Lancelot Andrewes and approved by Convocation in 1712. They took shape around a formal statement of the ownership of property by the local congregation and an equally formal statement by the bishop setting it apart for ever from secular use.

Pressure for Revision of the Eucharist

At the General Synod in 1918 the new book became the first Canadian Book of Common Prayer, although the Primate's proclamation of the corresponding canon would not be issued until 1922. It was accepted reluctantly by high church clergy, who felt that in the treatment of the Eucharist they had been passed over. Throughout the next two decades they waged a campaign for recognition and presented many proposals for change, but to no avail. Most churchgoers were content, and among Canadian bishops, always aware of the threat of party strife, the policy seemed to be one of leaving well enough alone.

This situation began to change with the publication by the Church of England of the (proposed) 1928 Prayer Book with its provision for a eucharistic liturgy of the 1549-type. Though the book had failed to become law, its unofficial acceptance gave it great weight in other parts of the Anglican Communion, the more so since some English bishops allowed its use in their dioceses. In Canada, some clergy looked upon this as a precedent for their own implementation of the changes they desired. Moreover, Canadian bishops quietly agreed not to object to any bishop who allowed the Prayer of Consecration in the new book to be followed by the first of the post-communion prayers, the so-called Prayer of Oblation.

However, this 'revision by default' undercut the church's discipline of common worship, and opened the door to changes that were often ill-considered. By the late 1930s General Synod was being warned that clergy dissatisfied with the 1922 book were shortening, adding, or omitting what they pleased to such an extent that unless Synod stepped in, every priest would become a law unto himself. Cautiously, General Synod in 1937 opened the door to further revision. After two decades of lobbying for a 1549–1928-type Eucharist, there was no question about what would be the main item on the agenda despite the continued misgivings of low churchmen.

The 1962 Revision

The revisers acted with both decision and dispatch when they finally met. In their first report to the General Synod of 1943, instead of touching on the Eucharist they presented two non-controversial items: a service for the baptism of children and a penitential office. Other work, they said, was underway. It was a clear message that here was a group who could function effectively together and without arousing the spectre of party strife.

Changes in the service of Holy Baptism to Children were both cultural and theological. In the urban and diversified culture of mid-twentieth-century Canada, baptism should not take place in the home, sponsors must themselves be baptized, and the minister should be sure the child had not already received the sacrament in another church. Because of growing secularism, church membership could no longer be taken for granted. So the duties of the godparents to integrate the child into the worshipping congregation were made more explicit, as was their promise to carry this out. Other revisions affected the theology behind the stark language of 1662. Thus the opening statement of the service no longer declared that all are conceived and born in sin, but referred instead to 'the fault and corruption of nature' which human beings inherit.

In their other initial effort the revisers replaced the old Ash Wednesday liturgy ('A Commination or Denouncing of God's Anger and Judgements Against Sinners') with a Penitential Service. The threat of punishment by an angry God was superseded by an entreaty to respond to God's love and mercy and return to him through Jesus Christ. The negative medieval theology of a watchful and implacable judge was replaced with the positive message of a loving father calling children to repent and be reconciled with him.

These cultural and theological changes were even more evident in the ministry to the sick. It was no longer a 'visitation' to one undergoing God's 'fatherly correction' but a 'ministry' to bring God's healing grace to bear upon an evil circumstance with both spiritual and physical components. The service was divided into six parts, beginning with a short service of assurance and prayers for healing. This might be followed by an act of faith in the redeeming love of God, then a form of confession and absolution, and the receiving of communion, then the laying-on of hands and anointing with oil. This sacramental act had biblical precedent and responded to a widely perceived need, but the memory of medieval abuses lingered and each of these acts was specifically restricted to those 'who earnestly desire it'. This ministry concluded with a supplication for the dying and a commendation of the soul into the hands of God. In the burial office which followed, the most obvious change was shortening the long reading from 1 Corinthians, but the theology also changed to proclaim the loving and merciful Father of the risen Christ. Provision was made for cremation, and a separate service was provided for the burial of children.

The postwar world was one of rising nationalism and secularism. In this world, as Lambeth 1948 perceived, it was no longer enough simply to be a Christian by inheritance. It needed to be a matter of consideration and intention. The Christian church around the world had to exert itself to rediscover and show forth its essential message and teaching, a fact of which the Canadian revisers were well aware. In a move designed to encourage daily devotion, they inserted a rubric drawn from the 1662 preface ordering clergy to say Matins and Evensong daily and, ideally, to ring the church bell so people might come or at least pause in their work to pray. Family Prayer was made more interactive and placed at the very back of the book for ease of access; a simple form of Compline was also provided which any group meeting at night might use to conclude their time together.

The concept of intentional Christian discipleship was nowhere more evident than in the provision for working with youth, where the rubric ordering the use of the Catechism became prominent and the Catechism itself was revised to go beyond rote learning and encourage discussion. No longer simply a didactic tool, the Catechism became the means by which baptized children could become integrated intelligently into the worshipping congregation. It prepared them to confirm for themselves the vows made for them at baptism, and begin adult discipleship. At intervals the revisers inserted acts of devotion into the catechetical process and, finally, a Supplementary Instruction at the end. It delineated the nature of the church, its mission to the world, the ministry, the Bible, and personal vocation. It ended with an admonition to have a rule of life and a list of the things that should be considered in framing it. The service of Confirmation for which all of this was preparation was not itself much changed from the first Canadian Prayer Book. But provision was made for the addition of hymns, the creed, a sermon, and prayers, so that the careful preparation of candidates was followed by an impressive service with the bishop.

The Service for Missions, over which the revisers had taken great care in 1918, was now replaced with five sets of collects, epistles, and gospels for missionaries, and for missions in the parish, in the country, and overseas. The Mid-Day Prayers for Missions were moved intact to a more prominent place between Morning and Evening Prayer. In Canada, where the responsibility for aboriginal mission work had just been passed on from the Church of England, this theme also found expression in changes to the calendar. Twenty-six missionaries (seven of them Canadian) were added, as well as ten leaders of the reform and revival of the church in modern times.

In some of the occasional offices it was particularly important to keep pace with changes in society and culture. The revisions to the marriage service reflecting the changed status of women are a good example of this. The bride's promise to obey her husband was removed, along with biblical references to woman emanating from Adam's side, while provision was made for the woman to give her husband a ring. On the other hand, the husband no longer promised to endow his wife with all his worldly goods, but merely to 'share' them with her. In the 1662 and 1922 books, the marriage service had, tellingly, been followed by the visitation of the sick and the burial office; if a woman survived pregnancy, she came to the church for The Thanksgiving of Women After Childbirth. The repositioning of the latter immediately after the marriage service spoke volumes about the arrival of a new era in the life of Canadians.

The Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons once again remained untouched. It was the accepted formula defending the church from charges of schism and establishing the three orders of ministry.

The Psalter

Because of the beauty of its wording and rhythm, Coverdale's translation of the Psalter was retained when the rest of the lectionary adopted the King James translation. But after four centuries many words had passed from use or taken on a new meaning. In addition, there was no attempt to show the division of psalms into stanzas, nor was there a thorough system of punctuation. In some of the psalms in which the voice of the speaker changes, the lack of paragraphing and quotation marks made this shift unclear. The revisers had no desire to replace Coverdale, but undertook a careful and conservative updating of obsolete words, obscure passages and the addition of punctuation and paragraph divisions.

Thus, for example in Psalm 37:20, the enemies of the Lord would no longer 'consume as the fat of lambs' but 'as the flowers of the field'. In Psalm 46 the refrain 'The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge', omitted after verse 3 by Coverdale, was re-inserted. In the case of the final three savage verses which deface the moving lament of Psalm 137, the revisers simply excised them as having no place in the worship of God.

Revising Psalm 45

1662 BCP (Coverdale's Psalter)	1962 Canadian Book of Common Prayer
My heart is inditing of a good matter: I speak of the things which I have made unto the King. 2 My tongue is the pen: of a ready writer.	My heart overfloweth with a good matter: I recite my verses for the king: • my tongue is the pen of a ready writer.
3 Thou art fairer than the children of men: full of grace are thy lips, because God hath blessed thee for ever.	2 Thou art fairer than the children of men; • full of grace are thy lips; therefore God hath blessed thee for ever.
4 Gird thee with thy sword upon thy thigh, O thou most Mighty: according to thy worship and renown.	3 Gird thee with thy sword upon thy thigh, O mighty one, • according to thy glory and thy majesty.
5 Good luck have thou with thine honour: ride on, because of the word of truth, of meekness, and righteousness; and thy right hand shall teach thee terrible things.	4 And in thy majesty ride on to victory in the cause of truth, and of meekness, and righteousness; • and let thy right hand teach thee terrible deeds.

The Holy Eucharist

Six years passed before work on the Eucharist was begun. This delay was deliberate; it allowed the revisers to work together successfully and build a rapport between people of differing points of view. During that time also the Lambeth Conference of 1948 advised that revisions of the Prayer Book should be 'in accordance with the doctrine and accepted liturgical worship of the Anglican Communion'. Thus they no longer needed to hew to the doctrine and principles of 1662, as the revisers of the 1922 book had been obliged to do; their scope was now broadened to allow the catholic theology of the Solemn Declaration of 1893 to apply.

The Eucharist was the most important part of their work so the revisers spent a week together considering proposals and formulating a final report to General Synod. They were pleased with their work, and particularly with the Prayer of Consecration. Its long-awaited third paragraph, they noted, was not a copy of the 'complicated' prayer of 1549 or that of the Scottish Episcopal Church (1929), but one of their own devising. It was short, but contained brief references to everything found in the longer prayers except for an invocation of the Holy Spirit.

Like the baptism and funeral services before it, the new eucharistic rite, once passed by the Synod, was published in 1952 for study. But in this case, instead of the approval they expected, the revisers received criticism from all sides. Much of it focused on the new third paragraph of the Prayer of Consecration. This contained no oblation and no *epiclesis,* and the *anamnesis* was unsatisfactory. The language was characterized as flat and insipid, indicating nothing of the transcendent mystery of the sacrament. Many high church clergy had been making use of the 1928 English Prayer Book or some variation of it, and had built their expectations around that. The message was clear. It was acceptable to adapt the occasional offices and other parts of the Prayer Book to the Canadian scene but, like baptism, the Eucharist was a founding sacrament of the church and it had a special status. It was not immutable, but its change was organic, like the growth of a living creature rather than the remodelling of a structure.

The committee was in need of a fresh and credible vision. It came from one of their members, Philip Carrington, Archbishop of Québec. He had been occupied with the report on the Anglican Communion for the Lambeth Conference of 1948 and was working on a major statement to the Anglican Congress of 1954. Both of these were concerned with the continuing identity of the Anglican Communion worldwide in the postwar setting of rising nationalism and ecumenism. In the absence of any juridical or political structure, Carrington said, member churches of the Anglican Communion had found unity of faith and order, purpose and spirit in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. Contemporary revision, therefore, could not be approached by any branch of the church as an isolated or one-dimensional activity. Hence any revision must meet two criteria: it must be a transcript of the pattern of the apostolic faith and mission as it had found valid expression in a particular time and place; and it must maintain the unity of the body of Christ by creating mutual recognition that would lead to admission to communion. This was the thinking behind a memorandum Carrington sent to the committee recommending a Eucharist much more like the 1928 English Book. It resulted in the Canadian Eucharist, which appeared first in the 1955 Draft Book and in final form in 1959. (The Canadian Book of Common Prayer published in 1959 was given final approval by General Synod in 1962, and both these dates are used in referring to it.)

The 1955 Eucharist was entirely acceptable to high church Anglicans, but the two theologies that divided the Canadian church necessitated further change. In the 1962 book the oblation of the elements in the Prayer of Consecration, unacceptable to low church Anglicans, was removed. They also objected to the invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the elements, and so the words 'by the *inspiration* of thy Holy Spirit', suggestive of an interior transformation, were changed to the more neutral 'by the *power* of thy Holy Spirit'.

Revising the *Epiclesis*

1955 draft	South African Prayer Book (1929)	1962 text
and we pray	and we humbly beseech thee to pour the Holy Spirit upon us and upon these gifts, that	and we pray
that by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit		that by the power of thy Holy Spirit
all we who are partakers of this holy communion, may	all we who are partakers in this holy Communion may worthily receive the most precious Body and Blood of thy Son, and	all we who are partakers of this holy Communion may
be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction . . .	be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction . . .	be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction . . .

Such changes were a small price to pay for a Prayer Book all Canadian Anglicans could own. No group felt it had been neglected. The 1962 book was even accepted by non-English-speaking Anglicans. During the nineteenth century parts of the 1662 Prayer Book were translated into aboriginal tongues but never revised; with the 1962, the commonly used services and the Psalter were translated into Inuit. French-speaking Anglicans had formerly used the French version of the American Book of Common Prayer, but now they had their own French translation of the 1962 book entitled *Le Recueil des Prieres de la Communauté Chretienne*. Another translation for Japanese Anglicans on Canada's west coast followed.

The 1962 Book of Common Prayer was the outcome of six decades of sometimes difficult debate, patience, and compromise. The obstacles of distance, resources, inertia, and theological difference had been overcome, and what the new Primate, Archbishop Howard Clark, called the 'concordat' had been preserved: 'that there are different points of view in our Church, and that it is the deliberate will of our Church that there should be room for them'. The result was a revised Book of Common Prayer which found acceptance across a large country and a diverse population, and which was true to the spirit of Anglicanism.

Southern Africa

Cynthia Botha

In August 1911 an article in *The Church Chronicle,* the South African Anglican Church newspaper, argued that there was a 'crying need' for a formal revision of the Book of Common Prayer to suit particular South African circumstances. The writer, M. O. Hodson, a white clergyman new to South Africa, argued that many priests had already broken the rules of the Book of Common Prayer in various ways and that Prayer Book revision was already taking place on an individual and informal basis, with the consent of bishops who wisely allowed a good deal of latitude. A new Prayer Book, he argued, designed for people with no experience of set liturgy and English forms of worship, would build in South Africa 'a Church full of vitality and a gospel in touch with life'. It was not until 1954, however, that the Church of the Province of South Africa came to have a Prayer Book of its own, produced piecemeal over a long period of time. This article will trace that process, but will begin at the beginning.

South Africa Before 1870

From 1652, the strategically important Cape of Good Hope, on the sea route between Europe and the East, fell under Dutch control. A British chaplain for British sailors and soldiers on shore leave conducted the first service from the Book of Common Prayer in 1749 in a building of the Dutch Reformed Church, then the established church at the Cape, with permission from the Dutch governor. Britain occupied the Cape from 1795 to 1803, and during this time, the first Anglican clergy came as chaplains appointed to serve the British naval or military forces of the occupation. At this stage Anglican missions to the indigenous people were not even considered. The Dutch briefly resumed control between 1803 and 1806. During this period, the Dutch Commissioner-General argued that in order for the Dutch to have effective control of the Cape, clergy of all denominations were needed to 'civilize and spiritualize the rough, half-savage white settlers'. It was his belief that more clergymen in the colony would do this. After 1810, the first civil or colonial chaplains were appointed to care for the growing number of English-speaking settlers. The year 1814 saw the formal cession of the Cape to Great Britain. Most of the European population at the Cape at this time was made up of white settlers of Dutch descent; they were known as *Boers,* which literally means 'farmers'.

The arrival and settlement of the 1820 settlers in the east of the colony saw the expansion of the British population. By 1830, not only was the Cape legally a British possession, with a settled British population, but British administrative and legal institutions had replaced those formerly controlled by the Boers. In reaction to this loss of their independence, many Boers trekked in ox-wagons from the Cape, and established the Boer Republics of the Orange Free State and the Zuid Afrikaanse Republiek or Transvaal, beyond British territory. Britain recognized the independence of these Republics in the 1850s. At the Cape, the English church was now the established church. Clergy received their licence from the bishop of London and were paid by the Colonial Office in London while the governor of the Cape

acted as 'ordinary' and was responsible for the secular functions and jurisdiction of an Anglican bishop.

Complaints were received in England from both colonial officials and the few Anglican clergy at the Cape of the low level of Anglican Church life. As there was no bishop, no Anglicans could be confirmed, nor could clergy be ordained. Because of lack of leadership and identity, members of the Church of England were moving to other denominations with more clergy and a better ministry. The bishops appointed to the diocese of Calcutta called in and ministered at the Cape on their way to and from India. Bishop John Thomas James was the first to arrive in 1827 when he presided over some meetings and consecrated a site for a burial ground. And so, in response to the needs of a white settler population, and also in recognition of the major missionary opportunity created by British expansion into the interior of southern Africa, Robert Gray was consecrated bishop of Cape Town and came to South Africa in 1848. His diocese included the eastern and western seaboards of South Africa and a substantial part of the interior, as well as the Island of St Helena. In 1870 the Church of the Province of South Africa was formed as a self-governing province of the fledgling Anglican Communion. At that stage, South Africa did not exist as a political entity, but as a geographical expression, which included various British colonies, independent African polities, and two Boer Republics. Within its continually expanding borders, the province was now involved in ministry and mission among white settlers and the black population.

Anglican Mission in Southern Africa

As European settlement at the Cape expanded east from Cape Town, white settlers encountered Bantu-speaking peoples who had been settled in the subcontinent for many centuries. Like the settlers, they were cattle farmers and agriculturists, and this opened up trade but also led to conflict over land and resources. Imperial troops were drawn into the conflict and European colonial control was gradually extended over the African peoples, in spite of courageous resistance. To Victorian missionaries, this expansion of British territory seemed the work of divine providence, as it opened up missionary opportunities. Congregational, Presbyterian, and Wesleyan missionaries were at work from the early years of the nineteenth century. Anglican work only began with the arrival of Robert Gray, but he soon realized that other bishops were needed in southern Africa, if work among both white settlers and black peoples was to take root.

Over the next one hundred fifty years, the province expanded enormously. In 1853, Bishop John Armstrong was consecrated for Grahamstown, on the volatile and wartorn Cape Eastern frontier between white settlers and the Xhosa people, and Bishop John William Colenso for Natal among the Zulu. In 1859, Bishop Piers Calveley Claughton was appointed for St Helena and in 1863, Bishop Edward Twells was appointed for the Orange Free State. The diocese of Grahamstown was divided in 1871 to create the diocese of St John's, which lay east of the Kei River. Further expansion occurred into the Transvaal in the 1870s. This area extended to include the dioceses of Mashonaland in 1886 and Matabeleland in 1944 (present-day Zimbabwe), and the southern half of Botswana. These regions only in 1955 became part of the new Province of Central Africa. The title of the Province of South Africa was changed to 'Southern Africa' by the Provincial Synod of 1982 to reflect more accurately the extent of the province, which had grown to include Namibia, Lesotho, Swaziland, and recently Angola. With each expansion of the province, the Prayer Book was carried to new areas and translated into new languages.

Black people often saw missionaries as agents of colonialism, and there is much historical evidence to prove that this was indeed the case. But they were also aware of the need to translate the gospel into the language of the people to whom they came to preach. Article XXIV of the Thirty-nine Articles, '*Of speaking in the Congregation in such a tongue as the people understandeth*', required that the Word of God be in a language that the people would

understand. The early missionaries took this very seriously, admitted to feeling totally inadequate when it came to preaching, and relied on African interpreters until they mastered the vernacular. As the Prayer Book was needed for the liturgy of the church, from the 1850s Anglican dioceses were involved in gradually translating the Book of Common Prayer and the Bible into the vernacular of the various African peoples among whom they worked. A brief look around these dioceses reveals how this work was undertaken.

Bishop John Armstrong of Grahamstown lived only three years after his consecration, and in that time established four major mission stations named for the four evangelists, including notably St Mark's outside British territory. Bishop Henry Cotterill, second bishop of the diocese, visited all the missions and issued guidelines for personal guidance of the missionaries, the management of the mission stations, and the arrangement of services. The first rule stated that 'they should remember that their work was among Natives, and that their first duty must be to learn their language'. English services were to be considered exceptional: to reach the hearts of people they should be addressed in their own language and missionaries would not be licensed until they could take services in the vernacular. In 1861 a committee consisting of Henry Reade Woodrooffe, an Englishman ordained in the diocese of Grahamstown in 1860, Mr Theophilus Liefeldt, an isiXhosa-speaker since childhood, and Mr Greenstock started work on the translation of the Prayer Book into isiXhosa. The work was completed the following year, when Woodrooffe went to England in 1864 to supervise its publication. In 1906, Woodrooffe, with the assistance of prominent black clergy, published a revised and immensely improved translation of this Prayer Book.

By 1864, Bishop John William Colenso in Natal had translated the Prayer Book and much of the Bible into Zulu. Colenso sought to Christianize the whole culture and society of the Zulu. The mission station he set up at Ekukanyeni contained a school, a theological college, farms, a church, and a printing press. By 1872, Henry Callaway, the priest at Springvale mission to the south of the diocese, had printed in isiZulu the entire Bible, the Prayer Book, and a manual for ordination candidates.

The diocese of Bloemfontein fell outside British control. Prayer Book references to Queen Victoria and the British establishment were replaced with references to the government of the Orange Free State. The diocese also included Basutoland, the independent Sotho kingdom, which became a British protectorate after 1870. A small Prayer Book in the Sesotho language was produced in 1877 and by 1891, with the help of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), the entire Prayer Book was printed in Sesotho.

In the diocese of Pretoria, from the 1850s an independent Boer Republic but temporarily annexed by Britain in 1877, Bishop Henry Bousfield issued various documents dealing with alterations of prayers for the civil authorities when the Transvaal was returned to Boer control in 1881. Provision was also made for a service for the burial of the dead in 'unconsecrated places' and an opening sentence for the burial of an unbaptized child. Also translated into Sesotho, which was a vernacular in the Transvaal, were a service for the formal admission of catechumens and a marriage service for blacks married by customary union. These alterations were made for practical reasons – to simplify, enrich, and allow freedom in the additional liturgical services and to suit the needs of South Africa generally as well as the specific needs of black people whose culture and custom were not catered to in the English Prayer Book.

Henry Callaway, who had worked among the Zulu with Colenso in Natal and been involved in the task of translation into isiZulu, become bishop of the diocese of St John's in 1873; this was an area to the east of the diocese of Grahamstown, extending to the borders of Natal, largely inhabited by black people living under their traditional leaders, although by the 1890s they had been incorporated under colonial control. The vernacular language of this diocese was largely isiXhosa, which with isiZulu belongs to a common language group, Nguni. In 1878, Callaway revised the Grahamstown isiXhosa Prayer Book, and weekly sent revised collects, epistles, and gospels to diocesan missionaries.

In the initial stages, all Prayer Book revision was done within dioceses, with little provincial cooperation, partly because of the different vernacular languages, but also because of the absence of a mechanism for cooperation. Nevertheless, the hardships faced by missionaries, who created the need for adaptation, had a great deal in common. In addition to living in a harsher climate, primitive living conditions, travelling by horseback, and dealing with the often hostile local black people, missionaries were faced with the problem of the importance of having the 'Lord's Service on the Lord's Day' as the Prayer Book required. How was this to be achieved when there were very few clergy to cover vast areas, and when the norm was for deacons or catechists to conduct services, with a priest visiting only about once a month? More services were also needed to consecrate new church buildings, mission stations, and cemeteries as well as to admit more adult catechumens.

The need for more missionaries to meet and consult on matters of mutual interest soon arose and the first provincial missionary conference was held at Clydesdale in the diocese of St John's in 1889. Not all South African dioceses were represented, but African clergy were among the delegates. Further provincial missionary conferences followed between 1892 and 1949. The provincial missionary conference of 1895 appointed a committee to discuss the revision of the Prayer Book and hymn books in the African languages of the province and to report to future conferences. The result of all this work was that the local people participated in the liturgy and heard the good news in their own language, as much as possible. The clergy and missionaries also learnt the vernacular languages and something about African custom and culture. The early translations were very literal translations as most of the translators were European and their knowledge of the vernacular was not that of a mother-tongue speaker. Most translations were later revised, so that the quality of the written language and of the theological terms improved.

Revision of the Book of Common Prayer

The church in South Africa was building up a large church that included Africans and Europeans, and it needed a liturgy that was both true to tradition and intelligible in the South African context. There was no question of producing a separate rite for African use; it was considered neither necessary nor desirable. As early as the 1860s, a number of provinces in the Anglican Communion had indicated plans for revision of the Book of Common Prayer. Resolution VIII of the 1867 Lambeth Conference made provision for this, provided that any change or addition was consistent with the spirit and principles of the Book of Common Prayer. This sentiment was reflected in Article X of the Provincial Synod of 1870, which also indicated that any adaptations, abridgements, or additions made by any of the diocesan bishops for their own diocese would be open to revision by Provincial Synod. Synod recommended that a committee be set in place to oversee this process but until then all matters of revision would rest with the bishops.

Minor amendments at this stage included omitting the long exhortation at the Eucharist on all occasions except for four in the year; allowing the diocese of Bloemfontein to omit references to the Queen, since the Orange Free State fell outside British control; and providing a harvest festival service. However, the subcommittee called for by the 1870 Synod was not appointed and given the task of revision for over thirty years. After the 1908 Lambeth Conference had again debated this matter and given approval to future revisions of the Prayer Book, this subcommittee began its work.

Why was there such a long delay in setting up the committee? It was important to get the process of revision carefully established. The initiative would lie with the bishops, who would pass on the work to the subcommittee they appointed. After that, revisions had to be approved and then ratified by separate sessions of Provincial Synod before they became canonical. Bonds with the Church of England had to be preserved, furthermore, and the bishops feared that major changes to the Book of Common Prayer would weaken the link

between the two churches – a link that was also important in terms of money and other resources. The fact that most Anglican clergy in South Africa were English may also have delayed the process of change.

South Africa undertook the revision in a piecemeal manner, allowing for experimentation with the proposed changes in the intervening years. Although this system was slow and cumbersome, it did allow all parties to find consensus and become familiar with the changes and it minimized the chances of widespread and bitter controversy. The first changes hardly affected the liturgy at all. In 1900 Episcopal Synod gave permission for the celebrant to use both of the prayers, which are indicated in 1662 as alternatives, after communion. In 1911, three years after the committee had been set up, the first schedule of permitted modifications appeared in a pamphlet entitled *Suggestions and Adaptations of Services*. This contained the already mentioned variations permitted by Provincial Synod; it also included additional collects, epistles, and gospels, and provision for a combined service of Matins, Litany, and Holy Communion. The churches in remote areas found the expanded service very useful, as it allowed lay people to start the service without a priest, who would then arrive in time to preside at Holy Communion.

An important influence in this process was the work of W. H. Frere, a liturgist of distinction in the Church of England and deeply interested in the matter of Prayer Book revision. In 1911 he had advocated for a compressed Sunday service and a method of revision similar to that adopted by the Church of the Province of South Africa but not by the Church of England. Arguing that revision has to be a 'slow, conservative, tactful thing', he also pleaded that the Book of Common Prayer not be amended but instead a 'codicil' of the permissible modifications be published. The bishops followed this recommendation, asking that this schedule be used experimentally before it was considered at the next session of Provincial Synod, due to meet in 1915. The schedule was reissued in 1915 as *Prayers upon several Occasions* and approved by the Synod. It also contained the new occasional offices on which the Liturgical Committee has been working for some time. These were the first entirely new rites produced by the Church of the Province of South Africa as a whole, and not by individual diocese.

The Holy Communion

In 1913 a counter-proposal came from two young clergymen in the diocese of Grahamstown, Jasper Bazeley and Charles Gould, keen students of liturgy. They proposed a revision of the eucharistic *anaphora* and appended to their argument an example of the revised *anaphora*. The pamphlet was printed and sent to the Liturgical Committee as well as all the clergy in the diocese of Grahamstown. The consecration prayer was the one section of the Prayer Book that the bishops were careful not to touch and, as far as the records go, the bishops seem to have ignored the pamphlet. But Bazeley and Gould had touched on an important part of the Book of Common Prayer: the Prayer of Consecration, regarded as the central and most sacrosanct part of the 1662 rite. The new *anaphora,* consisting of a series of thanksgivings for all God's redeeming work and constructed in a new liturgical pattern, was unmistakably different. Their approach was also totally against the method of revision proposed by the bishops. An article in the newspaper of the diocese of Pretoria showed that while there was a general wish for improvement, no one envisaged anything quite as drastic as this.

In 1915 Francis Robinson Phelps became bishop of Grahamstown and chairman of the Liturgical Committee, which meant that the ideas of Bazeley and Gould were not forgotten. Two years later the Grahamstown Synod of clergy asked Episcopal Synod to arrange for a revision of the consecration prayer, and in 1918 the committee published the experimental *Proposed Form of the South African Liturgy.* Copies of this *Proposed Form* were circulated and permission given for it to be used occasionally, with the request that comments be

submitted to the committee. It is important to note that the *Proposed Form* was not a revision of the whole rite, but a rearrangement of those parts of the service that came after the Prayers for the Church. This new arrangement had headings inserted to divide the different sections and made it possible to explain the connection of the various parts of the service to one another: confession and absolution followed by the preface, *Sanctus,* and Prayer of Consecration, no longer interrupted by the Prayer of Humble Access, then preparation to receive the Holy Gifts. The actual Prayer of Consecration now opened with the words 'All glory and thanksgiving be to Thee, Almighty God' and the communion opened with the Prayer of Humble Access and a verbal invitation to communion: 'Draw near and receive the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ'.

Frere was also asked to comment and he submitted some thirteen recommendations, which provided them with the basis of a new rite, *The Alternative Form of the Order for the Administration of the Holy Communion*. Issued and approved by Episcopal Synod in 1919, it furnished the Anglican Communion with a valuable model. This form was almost identical with the South African Prayer Book rite of today, with one or two important points of difference, so that the South African eucharistic liturgy took shape before the forming of the 1927/1928 English Prayer Book.

Provincial Synod in November 1919 approved the rite, but only on condition that it was further revised in detail. This meeting also set a precedent in liturgical revision: Synod would no longer amend details of the drafts before it, but would accept or reject the rite as a whole. The new edition, issued in 1920, provoked a storm of Anglo-Catholic opposition led by John T. Darragh, a priest in the diocese of Johannesburg, and some clergy of the dioceses of Cape Town and Natal. They disliked the fact that the Prayer of Consecration included an invocation of the Holy Spirit, which they claimed weakened the force of the words of institution. In Pretoria a committee was appointed to draw up a further rite expressing the ideas of the dissidents.

A year later the bishops brought this dispute to a close by deleting the two phrases that had caused the most distress and issued a new edition of the *Alternative Form*. It expressed the view that consecration is effected by the whole eucharistic prayer, that the Eucharist is a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and that consecration and oblation are 'coincident actions, not to be divorced one from the other'. Two more editions followed and the last of these was again presented to Provincial Synod in 1924. Since liturgical matter had to be presented, substantially unaltered, at two successive sessions of Synod, the rite was finally approved at the Provincial Synod in 1929.

Occasional Offices

Revision of the rest of the Prayer Book evoked less excitement or controversy. Some of the new occasional offices, such as a form for the admission of catechumens, had existed in the province for some time. But almost all of the South African occasional offices were, in the end, modelled on the proposals made for the English Prayer Book of 1928; very little about them was specifically South African.

After an initial proposal in the early 1930s for a radical revision of the collects, epistles, and gospels was abandoned, the final form was a modest and conservative adaptation of those in the Book of Common Prayer, and included new provisions for keeping black-letter days, the weekdays in Lent, and some new red-letter days. The lectionary also had to be revised in order to have simpler and shorter scripture readings; many lessons were too long and too obscure for congregations where the majority of members were black, could not read, and did not own a Bible. The 1922 English lectionary was authorized in 1924 as the sole lectionary.

With the revision of the calendar, a proposal to include the names of African missionaries and martyrs was considered but not accepted, although provision was made for a

memorial collect to be used on certain days commemorating heroes of English and South African history. Names proposed in 1937 included one of the early African martyrs, Maqamusela Kanyile of Zululand, who in 1877 was martyred for being baptized into the Christian faith. Simone Sing'andu, a Rhodesian martyr, and Manche Masemola, a martyr of Sekhukhuneland, then in the diocese of Pretoria, were also considered but not included. The Report of the Episcopal Synod of 1937 records that they would not at that time consider the canonization of African converts.

By 1939 Provincial Synod had approved the occasional offices twice, and the collects, epistles, and gospels once. The Second World War held up the revision of the remaining sections of the Prayer Book, and they were presented to Provincial Synod of 1945. The last sections dealing with Matins, Evensong, and the Psalter were hardly changed, and any changes were those of the 1928 English book. The importance of the province's relationship with the Church of England and the Anglican Communion was kept in mind when revision of the ordinal was considered and the 1928 Proposed Book accepted as the standard. The completed *Book of Common Prayer*–South Africa, more commonly known as the South African Prayer Book, was presented to and approved by the 1950 Provincial Synod and published in a single volume in 1954. Although in terms of the Constitution the 1662 book was still the official Prayer Book of the province, the South African book became much loved and almost universally used.

Conclusion

The process of revision followed in South Africa was in the hands of men who were white and born in England; in the end, they could not fully break away from the English mould. Since the age was not one of enthusiastic liturgical revision, unlike our own, there was no precedent to follow. But liturgy does not merely consist of words in a book, but also of how these words are used in living worship, and in South Africa liturgy was widely carried out in the vernacular. It would have been used outside England in circumstances never imagined by those who first composed the Book of Common Prayer–by African priests and catechists on remote missions, for river baptisms, in mud and reed huts, in township churches and on mine compounds, among all the peoples of South Africa.

The Prayer Book is often referred to as a companion book, one that accompanies the clergy in every aspect of their ministry. The new South African Prayer Book achieved this, keeping many of the words and phrases comforting and familiar to many generations while also adapting to the new needs of mission. Loved and used by black and white people alike, the Prayer Book was a powerful instrument of evangelism in a growing church. The South African Prayer Book stands as a testimony to the history of the country and as an example for future revisions, which would need to consider new and different challenges. The South African Prayer Book, together with the Book of Common Prayer and the new *An Anglican Prayer Book, 1989,* are still today the official Prayer Books of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, or the Anglican Church in Southern Africa, as the province is soon to be named.

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Ireland

Brian Mayne

In the reign of Edward VI, England had only one overseas 'colony' that counted. Its last 'possession' in France, Calais, would be lost by Mary I. England's authority in much of Ireland was tenuous; it extended only as far as a sixty-mile radius around Dublin, the area known as 'the Pale'. Beyond this, tribal native Irish controlled the country except for a few fortified towns like Limerick and Waterford. This gave rise to the expression 'beyond the Pale', which suggests the absence of the rule of law. The English government controlled the Irish Parliament and had been seeking throughout the century to impose its authority throughout the island. The Irish Parliament had been compelled to endorse Henry VIII's statutes declaring independence from Rome, while the monastic institutions of at least half of the island had been dissolved, as the policy of Thomas Cromwell applied where the king's writ ran.

On Easter Day in 1551 the first Book of Common Prayer was brought into use at Christ Church Cathedral in Dublin. It was in fact the first book printed with movable type in Ireland. The provision of the Prayer Book in English – where people understood English – was in accordance with instructions issued from London to the Lord Deputy (the King's representative) in Ireland. However, instructions to have the services read in the Irish language were not followed in areas where the people spoke only Irish. At the time, this would have applied to a majority of the population.

The second English Prayer Book of 1552 was never imposed on the church in Ireland, owing to the death of Edward VI and the accession of Mary I, which brought the reversal of the Protestant legislation. Politically, however, the policy of extending English control continued. During the reign of Mary I there were efforts to bring more of Ireland under English influence, with two areas in the Irish midlands 'planted' with English settlers.

After the death of Mary and the accession of her sister, Elizabeth, the third, slightly revised version of the Prayer Book was imposed on the Church of Ireland by the Act of Uniformity passed by the Irish Parliament in 1560. Again, the book was written in English, but permission was given for the services from the Prayer Book to be spoken in Latin in order to allay the 'prejudices of Catholics against the reformed worship by allowing it to be performed in the usual language of their devotions'. Translations were made in 1560 and in 1571; the former contained a number of divergences from the English text that were later corrected. There is no documentary evidence for the extent of the use of these translations. With or without them the progress of the Reformation in Ireland was slow, and English influence was resisted in many parts of the country.

The reign of Elizabeth I was marked with wars and rebellions in Ireland. The strengthening Counter-Reformation meant that those opposed to English rule forged an alliance with those opposing reform in the Church of Ireland; being a Roman Catholic was at that time synonymous with being Irish. Although by 1570 the English administration had provided the characters necessary for printing in the Irish language, it was not until 1608 that a translation of the 1604 version of the Book of Common Prayer was distributed through the bishops to every one of the clergy (*see* p. 207). An attempt was made a decade earlier, with

the foundation in 1597 of Trinity College, Dublin, to provide clergy educated in Protestant theology, but it doubtful whether the new stream of clergy were competent in the use of Irish. The majority of congregations in the regions 'beyond the Pale' were by now fully reabsorbed into the Roman Catholic Church, which, though outlawed, revived its hierarchy in the first decade of the new century.

The government in London was in constant fear of an attack by Spanish or French forces through the 'back door' of Ireland; the loyalty of the majority of its inhabitants was regarded as very doubtful. The government of James I (1603–1625) revived the idea of 'planting' colonists who would be loyal to the Reformed faith in the hitherto lawless province of Ulster. Most of the settlers and many outlaws who had simply seized farms on the northeast coast of Ulster came from the lowlands of Scotland. They brought to Ulster the Scottish presbyterian interpretation of the Reformation, based on Calvin's teachings and the practice of the church in Geneva. Ministers who came with them wanted a presbyterian system of church government, opposed to the governance of bishops and to written orders of service. The bishops appointed by James I and more particularly by Charles I found disciplining clergy in Ulster particularly difficult. With Archbishop William Laud at Canterbury and Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, as Lord Deputy in Ireland, an attempt was made to regularize matters when an Irish Convocation was in 1634 persuaded to abandon the extreme Calvinist Articles of 1615 for the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England–the latter have been bound up with all subsequent editions of the Irish Book of Common Prayer.

The rebellion against English rule and the turmoil of the English Civil War as it impinged on Ireland led to the Book of Common Prayer being outlawed throughout the island, and clergy who refused to adopt presbyterian ways were excluded from their churches and rectories. The restoration of Charles II in 1660, however, was followed by the triumph of the Laudian party in the Church of England. So named because of their acceptance of the principles of Archbishop Laud, the Laudians rejected the presbyterian system and sought the recovery of worship according to the Book of Common Prayer. Loyal Laudians were promoted to bishoprics in Ireland, led by Robert Bramhall in Armagh and Jeremy Taylor in Down and Connor. Taylor's was the harder task because his dioceses included large areas where Presbyterians were in the majority, as he sought to restore clergy who had been expelled during the Commonwealth and insisted on adherence to the English Prayer Book of 1662. That book was annexed to the Irish Act of Uniformity in 1665, having already been approved by the Irish Convocations; it was the first occasion synodical consideration was given in Ireland to a Book of Common Prayer. The book of 1662 was to be the basis of the worship of the Church of Ireland until disestablishment took effect in 1871 and beyond.

The 1665 Irish Book of Common Prayer was to all intents and purposes the English version of 1662 with a number of additions. A prayer for the Lord Lieutenant was added to the state prayers at Matins and Evensong. A unique addition was a service for the Visitation of Prisoners (*see* 'Exhortation to a Prisoner Sentenced to Die'). A service for the Consecration of a Church was also bound up by the printer with the book, although it was not part of the Act of Uniformity. This latter service is thought to have been compiled by Bishop John Cosin of Durham, as such a service was discussed by the English Convocations in 1662 and 1663.

Disestablishment and the 1878 Prayer Book

In 1801 the Act of Union united the Parliament of Ireland with the Parliament of Great Britain and the Church of Ireland with the Church of England. It was an attempt at a political settlement following the widespread rebellion in 1798 of the United Irishmen, when dissenters (largely Presbyterians in Ulster) and Roman Catholics took up arms to express their frustration at being excluded from Parliament and public life. Prayer Books printed up to 1870 declare those books to be 'according to the use of the United Church of England and

Exhortation to a Prisoner Sentenced to Die

The Form of Prayer for the Visitation of Prisoners annexed in 1711 to the Book of Common Prayer in Ireland provided a special service of Morning or Evening Prayer that included Psalm 130, a proper collect, and in the case of a prisoner under sentence of death, a long exhortation of which the following is an abridgement.

Dearly beloved, it hath pleased Almighty God, in his justice, to bring you under the sentence and condemnation of the Law. You are shortly to suffer death in such a manner, that others, warned by your example, may be the more afraid to offend; and we pray God, that you may make such use of your punishments in this world, that your soul may be saved in the world to come.

. . . Consider then seriously with yourself, in all appearance of the time of your dissolution draweth near; your sins have laid fast hold upon you; you are soon to be removed from among men by a violent death; and you shall fade away suddenly like the grass, which in the morning is green and groweth up, but in the evening is cut down, dried up, and withered. After you have thus finished the course of a sinful and miserable life, you shall appear before the Judge of all Flesh. . . .

Since therefore you are soon to pass into an endless and unchangeable state, and your future happiness or misery depends upon the few moments which are left you, I require you strictly to examine your self, and your estate both towards God and towards man; and let no worldly consideration hinder you from making a true and full confession of your sins, and giving all the satisfaction which is in your power to every one whom you have wronged or injured; that you may find mercy at your heavenly Father's hand, for Christ's sake, and not be condemned in the dreadful day of judgment.

Lastly, Beloved, submit yourself with Christian resignation to the just Judgment of God, which your own crimes have brought upon you, and be in charity with all men; being ready sincerely to forgive all such as have offended you, not excepting those who have prosecuted you even unto death: and, though this may seem a hard saying, yet know assuredly, that without it your charity is not yet perfect. And fail not earnestly to endeavour and pray for this blessed temper and composure of mind. So may you cast your self with an entire dependence upon the mercies of God, through the merits of our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ.

Ireland' and contain a number of what might be called 'political' services. One, revised in 1715, was for use on 5 November, Guy Fawkes Day. This service not only gave thanks for the deliverance of James I from the Gunpowder Plot in 1604, but also commemorated the events surrounding the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 and the Protestant William III's landing in England (*see* Hefling, 'State Services', pp. 73–74). His victory over the Roman Catholic king, James II, was celebrated by organizations like the Orange Order, founded at the end of the eighteenth century in defence of the Protestant heritage within the Church of Ireland. These services were removed from the Book of Common Prayer in 1859.

During the nineteenth century, Roman Catholic emancipation and general anger against a system of universal tithing for the benefit of the Church of Ireland eventually led to disestablishment by the Irish Church Act of 1869. In 1871 the Church of Ireland became a disestablished church with freedom to order its own affairs, including its Prayer Book. Lawful authority in the church was placed in the General Synod, which has two houses–the House of Representatives, consisting of clergy and laypersons, and the House of Bishops. General Synod operates in a parliamentary fashion in accordance with a written constitution. Doctrinal matters and any concerning the Book of Common Prayer must have the agreement of two-thirds of the members of the clergy and of the laity in the House of Representatives present and voting separately. The House of Bishops may veto any such bill, but only to delay its passing for a year. This provision has never been put to the test.

There were fears in the 1870s that such a veto might be needed because the Church of Ireland was disestablished at the height of the so-called ritualist movement in England, which was the second stage of the Oxford Movement. Most members of the Church of

Ireland in that era were very suspicious of anything that appeared to resemble the practices of the Roman Catholic Church. A number of the clergy and many of the laity were members of the Orange Order, which saw its role as defending the Protestant faith. However, most of the lay members of the Church of Ireland, as well as the clergy, had no wish to see the 'innovations' then appearing in England imported into the Church of Ireland. A new set of canons banned a cross from being placed on or behind the holy table, the use of votive candles or incense, eucharistic vestments, making the sign of the cross, and bowing towards the table. They also forbade the priest to turn his back to the congregation while offering prayers. These canons, bound up with the revised Prayer Book, were repealed in 1974, but in the listing of vesture 'traditional' eucharistic vestments are still excluded.

The Prayer Book of 1878

In 1870 influential lay voices were calling for more significant changes, including prohibitions against teaching baptismal regeneration, giving priestly absolutions, and using the anathemas in the Athanasian Creed. The Prayer Book Revision Committee met for weeks on end; its deliberations were widely reported in the public press amid endless sermons and the publication of pamphlets. It became clear that any determined theological accommodation, in amending the actual text of the Book of Common Prayer, would never find the necessary consensus. The differences were too great and the members of the church only too aware that, in a disestablished church, unity was essential for survival.

The solution was to set out the matters of controversy in a new preface and indicate that there was a place for widely different interpretations. The preface has been described as an elaborate fudge, setting out the positions of all the protagonists and apologizing to each in turn that they might not have got their way entirely (*see* 'From the Preface to the 1878 Book of Common Prayer'). No alterations were made to the texts of baptismal services, the Eucharist, or the ordinal. Readings from the Apocrypha were removed from the table of readings, and the absolution in the Visitation of the Sick was changed. The prayer containing the words 'By his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins' was replaced by a prayer:

> Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them that with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto him: Have mercy upon thee; pardon and deliver thee from all thy sins; confirm and strengthen thee in all goodness; and bring thee to everlasting life; through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Athanasian Creed was left intact, but all rubrics requiring its use in worship were removed. Clergy were no longer required by the rubrics to recite the daily offices – an obligation probably more often honoured in the breach. Added to the book in 1878 were an alternative canticle, Psalm 148, at Matins, provisions for Harvest Thanksgiving, and some occasional prayers.

The conclusion of the preface is impressive:

> And now, if some shall complain that these changes are not enough, and that we should have taken this opportunity of making this Book as perfect in all respects as they think it might be made, or if others shall say that these changes have been unnecessary or excessive, and that what was already excellent has been impaired by doing that which, in their opinion, might well have been left undone, let them, on the one side and the other, consider that men's judgements of perfection are very various, and

> that what is imperfect, with peace, is often better than what is otherwise more excellent, without it.

It has been said that in the history of the Church of Ireland the chief significance of the 1878 Prayer Book lies not in the changes that were made, but the fact that none of them were significant. Thus the Church of Ireland has been able to maintain the same breadth of churchmanship that is found in the Anglican Communion as a whole, although for the first hundred years after disestablishment it remained in a time-warp as far as any outward signs of that breadth.

Over the decades following 1878, those who had feared that the Church of Ireland would foreswear its Anglican heritage were proved wrong, and those in England accepted the Church of Ireland's new book as speaking with a 'brogue'. Certainly the ritual canons saved the church from being torn apart by controversy. There were a few churches whose incumbents defied the canons, some seeking ingenious ways around them. The discipline worked until the middle of the twentieth century, when a more relaxed atmosphere developed in which the Church of Ireland was ready to receive the new insights of the Liturgical Movement.

The Prayer Book of 1926

Early in the twentieth century the Church of Ireland responded to the urging of the Lambeth Conference of 1908 for Anglicans to review their provisions for worship. In 1909 General Synod accepted a proposal that a representative committee should be set up to review the best manner of 'adapting to the present time the rubrics and services of the Church without making any modification in doctrine or in the ritual canons'. That set in motion a process that continued through the Great War and both the political partition of Ireland and the disturbances that accompanied it. By 1917 most of the changes that would find expression in the 1926 Prayer Book had been passed through General Synod, but it was not until 1925 that these were gathered together and authorized for publication. The printing plates of the large edition of the 1878 book were destroyed during the Easter Rising of 1916 in Dublin; interim printings of volumes containing elements of the revision were circulated instead, as the legal authority declared that since changes had been made by General Synod to the texts, it would be unlawful to reprint the 1878 book.

The second Irish Book of Common Prayer following disestablishment made few major changes. It is no wonder that many people still call it the '1662'! A revised translation of the Psalter was included, which originally had been prepared in 1915 for the proposed English revision. It clears up many awkward renderings in the traditional Coverdale version. In Psalm 42, for example, 'One deep calleth another because of the noise of thy water-pipes' became 'the noise of thy water-floods'. This version remains as a permitted alternative to that in the 2004 edition of the Irish Book of Common Prayer. Permission was also given to shorten services–necessary in a country where parochial amalgamations were being forced upon dioceses with shrinking populations due to political change. The 1926 book introduced the Summary of the Law as an alternative to the Ten Commandments in the eucharistic rite. The service of Matins was given another canticle, *Urbs Fortitudinis,* a set of verses from Isaiah 26; shorter than either the *Te Deum* or the *Benedicite,* it became instantly popular. St Patrick's Day and the Transfiguration of Our Lord were added to the calendar. A number of small changes were made in the wording of the preface to the marriage service and in the Bible version used in some epistles and gospels. The only service actually omitted was the Form of Prayer for the Visitation of Prisoners, that peculiarly Irish order of 1665, which nobody particularly missed.

Within a few years of the printing of the 1926 book, two Alternative Forms of Evening

Prayer were added after being passed by General Synod in 1933. The second of these is a version of Compline, but in 1933 that name was avoided out of consideration for the anti-Roman Catholic majority of the lay membership of the General Synod. (By 2004, however, the use of this name in the new edition was not even mentioned.) These services were not bound with the book until the first printings with the names of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth. The printing is dated 1936 but must have had last-minute alterations when Edward VIII abdicated.

In 1949 the Republic of Ireland left the British Commonwealth, and some changes to state prayers ensued to accommodate the new situation in a church that exists in two political jurisdictions – three dioceses straddle the political border between the Republic and Northern Ireland. Small amendments were made from time to time to the 1926 book, chief of which were a new collect, epistle, and gospel for St Columba's Day (1962) and changes to the ordination services following the General Synod decision to allow women to be ordained as priests and bishops (1991). Alternative tables of readings in 1962 also restored readings from the Apocrypha. Thus, right up to the decision in 1997 for a comprehensive revision, the 1926 Prayer Book represented a living, changing formula for worship in a changing church and island.

Translations into the Irish Language

It was not until in 1608 that a translation of the 1604 version of the Book of Common Prayer into the Irish language was made by Archbishop William O'Donnell (or Daniel) and ordered to be circulated. Modern Irish scholars are full of praise for the linguistic style of this book, which was set in a special font created from medieval manuscripts and prepared in England (*see* Illustration 4, p. 59). During the seventeenth century the Catechism was separately printed in 1680. A new translation from the 1662 edition of the Prayer Book was made by John Richardson in 1712, but experts in the language say it was much inferior to O'Donnell's. There the Irish and English texts were printed side by side, and it became the commonly used translation for more than two centuries. Large numbers were never required, as most Irish-speakers were unable to read either English or the Irish characters that were used. Up to the middle of the nineteenth century, at least two-thirds of the population of four million people only spoke Irish and there is evidence of the Irish language Book of Common Prayer being used. After the famine in the 1840s the population was much reduced, with Irish-speaking parishes badly affected. A revival of interest in the Irish language among Protestants as well as Roman Catholics at the beginning of the twentieth century led to requests for services in Irish in St Patrick's National Cathedral in Dublin. These requests were refused on political grounds by Dean J. H. Bernard in 1913 at the height of the movement for Home Rule, but a few years later his successor approved of a celebration in the cathedral in Irish on St Patrick's Day.

A rubric in the 1878 book allowed for the services to be read in the Irish language where it was understood by the people, and this rubric also appeared in the General Directions for Public Worship in the 1926 revision, which was translated into Irish in 1931 with the approval of the General Synod. It was regularly used in a small number of churches in Dublin under the auspices of the Irish Guild of the Church as well as in other parts of the south of Ireland, where the Church of Ireland's use of Irish made an impression in a jurisdiction actively encouraging a revival of the Irish language. A new edition using the Roman alphabet now introduced by the government of the Republic of Ireland was published in 1965. In 2004 an Irish-language translation of the revised Book of Common Prayer was published almost simultaneously and in exactly the same format and style as the English-language version.

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John Wesley and the Methodists

Karen B. Westerfield Tucker

Early Methodism and the Book of Common Prayer

Methodism began in the 1730s as a spiritual renewal movement within the Church of England under the leadership of Anglican clergymen John and Charles Wesley and with the guidance of supportive Anglican clergy and laity (men and women). Methodist 'societies' and smaller 'classes' and 'bands' provided venues for spiritual accountability, testimonials, devotional prayer, hymn singing, and preaching. Nonetheless, Methodists brought up in the established church were urged also to participate regularly in its worship and sacramental life. To that end, Methodist services were routinely held outside of 'Church hours': on the Lord's Day, when attendance was expected at the parish church, Methodists typically assembled very early in the morning (4 to 5 A.M.) and again late in the afternoon (5 P.M.). Methodists were thus exposed to and even intimately familiar with the church's Prayer Book from their presence with the Anglican congregation, from drawing upon the book for personal and family devotions, and from the use of Prayer Book prayers and liturgies by leaders at the uniquely Methodist gatherings. Sermons, extempore prayers, and hymns often quoted from or alluded to the Prayer Book, thus perpetuating a connection with the church from which the Methodists – at least initially – had no intention to separate. A stanza from the Wesleys' *Hymns on the Lord's Supper* (1745), for example, alludes to the words spoken before, at, and after the eucharistic distribution:

Take, and eat, the Saviour saith.
This my sacred Body is!
Him we take and eat by Faith,
Feed upon the Flesh of his.
All the Benefits receive
Which his Passion did procure,
Pardon'd by his Grace we live,
Grace which makes Salvation sure. (Hymn 103)

John Wesley, the 'venerable father' of Methodism, believed that the Church of England was 'the most scriptural national church in the world' and that the Prayer Book possessed 'more of a solid, scriptural, rational piety' than any other liturgy. Yet Wesley did not regard the established church and its Prayer Book as above correction, for both stood accountable to scripture and to the theology and praxis of primitive Christianity. This priority of scripture and tradition (the latter albeit somewhat circumscribed), which was consistent with classical Anglican theology, also undergirded many of the Prayer Book experiments and restorations underway in the early and mid-eighteenth century – such as those of the Nonjurors – that were known by the Wesleys. Accordingly, while Wesley and the Methodists admired and generally approved of the Prayer Book, they took up the long-standing complaint by Puritans, dissenters, and others that some portions appeared contrary to scripture. Along with the rites offered in the Prayer Book they embraced liturgical practices not codified or

John Wesley on Prayer Book Worship

I do not 'slight or contemn the Offices' of the Church. I esteem them very highly. And yet I 'do not', at all times, 'worship God', even in public, in the very terms of those Offices. Nor yet do I knowingly 'slight or contemn her rules'. For it is not clear to my apprehension that she has any rule which forbids using 'extemporary prayer', suppose between the Morning and Evening Service. And if I am 'not worthy to be called her minister' (which I dare by no means affirm myself to be) yet *her minister I am*, and must always be, unless I should be judicially deposed from my ministry.

'The Principles of a Methodist Farther Explain'd' (1746)

I believe there is no LITURGY in the World, either in ancient or modern language, which breathes more of a solid, scriptural, rational Piety, than the COMMON PRAYER of the CHURCH of ENGLAND. And though the main of it was compiled considerably more than two hundred years ago, yet is the language of it, not only pure, but strong and elegant in the highest degree.

Preface to *The Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America* (1784)

. . . I met the society and explained to them at large the original design of the Methodists, viz., not to be a distinct party, but to stir up all parties, Christians or heathens, to worship God in spirit and in truth, but the Church of England in particular to which they belonged from the beginning. With this view I have uniformly gone on for fifty years, never varying of choice—but of necessity—from the doctrine of the church at all nor from her discipline. So, in a course of years, necessity was laid upon me (as I have proved elsewhere) (1) to preach in the open air, (2) to pray extempore, (3) to form societies, (4) to accept of the assistance of lay preachers, and, in a few other instances, to use such means as occurred to prevent or remove evils that we either felt or feared.

Journal, April 12, 1789

approved by the canons but supported by apostolic witness and considered expedient for spreading the gospel. Methodists had no qualms (although they received complaints) about praying extempore within the formal rites and preaching in the open air. Love feasts (the primitive *agapé*), watch nights (vigils – allowed by the Prayer Book, but not widely used), and the renewal of the covenant (drawn from scripture and borrowed from Puritanism) became the Methodist 'great festivals'. Wesley's encouragement of the Methodists to engage in 'constant' communion was rooted in scripture (Matthew 6:11; Acts 2:46), the ancient church's praxis, and the Prayer Book's own rubric allowing for weekly reception at cathedral and collegiate churches.

In 1755, Wesley identified in the essay 'Ought We to Separate from the Church of England?' those parts of the Prayer Book that he regarded as scripturally and theologically indefensible. Although he found no fault with the doctrine espoused in the Athanasian Creed (*Quicunque vult*), he took issue with the tone and assumptions of the so-called damnatory clauses therein. Because to Wesley's mind only God had the power to remit sin, the priestly absolution spoken in the visitation of the sick and assigned to presbyters in the ordinal overstepped human bounds. A similar understanding existed with the thanksgiving in the burial office that makes assumptions about the deceased that are beyond human purview. Also on Wesley's list: the answers of sponsors in baptism; the entire office of confirmation; assertions or suggestions that there is an 'essential difference' between bishops and presbyters; and, though not properly part of the Prayer Book, the Sternhold and Hopkins Psalter. Despite these 'blemishes', Wesley saw no reason for Methodists to lay the Prayer Book aside or to separate from the church.

The Sunday Service of the Methodists

Almost thirty years later, the ongoing unwillingness of Bishop Lowth of London to ordain more priests for North America and Wesley's own concern that Methodists in that land might take ecclesiastical matters into their own hands prompted presbyter Wesley (who by then un-

derstood himself as equivalent to a scriptural bishop) to take two controversial steps that would eventually lead to separation. Over successive days in early September 1784, Wesley ordained a pair of men first deacon and then 'elder' (presbyter) for the work in America. Despite this irregular act, Wesley's expectation was that Methodists would adhere to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and he stipulated in their ordination parchments that the new elders should administer the sacraments 'according to the usage of the Church of England'. Wesley may have meant the 1662 Prayer Book, but more likely he referred to what he identified as his 'edition' of the Prayer Book entitled *The Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America. With other Occasional Services* (1784) that he sent to America along with the new elders and Dr Thomas Coke. It is quite possible that the new elders were ordained using Wesley's revised ordinal. Similarly, the already episcopally ordained presbyter Coke may have been set apart by Wesley's emended episcopal rites, now designated as for a 'Superintendant', thereby addressing Wesley's earlier complaint about a 'difference' between presbyters and bishops. Still unwilling to separate from the Church of England, Wesley may have regarded his 'edition' as consonant with the usage of that church. Dr Coke would remark later that year in a sermon for Francis Asbury's ordination as superintendent that Wesley 'loved the most excellent Liturgy of the Church of England, he loved its rites and ceremonies, and therefore adopted them in most instances for the present case'.

With his abridgement of the Prayer Book accomplished principally by excision–from blocks of material to single words–Wesley took action on the indefensible matters specified in 1755, the long-held and widely shared concern about the length of the offices, and the statements deemed theologically problematic. Gone entirely were the Athanasian Creed, the office for the visitation of the sick (an abbreviated office for the communion of the sick remained), and the rite of confirmation. References to presbyteral absolution and baptismal sponsors were deleted, as were the thanksgiving and similar statements of resurrection certainty from the burial rite. Missing as well were private baptism, certain baptismal statements, the wedding ring and giving of the bride, sung liturgical texts, readings from the Apocrypha (save for one in the Communion office), and the *sanctorale* (as 'at present answering no valuable end'), along with certain seasons and holy days (including Wesley's beloved All Saints' Day). Psalms or portions of psalms determined to be 'highly improper for the mouths of a Christian Congregation' were removed, mostly notably the 'cursing' psalms, but also passages extolling musical instruments in worship, a move consistent with Wesley's preference for unaccompanied singing. The Nicene Creed was omitted from the Communion rite most likely because the Apostles' Creed would have been rehearsed immediately beforehand at Morning Prayer. Some alterations were made to the text that remained, including the replacement of 'priest' with 'minister', 'elder', or 'deacon'. Occasionally the text was modernized, as by the substitution in the Lord's Prayer of 'who art in heaven' for 'which art in heaven'. Few additions were made, one being the introduction of rubrics (even in the Communion office prior to the benediction) allowing for extempore prayer. Surprisingly, no rubrics appeared for the singing of hymns, though in fact multiple hymns were commonly used in Methodist worship. Despite what may look to be a drastic purging, the *Sunday Service*'s dependence upon the Prayer Book was still very much in evidence.

As might be expected, the Prayer Book's instructions, tables, and calendars were removed or substantially abbreviated in Wesley's version. Wesley did not spare the Articles of Religion, reducing them from thirty-nine to twenty-four, and adjusting some of those that remained (Methodists in America would later add an article that addressed the specific context of the United States). Among the casualties was the eighth Anglican article confessing belief in the three historic creeds, probably not because of any doctrinal dispute (the first four Methodist articles are a virtual summary of the Nicene formula), but because only the Apostles' Creed appeared in the texts of the rituals. Early Methodists, who were sometimes accused of heterodoxy on this account, published sermons, treatises, and hymns on the Trinity as a countermeasure.

Wesley's expectation for practice was found in the rubrics of the *Sunday Service* and in a letter sent to America dated 10 September 1784. The saying of Morning and Evening Prayer was specified for every Lord's Day, as was the administration of the Lord's Supper. Wesley thereby continued the common custom of fusing Morning Prayer with Communion, but pushed far beyond the canonical expectation of thrice-yearly reception. With so few Methodist elders ordained to administer the sacrament, Wesley's ideal was never reached. His stipulation that the Daily Office be said every Lord's Day may suggest that he did not expect its usage on other days, a notion supported by his advice that the Litany be read on Wednesdays and Fridays (but not on Sunday) and extempore prayer be offered on other days. On two matters, one eucharistic and the other baptismal, there is greater uncertainty. Extant copies of the 1784 *Sunday Service* are found in two versions: one, following the Prayer Book, includes the manual acts during the Prayer of Consecration at the Lord's Supper and the postbaptismal signing of the cross in the infant rite; the other omits both these features. It is unclear which was the original intention of Wesley and which may have been, according to Wesley's own admission, the work of Dr Coke. In any case, the manual acts survive in later editions of the *Sunday Service*; the rubric for signation does not.

Eighteenth-Century Editions of the Sunday Service

In December 1784, at the 'Christmas Conference' establishing the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, those in attendance voted to accept 'Mr. Wesley's prayer book' as 'our prayer book'. The extent to which Methodists faithfully used the book is unknown, but it does seem likely that revisers of the Prayer Book for American Episcopalians knew of its existence. Two years after first issuing the *Sunday Service*, Wesley, probably with the assistance of Dr Coke, slightly revised the work (with the main changes occurring in the rite of infant baptism) and published it in two versions. One was designated for the 'United-States of America'. The other 1786 version came out under two titles, with one for 'His Majesty's Dominions', perhaps intended for the Methodist mission areas of the West Indies, Bermuda, the Maritime Provinces, and parts of Upper Canada, and the other not specifying a location but probably meant for Britain. This second version restored the Prayer Book's 'royal' references and prayers that had been deleted from the 1784 American text for obvious reasons.

Two more editions–both printed in England–were published during Wesley's lifetime. The 1788 edition apparently was for use on both sides of the Atlantic, while the 1790 edition (identified as the fourth edition) was designated for America despite the odd inclusion of some of the Prayer Book's royal prayers. A 1792 printing in the year following Wesley's death was also recognized as the fourth edition, and although no country appeared on the title-page, Methodists in England and the 'Dominions' were the expected recipients–especially since by that year, Methodists in America had opted to lay aside Wesley's prayer book. At the Methodist General Conference convened in Baltimore in 1792, the body voted that the rites of baptism, the Lord's Supper, marriage, burial, and ordination from the *Sunday Service* be abbreviated, altered, and placed into a thirty-seven-page section of their *Discipline* entitled 'Sacramental Services, &c.' Morning and Evening Prayer services, the Litany, the Psalter, the lectionary, and the propers disappeared and were replaced by a set of rubrics in the section 'Of Public Worship' in the *Discipline*. Although Methodists in America no longer had a discrete prayer book, the textual, and much of the theological, affinities with the 1662 Prayer Book remained in the sacramental and occasional services, what eventually became known as the 'Ritual'.

The Methodist Churches and the Book of Common Prayer

Because of the presence of the established church, Methodists in Britain, and thus their missions, were more strongly influenced directly and indirectly by the Book of Common Prayer. In an effort to clarify Methodism's relation to the Church of England after Wesley's

death, 'Articles of Agreement for General Pacification' were drawn up in 1795 that included several provisions for the Lord's Supper, including:

> Wherever Divine Service is performed in England, on the Lord's day in Church-hours, the officiating Preacher shall read either the Service of the Established Church, our venerable father's Abridgement, or at least, the Lessons appointed by the Calendar. But we recommend either the full Service, or the Abridgement.

Numerous congregations of the Wesleyan Methodist branch of British Methodism at home and overseas continued to follow the Prayer Book's eucharistic liturgy well into the nineteenth century, and on non-Communion Sundays, to use Morning Prayer with a sermon. Indeed, that denomination's *Public Prayers and Services* (1882) drew upon the 1662 Prayer Book for Morning Prayer, the Litany, and the Holy Communion rite instead of Wesley's revision. At the same time, Wesley's *Sunday Service* (sometimes with reduced contents under the title *Order of Administration of the Sacraments and other Services*) continued publication in England, with ongoing revisions and in approximately forty-five editions, through at least 1910, thereby providing continuing and indirect contact with the Prayer Book. After the various branches of British Methodism united in 1932, *The Book of Offices* was published in 1936 that included orders for Morning Prayer and Holy Communion taken from the 1882 *Public Prayers*. Service books subsequently produced by the Methodist Church in Great Britain are less obviously connected to the Prayer Book, but the resonances are still present.

The various branches of Methodism in the United States (and their spiritual offspring abroad) have, to varying degrees, officially kept their liturgical ties to Wesley's edition of the Prayer Book through their services for the sacraments and for marriage, burial, and ordination. The Lord's Supper rite generally was the least tampered with, and at the beginning of the twenty-first century, Wesley's *Urtext* (and hence the Prayer Book) can be seen clearly in the official Communion liturgy of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. While the steady reprinting of Wesley's *Sunday Service* occurred in Britain, in America the full text appeared only rarely, in 1867 (in the 1786 edition), in 1903 and the 1950s (adaptations of 1784), and in 1991 (facsimile of the 1784 text). The Methodist Episcopal Church in 1932 introduced an authorized order for Morning Prayer 'adapted' from Wesley's *Sunday Service* for occasional use. Its ecclesiastical successor, the Methodist Church, accurately reprinted the 1784 Morning Prayer in its 1965 *Book of Worship* in a section of designated historic liturgical texts.

John Wesley bequeathed to the people called Methodist a literary, liturgical, and theological connection to the Book of Common Prayer by his own love of that book and his adaptation of it. Yet even as Methodist liturgies become further removed from their Wesleyan origin because of other influences, Methodist ties with the Prayer Book nevertheless persist. Wesley's revision of the Articles of Religion and his standard sermons—with their Prayer Book citations and allusions—remain, for many Methodist and Wesleyan denominations, normative sources for Methodist doctrine and theology.

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King's Chapel and the Unitarians

Carl Scovel

If the 1662 Book of Common Prayer is the mother of the King's Chapel Prayer Book, the Anglican Enlightenment is its father. It resembles its mother more closely, but the father's face is clearly discernible. Now well past its two-hundredth year, and in its ninth revision, it has its own identity.

King's Chapel was founded in 1686 by royal decree, to serve the British civil and military personnel in Boston. The young church grew, attracting enough worshippers to give birth to two other churches, Christ Church (the 'Old North Church') in 1723 and Trinity Church in 1734. After the American Revolution, the church called James Freeman, raised a Congregationalist in Boston, to be its lay reader. In this role Freeman was authorized to preach, read Morning and Evening Prayer, and make pastoral calls, but not to baptize or celebrate Holy Communion. The reading of the Athanasian Creed was left to his discretion. Two years after his appointment (in 1782) he began to question the priestly powers and Trinitarian theology implicit in the Book of Common Prayer. Given the heady sense of newly won independence and the absence of an American bishop, Freeman proposed to the pew owners, who constituted King's Chapel's voting congregation, that they authorize a revision of the Book of Common Prayer.

Freeman justified their doing this by citing the twentieth of the Thirty-nine Articles, which affirms the church's right 'to decree rites and ceremonies'. And what constitutes 'a church'? Freeman cited the nineteenth article, which defines the visible church as 'a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered'. Convinced by Freeman's enthusiasm and logic, the pew owners agreed in February of 1785 to empower him to prepare a new revision. On 19 June of that year they accepted most of his recommendations and voted twenty to seven to amend the Prayer Book. By then most of the dissidents were worshipping at Trinity Church.

How did it happen that a young lay reader, raised in a Congregational church, knew how to revise an Anglican Prayer Book? Freeman had met a visiting Unitarian from England, William Hazzlitt, in the previous year. Hazzlitt, a member of Theophilus Lindsey's dissident congregation at the Essex Street Chapel in London, gave Freeman a copy of the Chapel liturgy, which Lindsey had based on a revised 1662 liturgy made privately by Samuel Clarke, rector of St James's Church, Piccadilly, in 1724. Five years earlier Clarke had published *The Scriptural Doctrine of the Trinity,* a study of 1250 verses, maintaining that the Bible teaches that the Father is supreme and alone to be worshipped, and that Christ, both divine and eternal, derives his powers as saviour from the Father. The resulting rule for prayer (in this theology) is: 'to the Father through the Son'. This theology, called subordinationist, was the classical faith of the early Unitarians in Transylvania, Poland, and later the Netherlands. Throughout his liturgy Clarke substituted for the *Gloria Patri* his own composition, a doxology directed to God the Father alone. In the Litany he altered the prayers addressed to God and the Holy Ghost so that they spoke to the Father alone. Freeman's revisions reflected this theology, but also his prospering congregation's confidence in the benevolence of God and in the human capacity to reason and act in a moral way.

From the 1785 Preface

The Liturgy, contained in this volume, is such as no Christian, it is supposed, can take offence at or find his conscience wounded in repeating. The Trinitarian, the Unitarian, the Calvinist, the Arminian will find nothing in it which can give him any reasonable umbrage. God is the sole object of worship in these prayers; and as no man can come to God but by the one Mediator, Jesus Christ, every petition is here offered in his name, in obedience to his positive command. The Gloria Patri, made and introduced into the Liturgy of the Church of Rome, by the decree of Pope Damasus. . . is not in this Liturgy. Instead of that doxology, doxologies from the pure word of God are introduced. . . .

Despite the dissent and public controversy which followed the publication of this liturgy, it seems that Freeman hoped to be irenic and inclusive, judging from his preface to the 1785 edition. For the doxology in Morning Prayer, which followed the reading of the *Venite* and the psalm, Freeman chose 1 Timothy 1:17: 'Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, be honor and glory (adding here 'through Jesus Christ') for ever and ever. Amen.' Following the subordinationist theology of the early Unitarians, he also amended parts of the *Te Deum,* Litany, and *Gloria,* so that all prayers previously addressed to the Son or Holy Spirit were now directed to the Father alone. Of course, all prayers were made *through* the Son, since Unitarians accepted Christ as saviour, though they held that he was saviour through the power granted him by the Father. (*See* ' "Unitarian" Phrasing in the King's Chapel Liturgy'.)

Sundays were numbered after Whitsunday, not after Trinity Sunday, which was dropped from the church year. The Athanasian Creed was dropped from Morning Prayer and, in the second edition, the Nicene Creed from Holy Communion. Another omission was the word 'obey' from the marriage vows. Freeman's preference for a low church liturgy and his new congregation's egalitarian inclinations resulted in 'priest' being changed to 'minister' and 'sacrament' to 'ordinance'. After the General Confession in Morning Prayer the minister read a second prayer of confession instead of an absolution. Like other Anglican churches, King's Chapel had already been praying for the president and Congress instead of the king and royal family, and the new text reflected this practice. Freeman added to Morning Prayer the Prayer for All Sorts and Conditions and the General Thanksgiving. For the instruction of children he included a catechism composed by Joseph Priestley, an English Unitarian minister and a Deist, who preached for the last ten years of his life in Pennsylvania.

The King's Chapel congregation was unwilling to follow Lindsey on all points. They kept the Pauline benediction (2 Corinthians 13:13), since it was biblical, and retained the *Te Deum,* albeit altered. They kept the *Venite* and the phrase 'there is no health in us' in the General Confession. In 1786 Freeman wrote to Lindsey, 'Some defects and improprieties I was under the necessity of retaining for the sake of inducing them to omit the most objectionable parts of the old service, the Athanasian prayers. Perhaps in some future day when their minds become more enlightened, they may consent to a future alteration.'

Today Freeman's Prayer Book seems quite traditional. The Sunday services remained basically intact, as did the lectionary, chants, and other prayers. Even the prayer for bishops remained. The congregation hoped that the new American bishops would ordain its lay reader, but this never happened. Upon his return from Scotland as the first American bishop, Samuel Seabury refused to ordain Freeman unless the congregation gave up its liturgy and followed current Episcopal practice. Bishop Provoost, first bishop of New York, refused to ordain Freeman without prior approval from a convention of churches. Following these refusals the Proprietors of Pews decided to act independently. At a service of Evening Prayer on Sunday, 18 November 1787, they voted to call Freeman to be their 'Rector, Minister, Public Teacher, Priest, Pastor and teaching elder'. They took this

'Unitarian' Phrasing in the King's Chapel Liturgy

A comparison of these excerpts from the service of Holy Communion and from the Litany suggests the sort of changes that commended themselves to the King's Chapel congregation.

1662 Church of England Prayer Book	1785 King's Chapel Prayer Book
The Prayer of Humble Access	
. . . so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood . . .	. . . so to partake of this holy ordinance that our minds may be impressed with gratitude to thy dear Son Jesus Christ . . .
The *Gloria in excelsis*	
O Lord, the only begotten Son Jesu Christ: O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.	We bless thee for sending thy Son Jesus Christ into the world to save sinners; for exalting him unto thy right hand in heaven; for all the gifts and graces of thy holy Spirit; for the hope of eternal life.
The Litany	
O God the Son, Redeemer of the world . . .	O God, who by thy Son, hast redeemed the world . . .
O God the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son . . .	O God who by thy holy Spirit dost govern, direct and sanctify the hearts of thy faithful servants . . .

action 'independently', that is, without clergy of any affiliation, Congregational or Episcopal, taking part in the service.

In all but two of the subsequent revisions, only slight changes of the 1785 liturgy were made. These two exceptions were the 1828 and 1986 Prayer Books. Under the direction of Francis William Pitt Greenwood, the 1828 revision added to the existing text: one hundred hymns, orders for family prayers, Holy Communion for the sick, and four alternate Sunday liturgies from the dissenting chapels in Liverpool and Salisbury. It dropped the prayer for bishops and excised at least a third of the Psalter, judging the omitted verses to be 'not well suited to Christian worship'.

Greenwood's Prayer Book went through twelve reprintings, until in 1918 the incumbent minister dropped almost all of Greenwood's additions. The bare-bones book that remained included Morning and Evening Prayer, baptismal services, collects, proper chants, psalms (still with excisions), and Holy Communion. This revision, with slight alterations, remained in use until 1980. By then King's Chapel was celebrating a monthly Eucharist in a service that combined Morning Prayer with the second half of the 1662 Eucharist. The congregation also occasionally celebrated a Eucharist shaped by the Vatican II reforms. King's Chapel had by then been using set services on Good Friday, Easter Eve, and Christmas. The minister was following the Common Lectionary. And for ten years the church had conducted a midweek prayer service. The vestry judged it was time for a new edition of the Prayer Book, and appointed a committee of eight lay members to work with the ministers in preparing a ninth revision.

Five years later the committee presented its final text. It included orders for two Communion services, the special services previously mentioned, midweek prayers, Evensong, the Common Lectionary in its first version, the entire Psalter (largely the King James Version with some Revised Standard Version alterations), over thirty hymns, several litanies in

addition to the Great Litany, amended burial and marriage services, and a large collection of private prayers. The committee made modest changes that moved away from the male generic, but altered little else in the language of the 1662 Prayer Book. On this point the congregation was unanimous. Having seen and heard liturgies written in the American vernacular, the congregation chose quite deliberately to continue worshipping through a language whose metre, sound, and nuances spoke to them of a life in God. They understood that a Prayer Book's final test lies not just in a text, but in the people's recitation of that text.

King's Chapel is an active institutional member of the Unitarian Universalist Association, but it remains a church defined not by its polity, theology, or denominational affiliation, but by its liturgy. The preface to the 1986 revision states this clearly: 'In an age of liturgical change and experiment, we at King's Chapel are sometimes asked why we keep the Prayer Book. In fact, it is the Prayer Book that has kept us.'

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Churches in the Continuing Anglican Tradition

Lesley A. Northup

Any examination of the Book of Common Prayer would be incomplete without at least a cursory glance at the liturgical usage of the many and various Anglican sectarian movements that particularly populate the United States. Most of these groups have been small schismatic organizations of traditionalists dissatisfied with change in the Episcopal Church, although more recently a few, such as the Anglican Church International, the National Anglican Catholic Church, or the Free Episcopal Church, have been established along liberal lines. Likewise, while earlier schismatic groups tended to be more Protestant in orientation, some of the more recent sects have had more Catholic leanings.

The 'Continuing Anglican Movement', as the more traditionalist sectarianism has been called, is not limited to the United States, though it has the greatest number of adherent organizations there. Among the older organizations are the Free Church of England, a federation formed in 1863 to unite congregations that had left the established church in response to the rising tide of ritualism, and the Church of England in South Africa, established in 1794 as an amalgam of the Dutch Reformed Church and Church of England. More recent sects include the Anglican Catholic Church's branches in Canada and Australia; the Christian Episcopal Church of Canada; the Filipino Communion of Evangelical Episcopal Churches; the Evangelical Episcopal Church in Brazil; the Traditional Church of England; and the Independent Anglican Church (Canada Synod). International communions, established in various countries, include the Orthodox Anglican Communion; the Holy Catholic Church (Anglican rite); and the Anglican Orthodox Church. Many of these groups cite Prayer Book revision or abandonment of traditional Anglican principles of worship as among the reasons for their departure from the Anglican Communion.

In the United States, the splintering of the Episcopal Church–the cause of much consternation over the last quarter-century–is not, as is commonly assumed, a purely contemporary phenomenon. Indeed, the first, largest, and most enduring of the church's schisms occurred in 1873, with the departure of the Episcopalians who formed the Reformed Episcopal Church (REC). Though it has survived over a hundred years, today the REC includes a small membership variously estimated at six thousand to thirteen thousand, with foreign missions in India, Liberia, France, Uganda, Brazil, and Germany. In 1998 it entered into a concordat with the five-thousand-member Anglican Province of America, with a plan to merge in 2008. It has also been in communion with the Free Church of England, having enabled its first bishop to receive episcopal consecration. A separate English branch of the REC was founded as well, which later split with the formation of the Reformed Church of England, although all three of these bodies eventually reunited.

The proximate cause of the REC schism was the severe criticism encountered by George D. Cummins, assistant bishop of Kentucky, for participating in an ecumenical, evangelical Communion service in New York. Seizing on this instance of non-canonical intercommunion, political adversaries of the anti-ritualistic Cummins denounced his circumvention of the canonical jurisdiction of the bishop of New York and his seeming acceptance of the validity of a Communion service presided over by Protestant ministers not in the apostolic

succession. This revealed the deeper cause – the tension in the latter 1800s between the Evangelicals of the Episcopal Church and the increasingly influential Anglo-Catholic wing influenced by the Tractarians and the Cambridge Movement. Among the most inflammatory theological differences between the Evangelicals and high churchmen were liturgical issues: the use of the term 'priest' throughout the Prayer Book and the term 'regeneration' in the baptismal service. Episcopal Church Evangelicals, failing to secure Prayer Book revisions or canonical provisions to avoid these catholic liturgical interpretations, felt obliged to establish the Reformed Episcopal Church, which like virtually all such schisms, considers itself the true embodiment of classic Anglicanism in America.

Given its origins, it is not surprising that the liturgy is a key element of the REC's distinctive position. Indeed, the third of its four guiding Principles specifies its form of worship: 'The Prayer Book of the REC is the 1785 American version of the 1662 BCP'. The preface clarifies that the book traces its lineage from the 1662 English Prayer Book and the 1785 Proposed Book that preceded the first American Prayer Book of 1789, further noting that the 1874 REC book was 'the third Evangelical revision, and the first one in history to be officially adopted', a claim that questions the 'evangelical' credentials of the 1549 English book and the 1789 American book, *inter alia*.

In 1930, the REC book was revised to continue 'the work of the English Reformers and Martyrs of the Sixteenth Century, of the eminent evangelical Divines of 1689, of Bishop [William] White, and of Bishop George David Cummins', in the words of church literature. The current edition incorporates some aspects of the American Prayer Book of 1928 and a minor 1963 REC revision. The result, the preface asserts, is 'the most complete and the best Evangelical Book of Common Prayer that has ever been compiled'.

The REC Prayer Book retains the traditional language of the 1928 Episcopal book. It prominently incorporates the Athanasian Creed, the Thirty-nine Articles, the preface to the 1662 English book, the tables for establishing ecclesiastical dates and degrees of kinship, and the REC's Declaration of Principles. The lectionary derives from the Australian Prayer Book of 1978, with Sunday readings from the 1945 edition of the 1928 Episcopal Book of Common Prayer. The Psalter is the traditional American Coverdale version.

As might be expected, the position of Morning and Evening Prayer as 'principal services' along with Holy Communion is preserved in the book, as is a provision for a shortened form of Morning Prayer prior to Communion. Like other pre-1979 books, it affords a prominent place to confirmation as a unique sacrament. To accommodate Canadian REC churches, it incorporates collects for the Queen, the royal family, and the Canadian Governor-General. A Commination, or Denouncing of God's Anger and Judgements Against Sinners, is carried over from 1662. And presaging later practice in the Episcopal Church, the REC book specifically invites all baptized Christians to receive communion, a reflection of its historical support of ecumenical Evangelicalism.

Other elements of Episcopal Church Prayer Books have been eliminated, as one REC church currently advertises:

> Our Low Church Prayer Book has had purged from its text any Romanizing elements such as prayers for the dead, altars, baptismal regeneration, priests and priestly absolution, as often found the 1928, 1662, and modern Prayer Books.

Thus, the brief, second form of absolution in the 1928 daily offices – 'The Almighty and merciful Lord grant you Absolution and Remission of all your sins, true repentance, amendment of life, and the grace and consolation of his Holy Spirit' – which could be considered tinged with priestly authority, is omitted. 'Priest' is changed to 'presbyter' throughout. 'Holy Table', as a reference to the altar, is here just the 'Table'. However, other troublesome texts for nineteenth-century Evangelicals – such as the phrases 'he descended into hell' and

'catholic church' in the Apostles' Creed, or the replacement of the term 'sacrament' with 'ordinance'–remained unchanged in the final book.

In the Communion service, the Prayer of Humble Access now precedes the Prayer of Consecration, and the Lord's Prayer follows it. (The 1928 sequence is retained in the 'Alternate Form' provided.) A starkly evangelical rubric declares that, although kneeling is the common posture for reception of communion, 'no adoration is intended, or ought to be done, either unto the Sacramental Bread or Wine there bodily received, or unto any Corporal Presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood'. This is a resurrection of the famous 'Black Rubric' set out in the 1552 English Prayer Book and continued in the 1662 version, which established a Calvinist interpretation of the Eucharist.

Unlike some of its earlier models, the REC book provides one form of baptism for both infants and adults. For the most part, the baptismal service follows the 1785 model. The phrase 'regenerate and born anew' was reinserted in the rite in 1930, but to avoid any misconception, a separate explanatory rubric, using in part language from the twenty-seventh of the Thirty-nine Articles, clarifies that

> the word *regenerate* in this Office of Baptism is well meant for a signification of our grafting and incorporation into Christ's flock and a grateful acknowledgement of the benefits of Christ therein given to all who receive Baptism rightly. . . . Yet, lest the same word should by any persons, out of ignorance, malice, or obstinacy, be misconstrued: It is hereby declared that the use of this word is not intended to denote an essential alteration in nature, nor a passing, as by some mysterious process, into that fullness of religious life marked by faith, repentance, incipient holiness, ardent desires after God, and elevated affections.

As in the 1928 Episcopal Prayer Book, the ordinal is included. The importance of scripture is emphasized in the diaconal ordination, with the continuation of the query, 'Do you unfeignedly believe all the canonical scriptures of the Old and New Testaments', first included in the English book of 1549 but omitted in the Episcopal Church's 1928 revision, along with the familiar affirmation that the scriptures contain all things necessary for salvation.

Overall, the REC Prayer Book looks and feels very much like the 1928 Episcopal Church book, with adaptations that reflect the evangelical concerns of the sect's founders. Though based on predecessor volumes, the REC book was revised in 1930 along much the same lines as the Episcopal Church followed two years earlier, putting it into the mainstream of liturgy in the Continuing Anglican tradition.

From the time of the Reformed Episcopal Church schism to the middle of the twentieth century, there was little further formal divergence from the Episcopal Church. However, throughout the 1960s and '70s, a number of groups broke away: the Anglican Orthodox Church, the Southern Episcopal Church, the American Episcopal Church, the Anglican Church in America, the United Episcopal Church of America, and others. This phase of sectarianism was led primarily by southern low and broad church sympathizers uncomfortable with the Episcopal Church's increasingly liberal stance on social issues. For the most part, these tiny churches, and their successors through a series of mergers and renamings, held up the 1928 Prayer Book as the ideal of corporate worship and retained it with little or no change.

In the late 1970s, largely in response to the ordination of women, a new wave of discontent resulted in a number of pressure groups resisting change in the church. After the drafting of the 1977 'Affirmation of St. Louis', a conservative manifesto, the schismatic Anglicans United led traditionalist, often Anglo-Catholic Episcopalians out of the church and into the Anglican Catholic Church, the Anglican Church in America, the Diocese (now the Province) of Christ the King, the American Province of the Philippine Independent Catholic Church (later the Anglican Rite Jurisdiction of the Americas), and other groups. In accordance with

the 'Principles of Worship' of the St. Louis agreement, these sects adopted either the 1928 Book of Common Prayer or the 1962 Canadian Prayer Book, since 'no other standard of worship exists'.

As more Catholic elements formed new sects, they were less likely than earlier splinter groups to use the 1928 book, and more likely to devise their own liturgies, often with reference to revised Roman Catholic texts as well as the 1979 American Book of Common Prayer and other Anglican books. These local rites often existed only in pamphlet form and were not widely distributed.

In the early 1980s, the largest and most influential of the Continuing Anglican churches were the Anglican Episcopal Church of North America and the Anglican Catholic Church. By the early 2000s, the former had been reduced to some one thousand members; the latter claimed some twelve thousand adherents in the United States, and over thirty-five thousand worldwide. It bases its unique text on the 1549 English Book of Common Prayer, the 1928 American book, the Canadian book of 1962, and the Liturgy of South India of 1963, as well as the Anglican Missal.

At the start of the twenty-first century, the Continuing Anglican Movement is still in flux, now particularly over the role and place of homosexuals in the life of the church. New sectarian organizations are forming coalitions with older groups and with overseas bishops who support their conservative social stances. Liturgy does not appear to be a major issue in this phase of the movement, and many traditionalists, such as those who form the potentially schismatic Anglican Mission in America, worship using the 1979 Prayer Book.

The Prayer Book and Lutheranism

Philip H. Pfatteicher

Lutheran service books in English in North America bear a striking family resemblance to the Books of Common Prayer. The resemblance is not only deliberate but inevitable.

The creation of the 1549 Prayer Book was profoundly influenced by continental Lutheranism. Martin Luther began his liturgical work in 1523 with three works: his essay 'Concerning the Ordering of Divine Worship in the Congregation', his baptismal order, and his reformation of the Mass, the *Formula Missae.* A quarter of a century later (1549), the Church of England had its first Book of Common Prayer. Archbishop Cranmer was intimately acquainted with the Lutheran service, having spent a year and a half in Germany consulting with theologians and princes, and he was close to Andreas Osiander, who was at the time working on the Brandenburg-Nürnberg Church Order in 1532. Moreover, Cranmer married Osiander's daughter, and that marriage can be seen as a metaphor for the close, even intimate relations between the reforming church in England and the reforming church in Germany. Two Lutheran professors were called to English universities, one of whom, Martin Bucer, had with Philipp Melanchthon and others prepared the Revised Order of Cologne.

During the years 1535 to 1549 there were constantly recurring embassies and conferences between the Anglican and Lutheran divines and rulers. Indeed, it has sometimes been asserted by Lutherans that the first Book of Common Prayer was essentially a Lutheran book. It was surely deeply indebted to the theological work of the continental reformers and also dependent on many of the reforms of the liturgy that they were making. The construction of Morning Prayer from pre-Reformation Matins and Lauds and Evening Prayer from Vespers and Compline had been anticipated by Luther's suggestions, by Church Orders of Bugenhagen, and by the Calenberg and Göttingen Order of 1542. The English Litany incorporated petitions and extensive phrases of Luther's revision of the Litany of the Saints (1529) as found in the *Reformation* of Archbishop Hermann of Cologne (1543).

In the Holy Communion, the use of entire psalms instead of the historic introits may be traced to Luther's suggestion in his *Formula Missae,* 'We approve and retain the Introits for the Lord's Days and for the festivals of Christ . . . although we prefer the Psalms from which they were taken as of old.' (His suggestion was not generally followed by Lutheran church orders.) Expressions in the exhortations, the confession and absolution, the Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church, the beginning of the Prayer of Consecration, and the second half of the benediction are from Hermann's *Reformation* of Cologne. The words of institution in the Prayer of Consecration are a harmony of New Testament accounts as in the 1533 Brandenburg-Nürnberg Church Order. The orders for baptism and marriage conform in structure and details to suggestions by Luther and Bucer, notably the use of Luther's 'Flood Prayer' at the blessing of the water in Holy Baptism. The 1549 Book of Common Prayer thus made a considerable use of Lutheran precedents well established in Germany and Scandinavia.

For a number of political, intellectual, and cultural reasons, the close association of the Anglicans and the Lutherans at the time of the Reformation was estranged during the next two centuries. Each movement was absorbed in its own situation and struggles, and the mutual isolation resulted inevitably in ignorance and misrepresentation. Anglicans and Lutherans often had little to do with one another. But, as the saying has it, blood is thicker than water, and the separation did not result in an expulsion from the family.

The situation in North America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries differed from that in Europe and brought Anglicans and Lutherans together in their struggles against unregulated sectarianism and imposters. There was a great deal of cooperation between the English and the Swedes. Swedish priests served Anglican churches, and Anglican priests served as assistants in Swedish churches from the last decades of the eighteenth century. Andreas Rudman (1668–1708), priest of the Church of Sweden, served as rector of two Anglican churches in Philadelphia (Trinity, Oxford, in northeast Philadelphia and Christ Church in the old city.) In 1763 the patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, was sought out by 'the new missionary of the English' in Reading, Pennsylvania, Alexander Murray, who engaged him in a long conversation concerning the English church, declaring that the time seemed ripe for establishing a bishop in America. (The first American Anglican bishop, Samuel Seabury, would not be consecrated until 1784.) Murray, Muhlenberg reports in his *Journal*, 'deeply regretted that a coalition between the German Lutheran congregations and the English Church had not yet been effected'. Muhlenberg's great-grandson, William Augustus Muhlenberg (1796–1877), in part because he was accustomed to the use of English in worship, became an Episcopal priest; he is commemorated on the calendar in the American Book of Common Prayer on 8 April.

When Lutherans in America began to use the English language in worship, they remembered their history and their earlier influence on the Prayer Book. They looked to their cousins in the Anglican Church for guidance in the way to render the liturgy in English. The movement began with the Swedes in Philadelphia and environs who had first come to the New World in 1638 and who were increasingly using the language of their new country in worship. The Swedish language became nearly extinct among the Swedes in Pennsylvania, and upon the appointment of Nicholas (Nils) Collin by the Archbishop of Uppsala as rector of Gloria Dei ('Old Swedes') Church in 1786, the parish put the Archbishop on notice that it had become imperative that their next rector be someone who had been educated in America. When Dr Collin died after his forty-five-year pastorate, the congregation elected Jehu Curtis Clay, a priest of the Episcopal Church, as their next rector. All six Swedish congregations near Philadelphia came to be served by Episcopal priests and one by one eventually were received into the Episcopal Diocese of Pennsylvania.

In North America in the early nineteenth century the Lutherans recognized the Episcopalians not only as their very near relatives but as people comprising very nearly the same church. During the Lutheran language struggles between those who wanted to retain German and those who wanted to use English in worship, the New-York Synod (New-York was hyphenated then) declared that German was to be the language for use in church and, in a remarkable and revealing observation, officially declared 'the Protestant Episcopal Church to be the English Lutheran Church, to which all Lutherans preferring English to German should be directed'.

The increasing desire to use English could not be denied. Many of the German-speaking Lutherans wanted to use in worship the language they used daily for business and used increasingly in their homes as well. Their leaders were often remarkable scholars, noteworthy for the breadth as well as the depth of their learning. E. J. Wolf wrote of the Lutheran pastor and scholar Beale Melanchthon Schmucker (1827–1888), 'No one has done more in the preparation of nearly all its official documents, especially its hymnal, catechisms, and forms of worship, for which he possessed rare gifts and through industrious and minute research had acquired uncommon attainments. In Liturgics he had no superior in this country or in

Two Advent Collects

Instead of translating the old Latin collects for the first two Sundays of Advent, Cranmer put new ones, presumably of his own composition, into the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, and these have generally been retained in later Prayer Books. The Lutheran *Church Book* of 1868 includes the following translations of the earlier 'Stir Up' collects, which remained virtually unchanged in the *Common Service Book* of 1918 and the *Service Book and Hymnal* of 1958.

First Sunday of Advent

(Translation of the Latin collect *Excita, quaesumus, Domine, potentiam tuam,* et veni.)

Stir up, we beseech Thee, Thy power, O Lord, and come; that by Thy protection we may be rescued from the threatening perils of our sins, and saved by Thy mighty deliverance; Who livest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Spirit, ever one God, world without end.

Second Sunday of Advent

(Translation of the Latin collect *Excita, Domine, corda nostra*.)

Stir up our hearts, O Lord, to make ready the way of Thine Only-Begotten Son, so that by His coming we may be enabled to serve Thee with pure minds; Who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end.

Germany, in his own Church or in any other.' A learned Episcopal bishop was wont to refer his clergy to him as being better posted than himself on all questions pertaining to the Book of Common Prayer.

When Lutherans began to use English in worship they turned naturally to the language of the Prayer Book. The New-York Synod in 1850 published *A Collection of Hymns and a Liturgy for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Churches.* The liturgical portion of this book (such as it was) contained in its tediously extended prayers and exhortations generous borrowings of sections of the Book of Common Prayer. Lutherans in Nova Scotia in 1864, 'feeling the necessity of having a liturgy of our church suitable for a British congregation', prepared an edition of the Prayer Book for their own use and published it as *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments . . . according to the Use of the Lutheran Church in Nova Scotia.*

The first significant liturgical book prepared by Lutherans in North America, *The Church Book* (1868), took over *verbatim* the Prayer Book translations of the Latin collects, and those collects that had not been translated by the English reformers (such as Advent 1, 2, 3) were translated by the Lutheran liturgists with such skill that they sounded as if they had been in Anglican use for centuries (*see* 'Two Advent Collects'). The Lutheran liturgists had so mastered the Prayer Book language that it came naturally to them, and they could speak it without trace of an accent. Texts of the ordinary of the Eucharist were taken directly from the Prayer Book: *Gloria Patri* (of the historic introit), *Kyrie, Gloria in excelsis,* salutation before the collect, Nicene and Apostles' Creeds, preface dialogue, *Sanctus,* Lord's Prayer, *Agnus Dei.* In Morning Prayer the *Te Deum* and the concluding Collect for Grace, and in Evening Prayer the concluding Collect for Peace were all taken from the Prayer Book. Some twenty of the seventy-seven Collects and Prayers are drawn from the Prayer Book; the General Thanksgiving is incorporated into one of the General Prayers in the *Church Book.* The *Common Service Book* (1918) and the *Service Book and Hymnal* (1958) continued and extended these uses. Material original to the Lutheran book, Luther Reed observes, was 'cast in forms of expression fixed for all English-speaking people in the Prayer Books of the sixteenth century'.

The influence on English-speaking Lutherans in Australia and elsewhere came through the United States and the 1888 Common Service that was adopted throughout North America by the several Lutheran groups. Thus the Lutherans in Australia adopted a large body of texts from the Book of Common Prayer, and the Prayer Book provided a liturgical rhetoric and idiom in the transition from German and other European languages to English.

In the *Lutheran Book of Worship* (1978), prepared for the United States and Canada, borrowing from the Prayer Book flourished. In 1968 the Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship began its work on what was intended to be a common service book and hymnal for all Lutherans in North America. (North American Lutherans have come to expect that their prayer book and hymnal be bound together as one book.) At the same time the Episcopal Church was at work on the revision of the 1928 American Book of Common Prayer. It seemed only natural for the Lutheran drafters of what was to become the *Lutheran Book of Worship* to keep at hand the current draft revision of the American Prayer Book. Episcopal texts, usually a few steps ahead of the Lutheran work because the Episcopal revision had begun earlier than the Lutheran revision, made their way into the Lutheran work.

Virtually everything in the 1979 American Book of Common Prayer has its close parallel in the *Lutheran Book of Worship.* The Psalter was taken over wholesale. The long experience of Anglican use suggested that the revised Coverdale Psalter of the Prayer Book would be more suitable for liturgical use than any of the many Bible translations that had begun to appear. (Earlier Lutheran books had used the Authorized Version for the Psalter and all biblical quotations and passages.) Thus the two liturgical churches with the longest tradition of praying in English were able to share a common translation of the Psalms. This commonality was important to the Lutheran revisers.

The two-year daily lectionary in the American Prayer Book was borrowed and lightly revised for use in the Lutheran book. Those in both churches who pray the office daily were thus enabled to use the same readings as well as the same Psalter and to forge a further link between the prayers of the two denominations.

The expanded calendar of holy days in the American Book of Common Prayer encouraged the Lutheran revisers to expand their calendar of commemorations as well, and several of the days, some taken from the Roman calendar, were incorporated in the Lutheran calendar (such as John Chrysostom, Thomas Aquinas, George Herbert, John and Charles Wesley, Perpetua, Gregory the Great, Justin Martyr, Sergius, and Elizabeth of Hungary). The Lutherans also added others of Lutheran interest, such as the exemplary parish pastor Wilhelm Löhe; Kaj Munk, Danish pastor and playwright killed by the Nazis; Bartolomäus Ziegenbalg, the first Protestant missionary; as well as those of a broader ecumenical interest, such as John XXIII, John Bunyan, George Fox, John Calvin, Bartolome de Las Casas, and Chief Seattle.

The prayers and the readings appointed in the 1979 Prayer Book for holy days and for special occasions were often borrowed directly by the Lutheran revisers and saved them considerable work in combing through the Bible for appropriate lessons and in the time-consuming work of composing new prayers.

The 1979 Prayer Book collects for newer feasts and for certain other days were borrowed for the *Lutheran Book of Worship.* Some of the borrowed prayers underwent revision to make them sound more comfortable to Lutheran ears. Many prayers from the collection 'Petitions, Intercessions, Thanksgivings' were borrowed from the American Prayer Book as meeting modern concerns better than previous Lutheran collections could do.

The rites for Ash Wednesday and for Holy Week in both books are clearly close and reveal the respect and gratitude that the Lutherans had for the Episcopalians' work. In part because of space constraints, these rites in the Lutheran collection, however, are included only in the Ministers' Edition of the *Lutheran Book of Worship* and so are unfortunately less accessible to many users of the rites.

Throughout their work, the Lutheran drafters made constant and continual use of the

work of the Episcopalians, linking the two books in innumerable ways, large and small. The list of instances where the Lutherans borrowed a phrase or took the inspiration for a prayer or a liturgical text from the Episcopal work is very long and probably impossible to get complete. The two books, like the churches that produced them, are therefore remarkably close relatives.

The Book of Common Prayer is also the compendium of Anglican theology, and as such it has played a significant role in the agreements between Anglicans and Lutherans which crowned the twentieth century. It is not just a matter of having similar or even identical texts, but also how the rites are done, the ways of worship that reveal similarities in belief as well as practice. *Called to Common Mission*, approved by the Lutheran and Episcopal churches in America 1999–2000, provides for a mutual recognition of ministries and for the interchangeability of clergy. In Canada, the Waterloo Declaration between the Anglican Church and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada (2001) accomplished a similar mutual recognition and interchangeability of clergy. In Europe, the Porvoo Common Statement of 1992 between four Anglican churches (the Church of England, the Church of Ireland, the Scottish Episcopal Church, and the Church in Wales) and eight Lutheran churches in northern Europe (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania) allows a recognition of existing ministries and mutual participation in the consecration of bishops as an expression of existing communion. In 1988 the Church of England and the Lutheran, United, and Reformed churches in Germany concluded the Meissen agreement on eucharistic sharing and closer relationships. In Africa consultations continue between Anglican and Lutheran bishops, and in Africa and Asia mutual participation in the consecration of bishops is increasingly common.

In many ways and throughout the world, Anglicans and Lutherans are growing closer together and recovering a relationship that was established at the time of the Reformation and that has persisted, although often unrecognized, through the intervening centuries. Their two prayer books, like the churches that produced them, are therefore remarkably close relatives. As is the case in many families, the family members do not always recognize or care about the relationship. The revisions currently underway in Lutheran and Episcopal circles appear to be moving in divergent directions. Nonetheless, the relationship between the two churches remains an undeniable fact in which liturgical genealogists may find the seeds and promise of a unity yet to flourish in all its potential.

PART FOUR

From Uniformity to Family Resemblance: Prayer Books in the Twentieth Century

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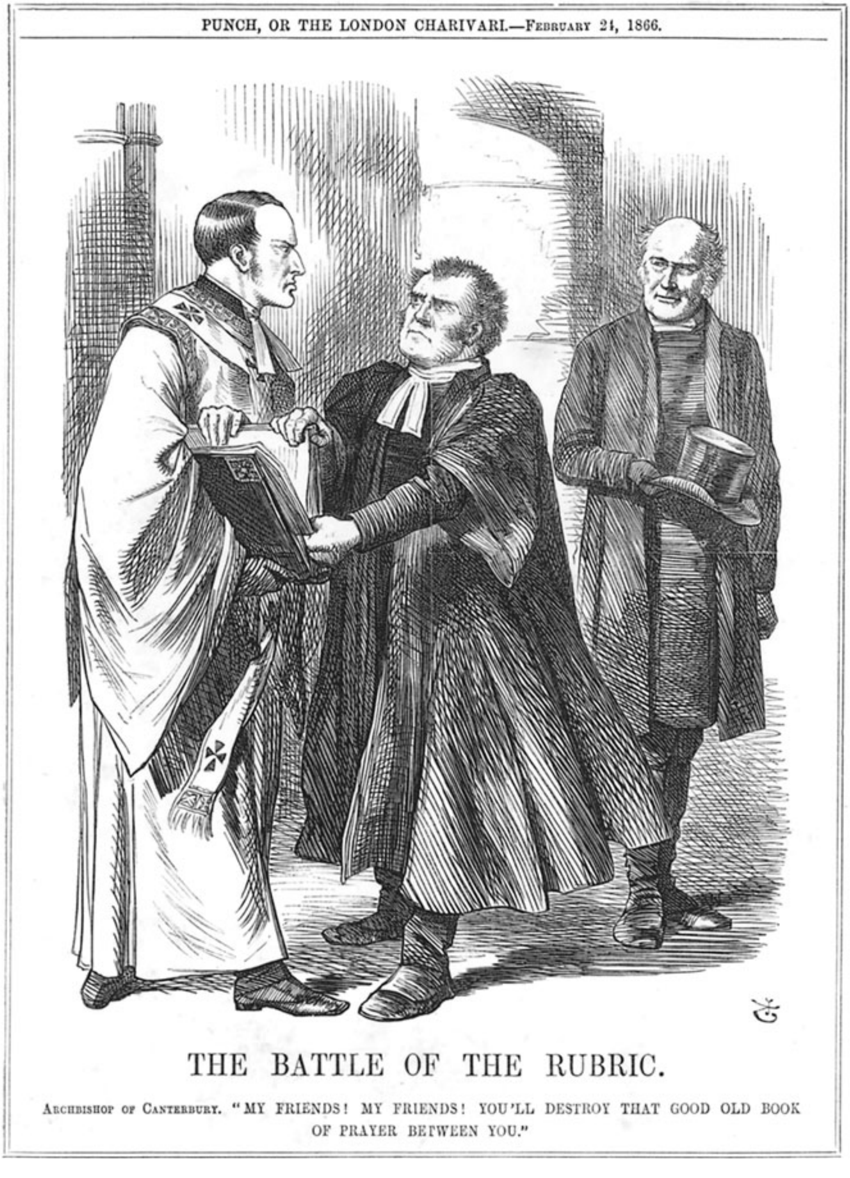
The Winds of Change

Colin Buchanan

In the year 1900 the term 'Book of Common Prayer' in England, and through most parts of the Anglican Communion, meant the 1662 Prayer Book, over ninety per cent of which was the book which Thomas Cranmer had crafted and got authorized in 1552. There were in 1900 arguably just three exceptions to this uniform understanding of the term. One was the Scottish eucharistic liturgy, dating from 1764, but itself used in Scotland only by some of the congregations of a tiny church, which for all other services used 1662. Second, there was the American Book of Common Prayer, dating from 1789, but revised in 1892. It had a eucharistic rite halfway between the Scottish 1764 and the English 1662 but was otherwise very similar to 1662 in form and content. The third was the Church of Ireland Prayer Book of 1878, virtually indistinguishable from 1662. So well was it understood that 'the Book of Common Prayer' named a single product that the term could be used without ambiguity by the 1908 Lambeth Conference, which recognized 'the educative value of the Book of Common Prayer and the importance of retaining it as a bond of union and standard of devotion'. That there was one such book the bishops took for granted.

Nevertheless, at the beginning of the twentieth century the actual use of the Prayer Book in England itself betrayed a state of profound chaos. For fifty years the Anglo-Catholic movement had been stretching and pushing the reformed liturgy of 1662 to be as similar as possible to the unreformed Tridentine rite of the Church of Rome. While the Anglo-Catholic movement itself is properly traced back to its Oxford roots and to its Tractarian proponents from 1833 onwards, the first generation had called for strict adherence to the Book of Common Prayer rather than its embellishment and farcing. It was the next generation, the so-called 'ritualists' (better described as advanced 'ceremonialists'), whose activities had led to angry and even paranoid responses – court cases, rioting, press campaigns, the Public Worship Regulation Act 1874, imprisonments for defiance of the Act, and a sustained set of pressures in Parliament. The establishment of the Church of England meant that its legislation stemmed from Parliament, to which the church was accountable. When Randall Davidson became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1903 he staved off a demand for a Parliamentary enquiry into the perceived indiscipline of the clergy in their conduct of worship, and secured instead agreement to a Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline.

From the standpoint of anyone still using and valuing the Prayer Book as it had been used half a century before, there was good reason for such an enquiry. In those fifty years there had come into the Church of England a vast range of eucharistic practices that had not been seen since the Reformation. These included wafer-bread, eastward position of the celebrant, Roman eucharistic vestments, stone altars, the mixed cup, elevation, genuflection, incense, non-communicating Masses, Masses for the dead, prayers to the saints, the Roman canon (said silently in Latin), reservation of the sacramental elements, and devotions before the reserved elements. In addition, unconfirmed Nonconformists had been banished from communion by leaning very heavily on the literal meaning of the 'confirmation rubric'; auricular confession was being urged; and the first wearing of mitres by bishops was recorded. The gothic revival in church architecture had greatly assisted these trends, as did



27. The Prayer Book Contested

By 1866, when this *Punch* cartoon was published, the 'ritualist' successors of the early Oxford Movement were reviving vestments and ceremonial practices that had long been disused, if not illegal, in the Church of England. Here John Tenniel, illustrator of the *Alice* books, portrays a dismayed Archbishop Charles Thomas Longley pleading with two clergymen who tussle for ownership of the Prayer Book: a ritualist, wearing an improbable mélange of vestments, and a 'low church' clergyman in a traditional black preaching gown. The rubric in dispute was the ambiguous 'Ornaments Rubric', to which both parties appealed for authoritative directions on clerical costume.

developments in church music, from composers to choristers. Every attempt to block the spread of these practices caused them to flourish all the more. A new idea had seized a large part of the Church of England–an idea centred on 'high' doctrines of episcopacy, priesthood, and sacraments–and the Book of Common Prayer would have to serve that idea, at whatever cost to its own historical nature and integrity.

At the same time a constitutional change slowly spread across the Anglican Communion, one that would begin to accelerate during the twentieth century and facilitate liturgical innovation. Missionary dioceses were slowly becoming autonomous provinces. As a general rule, it was these constituted provinces which were free to make liturgical decisions, while most missionary dioceses, still under the metropolitical authority of Canterbury (save a few which were part of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States), were not. In 1900 there were nine such independent provinces: in 2000 there were thirty-seven.

In the first half of the twentieth century pressure for change came almost entirely from the theological ideals of Anglo-Catholics and focused, accordingly, on the Eucharist. It was believed in Anglo-Catholic circles that, although Cranmer's 1552 rite had retained the skeleton of true Catholicism, the full-bodied text that truly expressed the continuity of the eucharistic liturgy through the Reformation was to be found in the 1549 rite. On this view the Scottish 1764 liturgy and, to a lesser extent, the American rite of 1789/1892 had sustained this authentic expression of Anglican identity. What was needed, therefore, was either a reintroduction of 1549 or a revision of the existing liturgy to conform to 1549's principles. The effect would be to provide a 'long prayer' of consecration, with the Prayer of Humble Access removed from its 1662 position after the *Sanctus* and with an *anamnesis* or invocation of the Spirit, a self-offering, and a doxology restored after the narrative of institution, as in 1549. The Scottish and American rites had, of course, also brought in an eastern-style *epiclesis after* the *anamnesis,* but this was a highly doubtful gain from the point of view of 'western' catholics. The ceremonial they associated with consecration was centred on the narrative of institution, and thus would seem to be undermined if a later petition asks God now to effect the consecration, as though it had not yet happened. The 1549 Book of Common Prayer itself, of course, was safely 'western' in that its *epiclesis* stands *prior* to the narrative of institution and in direct continuity with the *Quam oblationem* of the pre-Reformation rite. Thus the propriety of having different models of the eucharistic rite was upheld by appealing to the existence of the Scottish and American Prayer Books, while at the same time the model to which reference was actually made was not these but the book of 1549. That book also provided precedent for the restoration of other characteristic features of the pre-Reformation Mass–the *Gloria in excelsis* positioned at the beginning of the rite, *Kyries,* responses to the gospel reading, petitions for the departed, *Benedictus qui venit,* and *Agnus Dei*. Where the 'long prayer' appeared, these regularly followed.

The 'Long Prayer' Program: 1910 to 1960

Despite what is said above about provincial decision-taking, it was diocesan initiatives in three African dioceses arising from the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) which led to the first twentieth-century examples of new eucharistic rites for the Anglican Communion. These were introduced in Zanzibar in 1918–1919, and in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland soon after. Alongside them, however, provincial initiatives were developing. The story of what led to the debacles of 1927–1928 in the Church of England is told elsewhere (*see* Spinks, 'Crisis', pp. 239–43). When the 1928 'Deposited Book' failed–and its eucharistic rite had not been widely acclaimed anyway–many moderate Anglo-Catholics fell back on the proposal W. H. Frere had published in 1911. As an 'Interim Rite', Frere proposed, the 1662 Prayer of Consecration might be followed immediately by the post–communion Prayer of Oblation and by the Lord's Prayer. This reshuffling met the demand for a 'long prayer' program, while holding fairly firmly to Cranmer's own wording. The Church of the

Province of South Africa produced an experimental eucharistic rite, with a single long 'western' canon, in 1924, and made it a definitive alternative to 1662 five years later. In the United States, the church revised its rite, removing the Prayer of Humble Access from the canon, which thus became, in the 1928 American Book of Common Prayer, an integrated 'long prayer'. And the Episcopal Church of Scotland, having brought their 1764 eucharistic rite into a complete Prayer Book in 1912, now revised it again, and produced a new Prayer Book in 1929.

In each of these rites the 'long prayer' of consecration was the distinguishing feature. In most cases 1549 was kept in view, so that after the narrative of institution there came a text for an *anamnesis*, a petition for fruitful reception, the self-oblation, and a doxology. Except for the Zanzibar, Nyasaland, and South African rites, these were all unmistakably eastern in having an *epiclesis* follow the *anamnesis*. The *anamnesis* paragraph, as in virtually all known models, eastern or western, provided a context for an offering of the elements (consecrated or not) to God.

There was a clear division here between Anglo-Catholics and others. In other provinces the 1662 book continued without controversy, and, when Prayer Books came under review—as in Canada in the years leading to 1922, and in Ireland in the years leading to 1926—there was a strong and widespread desire to keep the eucharistic rite as it was. But further texts, similar to those outlined above, were added in Korea in the 1930s, Ceylon in 1933, Madagascar in 1945, Japan in 1953, Hong Kong in 1957, the West Indies in 1959, and India, Pakistan, Burma, and Ceylon (CIPBC) in 1960. Canada joined the club with a rite agreed upon in 1959 and authorized from 1962, just as the club itself was disbanding. The CIPBC and Canadian rites took years to win agreement, partly because, unlike what happened in the other provinces outside England, Evangelicals were involved in the compilation. They were unwilling to agree with texts which nakedly stated in the *anamnesis* that, in what is said to be obedience to the Lord's command, the church offers the bread and cup to God. Nevertheless, from the 1920s onwards there was a clear notion across the Anglican Communion that all liturgical revision pressed in one direction only. It was perhaps not surprising, as this trend grew and developed, that Massey Shepherd, speaking as an American liturgist, said to the first Anglican Congress in Minneapolis in 1954: 'Basically there are two Eucharistic liturgies in the Anglican Communion, which stem from the first two Prayer Books [of Edward VI] respectively.' Earlier in the address he emphasized the normative character of 1549. His address encapsulates the view of many mid-twentieth-century Anglicans that of the two kinds of eucharistic rites in Anglicanism, the 1549 is the one which is growing and taking the prominent place. If all revisers of 1662 were heading in a 1549 direction, was this not a vote of 'no confidence' in 1662?

Other and less prominent liturgical changes emerged as provinces revised their Prayer Books, changes that reflected the Anglo-Catholic view of the inadequacy of 1662. Notable among these were petitions for the departed in Sunday services and in funerals, the reading of Acts 8:14–17 (which seems to teach a two-stage doctrine of initiation) at confirmation, an increased interest in the saints (and in their intercessions), and an ever-growing emphasis on the details of the liturgical year.

Changes in the Air—And on the Ground

The years following the Second World War saw considerable changes in liturgy beyond merely juggling the wording of the Prayer of Consecration. The agenda changed, too. Not only was there a widening of the scope of Prayer Book revision, but this pressure came not only from the Anglo-Catholics. Evangelicals got involved, which altered the agenda for change; the more it changed, the more Evangelicals became open to further change. Seven different influences which bore upon Anglican liturgical forms across the world from the 1960s onwards are worth mentioning.

First, there were the effects of the Liturgical Movement, generally seen as a Roman Catholic and continental movement, but one that entered Anglicanism in the 1930s, chiefly through the writings of Gabriel Hebert. The heart of the Roman Catholic movement was the rediscovery of the laity as fully part of the body of Christ, and not simply as passive witnesses to the actions of ordained clergy. This rediscovery had enormous implications for the intelligibility of liturgical rites, for the active participation of the people, and for the sheer transmission of the content of the Christian faith in and through the liturgical action (*see* Baldovin, 'Liturgical Movement', pp. 249–59). In Roman Catholic circles it remained largely an academic position, but in Anglican circles it was almost the reverse. The Parish Communion movement is generally reckoned to have begun in Newcastle-on-Tyne in December 1927. Its rationale was largely pragmatic, and academic undergirding only came at a later stage. The Parish Communion's great expansion then occurred after the Second War, and was greatly assisted by changes in Rome. Notable among the earlier changes was a relaxation of the Roman requirement of fasting from midnight before receiving communion. As it passed into Anglican circles, this allowed not only for evening Eucharists (as it had done among Roman Catholics) but also, more to the point, for mid-morning services on Sundays at which the general congregation could communicate. This in turn tended to make Communion the only service attended by a high proportion of lay people, and thus provoked some of the other questions asked by Roman Catholic liturgists: the provision of Old Testament readings; the people's part in reading the scriptures, in leading the prayers, in congregational responses, and in distributing the elements; architecture; and music.

When Vatican II produced its near-revolution in Roman Catholic worship, it helped many Anglicans abandon an ultramontane approach and gave 'catholic' respectability to many features of liturgy previously eschewed not only by Rome itself but also by those who looked to Rome as an example. Anglicans may have been more used to worship in their vernacular, but they tended to have a Roman view of the need for one, single, and fixed canon or Prayer of Consecration. To allow a choice of four eucharistic prayers, such as Rome did in 1966, was without precedent among Anglicans; the Roman church's eucharistic prayers for specific occasions (notably for use with young children) widened the possibilities even further. The Anglican liturgical world was being blown in directions that would have been inconceivable a generation earlier.

Second, there was Gregory Dix, whose tremendously able Anglo-Catholic mind was combined with a robust propaganda instinct – a monk with time to study, a memorable writing style, and a readiness to shock. In current parlance, he thought 'outside the box'. Dix wrote on baptism and confirmation (the two-staging sacramentalist view, which held sway from 1890 to 1970, became known as the 'Mason-Dix Line'). He wrote on apostolic succession, both to oppose the South India scheme in the early 1940s and to reassure wavering Anglo-Catholics about the validity of their orders. But his life's academic work came to fruition in 1945 with *The Shape of the Liturgy*.

This monumental work almost entirely cleared the landscape of Anglo-Catholic sacred cows. It disposed of the notion that a single, primitive eucharistic prayer somewhere existed as an ideal to which all should return – though at the same time Dix recommended taking Hippolytus as a model. It lampooned the reformers and dethroned 1549 as a model for catholics, showing that it enshrined almost as much of what Dix saw as Cranmer's Zwinglianism as did the 1552. The 'Interim Rite' also came under attack. Dix reappraised the Eucharist not simply as a complex ceremonial way of providing consecrated elements, but also as having a meaningful 'shape' derived from the original dominical action and refined in the early church (*see* 'Gregory Dix on the "Shape" of the Eucharistic Liturgy'). Part of this emphasis fell upon the first action of Jesus ('he *took* bread', '*took* the cup'), which had its liturgical realization in the offertory of the elements, the bringing in of the bread and wine, an action Dix called 'the people's liturgy'. His triumph in this area was perhaps best epitomized in the 1958 Lambeth Conference subcommittee's suggestion that the offertory – 'with

Gregory Dix on the 'Shape' of the Eucharistic Liturgy

Probably the most influential thesis advanced in Dix's 1945 book *The Shape of the Liturgy* was that the enormous variety of Christian eucharistic rites have their unity, and their significance, in the structural sequence he called the 'four-action shape': the taking, blessing, breaking, and distribution of bread, and corresponding actions with respect to wine.

From one point of view the eucharist is always in essence the same thing—the human carrying out of a divine command to 'do this'. The particular eucharistic rite we follow is only a method of 'doing this'. It might seem strange at first . . . that there is not one single way of 'doing this', absolutely identical throughout christendom; and that none of the many ways of 'doing' it has anywhere remained the same from the days of the apostles until now. On the contrary, this simple bond of christian unity has a peculiarly complicated and ramifying history of variation. It is true that by careful analysis there is to be found underlying most of these varying rites and all of the older ones a single normal or standard *structure* of the rite as a whole. It is this standard structure which I call the 'Shape' of the Liturgy. . . .

[T]hat standard Shape has everywhere remained unchanged for more than eighteen hundred years, overlaid yet never refashioned. But within that rigid framework the eucharist has adapted itself perpetually with a most delicate adjustment to the practical conditions and racial temperaments and special gifts of a multitude of particular churches and peoples and generations.

which the people should be definitely associated'—be more closely connected with the Prayer of Consecration. In 1662 the offertory was entirely about money and came in the Ante-Communion, before the Prayer for the Church Militant on Earth (thereby ensuring a collection of alms even when, as was usually the case till the nineteenth century, there was no communion). Thus Lambeth 1958 had accepted a change in the primary meaning of 'offertory', sought to give the changed meaning special liturgical significance, and provided a relocation of the action in the process. 'Offertory processions' were adopted by Parish and People in England. Whether or not Dix affected the text of the actual Roman 'offertory prayers' appearing a decade later, there is no doubt that, when they came, they spilled into the liturgical life of many Anglicans as expressions of a Dixian doctrine that was by then pervasive. There did, of course, remain a question whether offering to God bread and wine (consecrated or unconsecrated) was obeying the dominical command to 'do this', and whether, in any case, it conveyed any relevant or useful theological message. On the larger canvas, the printed forms of eucharistic orders of service started, from the Church of South India (CSI) Liturgy onwards, to reflect the 'four-action shape'.

The emphasis upon shape gently raised a question about a sharing of the peace before the 'fourfold action' began. Although already revived in the Church of South India, the peace never found a place among the 1958 Lambeth agenda. But Dix not only decided that there should be a single 'long prayer', but that it would be better called 'the Thanksgiving' or 'the Great Thanksgiving' or even 'the Eucharistic Prayer'. This was to prove seminal. Dix's particular contribution to eucharistic theology in this regard was to invest the concept of '*anamnesis*' with new theological significance. In his 1933 edition of Hippolytus, he had translated the participle usually rendered as 'remembering' as 'doing therefore the "*anamnesis*" of [Christ's death and resurrection]'. His version emphasized that an '*anamnesis*' was an objective action before or towards God, the offering of the eucharistic sacrifice. This emphasis was in deliberate contrast to his caricature of Reformation theology as merely paying attention to the past event of the cross; for Dix, an *anamnesis* was a setting out, before God, of the sacrifice of Christ actualized in present time and not dependent for its reality upon anyone's faith or mental disposition. How Dix would have viewed the post-Vatican II changes in Rome is anyone's guess, but his own impact on both Anglican texts and Anglican understanding has been vast.

A third influence upon Anglican liturgical forms throughout the Communion was the Liturgy of the Church of South India (*see* Buchanan, 'South India', pp. 245–47). The key lies in the person of Leslie Brown, who from 1948 to 1952 was convener of the Liturgy Committee of the Church of South India and, having gone on to be bishop in Uganda, became the secretary of the subcommittee at the 1958 Lambeth Conference that was looking positively at liturgical revision. By that stage the CSI liturgy had won worldwide acclaim, and the bishops on the subcommittee were ready to rally behind many of its principles.

A fourth influence has come from official and semi-official efforts at cooperation among Anglicans. At the 1958 Lambeth Conference the new agenda–Dix plus CSI–virtually replaced the old 'long prayer' focus. The subcommittee, realizing that revision was coming in any case, made a virtue of necessity and set out to elucidate principles which would guide the various provinces thereafter. There are at least four assumptions in the elucidation that are questionable: that Cranmer's own intention was to recover an early patristic rite; that he was handicapped in his effort by having insufficient patristic evidence; that, more evidence having become available, twentieth-century liturgiologists could do the recovering Cranmer could not; and that if a single primitive rite *were* recovered, it would be the card that trumps all aces. Lambeth was premature also in claiming that 'controversies about the Eucharistic Sacrifice can be laid aside'. But, while the subcommittee was quite jejune in what it had to say about the role and character of an *epiclesis*, it made a significant statement about consecration: 'We desire to draw attention to a conception of consecration which is scriptural and primitive and goes behind subsequent controversies . . . and may be called consecration through thanksgiving.' And, while reluctant to say anything vital about baptism, it took the very useful step in relation to ordination of urging that it is the laying-on of hands with prayer that is the core of the rite.

The Lambeth text in its totality remained a point of reference in liturgical revision for some decades after its publication. However, Lambeth 1958 also left in its wake a question of how any coordination of the processes of liturgical revision around the Communion could be sustained. Autonomous provinces with liberty to go their own way liturgically could easily lose touch with each other, and thus obscure or eliminate any common liturgical ethos or order. Various initiatives addressed this question, beginning with a text entitled *A Liturgy for Africa,* compiled by Leslie Brown himself on behalf of five archbishops in Africa and published in 1964 (*see* Mombo, 'Eastern Africa', pp. 277–79, 281). This text in turn affected others, directly or indirectly, and also influenced the two 'Pan-Anglican Documents on the Structure and Contents of the Eucharist' published in 1965 and 1969 in response to a plenary resolution passed by the 1958 Lambeth Conference. In 1968 a liturgical consultation between bishops and liturgists was held in London before the Lambeth Conference. In 1971 the Australian Liturgical Committee asked the Anglican Consultative Council (ACC) to establish a liturgical commission for the whole Communion, and this call was repeated by the Council itself at Singapore in 1987. But nothing came of these requests, not least because no financing existed to sustain such a body and its work.

Meanwhile, a different initiative for coordinated revision was emerging. A gathering of fifteen Anglican liturgists from around the world met in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1985 and formed the International Anglican Liturgical Consultation (IALC). Their Boston Statement also called for the admission of children to communion on the basis of their baptism alone, without regard to either confirmation or reaching the age of discretion. The members reconvened in 1987 at Brixen in northern Italy and there agreed upon the idea of a 'consultation' (rather than a 'commission'), and asked for recognition and some form of adoption by the ACC for this concept. This duly came to pass at the next IALC meeting in 1989 at York. In the meantime, the Lambeth Conference had met in 1988. A major statement on 'Renewal of the Church in Liturgy' was somewhat overshadowed by a resolution from the Dogmatic Concerns section, which requested the Archbishop of Canterbury and the primates to appoint 'an Advisory Body on Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion' with a view to ensuring:

(a) the public reading of the Scriptures . . . ;
(b) the use of the two sacraments ordained by Christ . . . ;
(c) the use of forms of episcopal ordination to each of the three orders . . . ;
(d) the public recitiation and teaching of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds; and
(e) the use of other liturgical expressions of unity in faith and life . . . with continuing awareness of ecumenical liturgical developments.

The original intention of this recommendation was to monitor or even restrict liturgical creativity, but in 1993 the task of carrying out the conference's request was given to the IALC. Thus the liturgists were entrusted to monitor themselves. The pattern of the Consultation's meetings, now held every fourth year, was unanimously endorsed at the 1998 Lambeth Conference.

Fifth, in the 1960s a revolution began in the language of liturgy. Until 1967 almost all new liturgical writing (whether official texts or unofficial books of prayers or meditations) consciously worked with Tudor and Authorized (King James) Version language. While this might be most accurately described in terms of its rolling sentences, with large dependent clauses and a range of rhetorical conventions, it is the pronouns that provide the most convenient test. If God is addressed as 'you' rather than 'thou', little else of the latinate Tudor style can be credibly sustained; but if God is 'thou', then the whole language of Cranmer is difficult to avoid.

Until the 1960s, hardly a soul worshipping in English queried the 'thou' form of prayer. Change came through imperceptible pressures: modern versions of the Bible, changes in extempore prayer, problems in teaching young children to pray, the first signs of change in hymnody, and in the later 1960s the new vernacular in Roman Catholic circles. There were early Anglican drafts in New Zealand and Australia in 1966; those exceptions aside, it is possible to draw a line at the end of 1967 and assert that all official liturgiography in English before that point addressed God as 'thou' and all new writing after that point addressed God as 'you' (here the exception is the Church in Wales). Drafts began to appear round the world, and the ecumenical International Consultation on English Texts (ICET), formed in 1968, started to produce a set of agreed English-language texts for the 'prayers we have in common', such as the *Gloria in excelsis,* the *Sanctus*, and the Lord's Prayer. As a result whole services–indeed whole Prayer Books–had to be rewritten from beginning to end. Thus it was that the American Episcopal Church went from *Prayer Book Studies* 17 (1967) to the 'Green Book' in 1970, and the Church of England went from 'Series 2' in 1967 to 'Series 3', first published in 1971. A watershed had been put on the map for the whole of the English-speaking world.

Nor was that the end of language questions. As women were ordained from the 1970s onwards, rubrics could no longer say 'he' or 'him', and had to be turned into a passive (or otherwise neutral) form. As secular language ceased to use male nouns and pronouns in a generic way for the whole of humankind, so the language of prayer could not sustain texts like 'to love and serve all men'. The Bible language itself became 'inclusive' in the New Revised Standard Version (1989), but liturgical adjustment began well before that in the 1979 American Book of Common Prayer. Thus texts which, like the Church of England's *Alternative Service Book 1980,* were authorized just before this cultural shift began to look like stranded whales, and were, moreover, deeply resented (and therefore altered in use) by a significant proportion of English-language worshippers. This in turn led to profound questioning as to whether male nouns and pronouns are still appropriate for God–a tradition not so easily adjusted.

Sixth, the post-1950 liturgical world saw a great advance in congregational participation. In the original tradition of Prayer Book worship, the expectation was that each parish would own one copy of the book, and that the people would 'hear' the liturgy and would give voice to their own part only by repeating what the officiant said. Thus the 1662 rubrics direct that the confession at Morning and Evening Prayer is to be said 'after the minister'. This

background was forgotten as literacy spread and, in many countries, Anglicans came to own their own copies of the Prayer Book or found them provided in church. Nevertheless, the ethos of 1662 remained: it was a book to be read from the front of the church and listened to by the people, and it was therefore highly clericalist. To use the 1662 Communion service following its own rubrics is to invite the people to say the Lord's Prayer twice, to respond to the Ten Commandments, possibly to join in the creed and the *Gloria in excelsis,* to respond to 'Lift up your hearts' and 'Let us give thanks unto our Lord God' (but perhaps not to join in the *Sanctus*), and to say 'Amen' to prayers and exhortations. Everything else is clerical monologue. Nor was hymnody any part of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer's expectations. The congregation at a Prayer Book Communion service was, typically, a silent congregation on their knees. If by the mid-twentieth century congregations were reciting together the Collect for Purity, the confession, *Sanctus*, Prayer of Humble Access, and even a post-communion prayer, it was a stretch of Prayer Book ethos. The question was whether new rites would make such participation integral to worship or be a slightly forced (if widely undetected) 'add-on'.

The issue of the people's share in what is *said* was accompanied by a growing sense they should have a share in the *action* at communion. Leaving aside Gregory Dix's promotion of a lay 'offertory' procession from 1950 onwards, province after province was enabling lay people to read the scriptures, lead the prayers, and administer the elements. The Church of South India in 1950 provided precedents for litany intercessions, and for acclamations in the eucharistic prayer. The 1958 Lambeth report encouraged the first of these, and the second spread through the copying of models—not only CSI but *A Liturgy for Africa* in 1964 and new Roman Catholic prayers in 1966. Other influences, growing similarly from the mid-1960s onwards, came through the sharing of the peace (which enhanced the stature of the laity), dialogue sermons, and a general informalizing of liturgy, not least when there were children present. Much of this innovation cannot be traced in detail in the official texts but happened on the ground, reaping the benefit of more flexible texts and hinting broadly at adaptations to come. The use of official texts by the charismatic movement also stretched the limitations imposed by old-fashioned rubrics, and changed the culture of official services as a vast variety of musical styles, 'worship leadership', lay ministries, and even homemade arts and crafts entered into the Sunday liturgy. The upshot was the gradual change of rubrics and other guidance so as to be positive and empowering rather than restrictive and controlling, with an increasing tendency to offer a series of alternatives, often in an appendix of resources. The outline or 'directory' structure of a Eucharist (Rite Three) in the 1979 American Prayer Book became a precedent for later liturgical models elsewhere.

Finally, seventh, there were the beginnings of inculturation. Already in Article XXXIV it had been stated that particular and national churches had authority to ordain and alter rites and ceremonies, and Lambeth 1908 had anticipated the appropriateness of adaptation and change in the different provinces of the Communion. But for most of the twentieth century, ceremonial variations around the world arose far more from the ('western') theological divergences traced above than from any attempt to indigenize worship in different local cultures. Music, vesture, ceremonial, art, and architecture in Africa and Asia tended to be imported from Britain along with the Bible and the Prayer Book. Traditional tribal or national cultures were frequently identified with non-Christian religious beliefs and more often swept aside than baptized into Christ. By 1985 only tiny hints of change had arisen in the texts of official rites—bowing to each other at the peace in the Korean rite, and mention of rattles at the *Sanctus* in Papua New Guinea. More happened in practice; local music was rarely written into the official texts, and Maoris rubbed noses in greeting at the peace even though the texts did not mention it. But the texts, rubrics, and notes of the official rites gave little hint of such tendencies. For example, the 1979 American Book of Common Prayer, particularly in its French and Spanish translations, passed into other parts of the world simply because it was available, not because it was culturally appropriate.

This tendency began to change in the last decades of the twentieth century. Post-colonial assertion of local cultures and traditions was one feature of this; the readiness of Roman Catholicism to inculturate its music and architecture in the post-Vatican period was another. Furthermore, second- and third-generation Christans felt they did not need to abandon their inherited cultural styles to the extent that their forebears had. The 1988 Lambeth Conference encouraged inculturation, resolving that 'each Province should be free, subject to essential universal Anglican norms of worship, and to a valuing of traditional liturgical materials, to seek that expression of worship which is appropriate to its Christian people in their cultural context'.

The effects of these seven factors and their interplay can be seen in the successive waves of Prayer Book revision in the twentieth century, which are examined in parts five and six of this *Guide*. If the century began with at least an approximation to Cranmer's ideal of 'but one use' for the whole Anglican world, it ended with variety, pluralism, and difference, not only between the now-autonomous provinces but within them as well. Uniformity has given way to 'family resemblance'. As G. J. Cuming wrote in the epilogue of his *History of Anglican Liturgy,* 'The appropriate metaphor is no longer mother and children'–the 1662 Book of Common Prayer and its descendants–'but cousins of the same generation'.

The Prayer Book 'Crisis' in England

Bryan Spinks

A NUMBER OF FACTORS lay behind the making of the proposed Book of Common Prayer, which was rejected by the House of Commons in December 1927 and again, in its revised form, in June 1928, but the most important can be traced to the effects of the Oxford Movement Tractarians and the reaction of the evangelical party of the Church of England. The first Tractarians argued that the 1662 Book of Common Prayer was a catholic liturgy, with rubrics that should be followed meticulously. However, second generation Tractarians and members of the Ecclesiological Society, or Cambridge Movement, saw the matter differently. They found this rite too Protestant for the expression of their faith, and so demanded changes to allow greater ceremonial and use of some of the liturgical practices of the Roman Catholic Church. These practices included the adoption of eastward facing celebrations of Communion, adorning the altar with candles and cross, the use of a credence table for the bread and wine, eucharistic vestments, and incense. The Tractarians claimed that the so-called 'Ornaments Rubric' in the Book of Common Prayer, which referred to 'Ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof . . . shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of England . . . in the Second Year of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth', not only allowed, but mandated such 'usages'.

Some clergy began to use liturgical forms from both the medieval Sarum rite and the contemporary Roman Catholic rites, while in the 1870s and 1880s a number of manuals of devotion were published for use by the Anglo-Catholic clergy. In response, certain Evangelicals proposed reforms of the Book of Common Prayer to remove any ambiguity about its Protestant nature. A Royal Commission on Ritual was appointed in 1867, which over the next three years issued four reports. One result was the Act of Uniformity Amendment Act of 1872, which allowed the shortening of Morning and Evening Prayer on weekdays, allowed services for special occasions, and provided for a 'Third Service' on Sundays. The reports also resulted in the Public Worship Regulation Act 1874, creating a new secular court to which bishops could refer recalcitrant clerics who would not abandon ritual practices deemed illegal by the bishop. Tractarian clergy refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of this court, and prosecutions led to the imprisonment of certain 'ritualistic' clergy, most notably C. J. Ridsdale of St Peter's, Folkestone, and Arthur Tooth of St James's, Hatcham. Public opinion turned against such prosecutions, particularly the resulting imprisonments, and ultimately bishops refused to refer cases to this secular court. In 1887 a case was brought against Bishop Edward King of Ely, though in this instance the case was heard by an ecclesiastical court presided over by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Controversy was renewed in the 1890s with the protests and disruption of Anglo-Catholic worship by John Kensit and the Protestant Truth Society, whose anti-ritualist cause also had a spokesperson in Sir William Harcourt. The Anglo-Catholics responded through the English Church Union and their spokesperson, Lord Halifax. Archbishop Frederick Temple had ruled that confession, prayers for the departed, and the doctrine of the real presence were lawful in the Church of England. However, Harcourt pressed for legal prosecution of Anglo-Catholic ritualists, and after meetings with the two archbishops in 1899 and

1900, a statement was issued ruling that incense and reservation of the sacrament of Holy Communion were not lawful in the Church of England. Bishops had already shown, however, that they were reluctant to bring charges, since the ultimate court, the Privy Council, was regarded as a secular court.

In 1903 Randall Davidson became Archbishop, and promised members of Parliament that he would bring the ritualists to heel. In March 1904 the Prime Minister, A. J. Balfour, announced the setting up of a royal commission on the matter. Under the chairmanship of Sir Michael Hicks Beach, its purpose was to 'inquire into the alleged prevalence of breaches or neglect of the Law relating to the conduct of Divine Service in the Church of England and to the ornaments and fittings of Churches'. The resulting report, published in 1906, and composed in the main by Sir Lewis Dibdin, Dean of Arches, reached two main conclusions. First, it held that 'the law of public worship is too narrow for the religious life of the present generation', and argued that many contemporary church members valued ceremony and dignity in worship as well as a sense of the church's continuity over time. Second, the report stated that the means of enforcing discipline over the church's faith and teaching had itself broken down and was no longer suitable to the present time.

The report concluded with a list of ten recommendations, compiled in the main by Archbishop Davidson. The second of these recommended that Letters of Business should be issued to the Convocations with instruction to consider framing new rubrics appertaining to vesture, and modifications of the existing law to allow greater comprehensiveness. Letters of Business were issued on 10 November 1906, and so began the lengthy process which led to the formulation of a proposed new Prayer Book, which, like previous revisions, would be attached to an Act of Uniformity.

The extensive process that led to the compilation of the 1927 book can be divided into three distinct periods from 1906 through 1927. The first, 1906 to 1914, was mainly concerned with addressing the 'Ornaments Rubric' of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, to which Anglo-Catholics appealed to justify much of their revival of ceremonial. Five bishops under the chairmanship of John Wordsworth, bishop of Salisbury, addressed this issue, assisted by W. H. Frere of the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield, and one of the few English liturgical scholars. Its report, 'The Ornaments of the Church and its Ministers' (1908), bore Frere's stamp, and its suggestion that the chasuble was legal brought forth protests. A resolution eventually passed by the Upper House of Convocation in 1911 was more timid on this matter. In May 1911, Archbishop Davidson announced to Convocation the appointment of an Advisory Committee to look at liturgical matters–recommended by Frere in *Some Principles of Liturgical Reform* (1911)–but finding a balance was not easy. T. W. Drury, bishop of Sodor and Man, an Evangelical, joined Canon A. J. Mason and Frere as members. Others included F. E. Brightman and, by 1912, Percy Dearmer and Percival Jackson. Opposition to almost any revision came from the bishop of Birmingham, E. A. Knox.

In February 1914 the Report of the Upper House of Canterbury Convocation was published, and that summer Archbishop Davidson created a number of committees to coordinate the work of the Convocations of Canterbury and York. Private letters reveal that Davidson undertook this with some reluctance; like many archbishops before and since, he had little interest in the minutiae of liturgical revision, regarding the exercise as a diversion from the main task of the church. The work, however, was slowed down by the Great War. It was agreed that nothing should be done until the voices of the laity could be heard from when the war was over, although Convocation continued its liturgical work, which included the suggestion that the Prayer of Oblation follow immediately after the Prayer of Consecration, after the 1549/1637 model. Lord Halifax even lobbied for the authorization of the 1549 eucharistic rite. But a greater issue was reservation of the sacrament. During the war years, permission for reservation became more common, but with great opposition and suspicion from the evangelical wing.

This process changed in December 1919 with the Enabling Act, which established the National Assembly of the Church of England with an upper and lower House of Clergy as well as a House of Laity. Measures for Parliamentary legislation were to pass through the National Assembly. In the meantime, chaplains returning from the experience of the Great War claimed that a revision of the Prayer Book was urgently needed for pastoral reasons. They had found that working class men were, deep down, religious but unable to relate to the language and services of the Book of Common Prayer. For the most part, however, such pleas fell on deaf ears and liturgical revision proceeded along academic and party lines.

In 1920 the National Assembly held its first meeting, and that autumn the Prayer Book Revision Committee was appointed and produced its report, NA 60, in June 1922. In October 1922 the House of Bishops introduced these recommendations without alteration, as NA 84, The Revised Prayer Book (Permissive Use) Measure. Approval was given to this measure by all three houses. In the meantime, with the appearance of NA 84, three groups made attempts to influence the final texts in one way or another. In 1923 the Anglo-Catholic party through the English Church Union published the 'Green Book'; a group reflecting liberal views, and with a foreword by William Temple, bishop of Manchester, published the 'Grey Book'; and the moderate Catholic party, represented by the Alcuin Club, published the 'Orange Book'. These all represented alternative texts to that of NA 84, but all included reservation of the sacrament. On the other hand, some leading Evangelicals opposed any revision at all. Further revision was undertaken by the bishops in October 1925 and completed in February 1927.

The most contentious issues were the repositioning of the Prayer of Oblation, the inclusion of an *epiclesis,* or calling of the Holy Spirit on the elements of bread and wine, and continuous reservation of the sacrament. Archbishop Davidson introduced the final text to the Convocation, urging that the book was adapted to the needs and conditions of contemporary life. The bishops of Birmingham, E. W. Barnes; Exeter, Lord William Cecil; Worcester, E. H. Pearce; and Norwich, Bertram Pollock, all opposed the proposals. Pollock's main objection was to reservation of the sacrament and the alternative order for Communion, believing that both altered the doctrine of the Church of England. Bishop Hensley Henson of Durham, who had become a keen advocate of the proposed book, addressed Convocation immediately after Pollock and compared his fellow bishop to an 'enigmatic but extremely interesting figure, the Stylites or Pillar Saint of the Primitive Church, whose aloofness was as impressive as his altitude was apparent. His Lordship, I know, will forgive me if I say that he united the remoteness of the saint with the rigidity of his pillar' (*Chronicle of Convocation,* 29 March 1927, 92).

The Prayer Book was commended to the Convocations, passing with impressive majorities, and went next to the Parliamentary Ecclesiastical Committee, consisting of fifteen members from each chamber. Its report was published in November 1927 and allowed the measure to proceed, concluding that it did not infringe on the constitutional rights of 'His Majesty's subjects'.

Although the bishops could count on the support of the majority of the National Assembly and the Convocations, opinion outside these bodies was a different matter. The origin of the book was to secure uniformity in the wake of Anglo-Catholic use of Roman and other liturgical sources, and Anglo-Catholic opinion was itself divided. Darwell Stone, the president of the Fellowship of Catholic Priests, was totally opposed to the book, particularly its concern to restrict reservation of the sacrament; on the other hand, W. H. Frere, who had become bishop of Truro in 1923, supported it, as did B. J. Kidd, warden of Keble College. Protestant opposition to the book was stronger, and tended to be better organized than the Anglo-Catholic. Moderate Evangelicals, such as the Anglican Evangelical Group Movement, gave conditional support, but other groups such as the Church Association, the National Church League, the Protestant Truth Society, the Fellowship of Evangelical Churchmen,

and the League of Loyal Churchmen and Protestant Alliance all bitterly opposed it. Some of these groups, such as Kensit's Protestant Truth Society, rallied opposition from those outside the Church of England on the grounds that, as an established church, they needed to ensure it remained Protestant. Dislike of the book ranged from the inclusion of fewer prayers for the king to the use of the chasuble and prayers for the departed.

Evangelical opponents encouraged followers to write to their Members of Parliament. Among the evangelical spokespersons was Sir William Joynson-Hicks, who as home secretary spoke against the book in the National Assembly and in Parliament. Free Church opinion, too, was divided, with a qualified support from the Revd Professor P. Carnegie Simpson, moderator of the Free Church Federal Council, and opposition from the Revd M. E. Aubrey, general secretary to the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

The measure was introduced into the House of Lords on Monday, 12 December 1927, and the debate lasted three days. Archbishop Davidson opened the debate in support of the measure, which would assist the bishops in restoring peace in the church so that it could then proceed to more important Christian tasks. The measure passed with a comfortable majority. It was then debated in the Commons on 15 December 1927, where Prime Minister Baldwin spoke in favour, as did some Nonconformist Members of Parliament. However, those opposing the measure and book tended to produce more passionate speakers. Joynson-Hicks gave the opening opposition speech, arguing that the Church of England was being changed for Anglo-Catholics, and that bishops could no longer be trusted to curb indiscipline and Romanism. Mr Rosslyn Mitchell, Member for Paisley, and a Presbyterian, denounced the book as leading the Church of England towards Rome. When it came to the vote, the measure was defeated, with 205 votes in favour, and 238 against. Even after the measure was reintroduced in the spring of 1928 with certain alterations, moreover, it failed to pass the House of Commons. On that occasion a speech of support came from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Winston Churchill, who described it as 'the greatest surviving Protestant institution in the world patiently listening to Debates on its spiritual doctrine by twentieth century democratically-elected politicians who, quite apart from their constitutional rights, have really no credentials except goodwill. It is a strange spectacle, and rather repellent' (*Parliamentary Debates* [Official Report], 218 H. C. Deb 5 s. column 1267).

Thus the work begun in 1906 came to nothing, and the Church of England had no new official Prayer Book. A number of factors culminated to bring this about: Anglo-Catholic and evangelical opposition, Davidson's less than wholehearted passionate support for the process and book, and votes from Members of Parliament who were not members of the Church of England or resident in England. The book was also perceived as the 'bishops' book' – a clerical book, with little lay involvement in its compilation. Ultimately, the debacle raised the crucial issue of the relationship of church and state, and whether the church's worship should even be subject to state approval. Other Anglican provinces where no Parliamentary control was involved did manage to introduce new Books of Common Prayer around this time – the Church of South Africa in 1924 and confirmed in 1929, the Church of Ireland in 1926, the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America in 1928, and the Episcopal Church of Scotland in 1929.

In 1929, the archbishops issued a statement that 'during the present emergency' they would give permission for optional use of the book the House of Common had rejected. They appealed to the *ius liturgicum*, 'the exercise of the legal or administrative discretion, which belongs to each Bishop in his own diocese', to allow liturgical variations and authorize services not officially sanctioned by Parliament. Permissible or experimental use of the 1928 book sat side by side the 1662 rites, and demonstrated that liturgical forms could be used without an Act of Uniformity. Most of the services of 1928 were used. The exception was the alternative canon or Prayer of Consecration. In 1931 Dr Arthur Chandler, former bishop of Bloemfontein, suggested use in the Communion service of the ninefold *Kyrie* in place of the Ten Commandments, the Humble Access prayer to follow the Comfortable

Words, and the Prayer of Oblation and Lord's Prayer to follow the Prayer of Consecration. This became known as the 'Interim Rite'.

In 1930 the appointment of the Archbishops' Commission on Church and State was formally announced, and its report appeared in 1935, recommending a Round Table Conference to secure agreement on the proposal that matters of doctrine and worship should not be subject to Parliamentary approval. The Round Table Conference met in 1938, but could not agree, and any serious progress was halted by the Second World War. In 1947 *The Shorter Prayer Book,* based on the commonly used material of 1928, was published on the authority of the archbishops and bishops, and proved quite popular. However, the insights of the Liturgical Movement were by now making an impact on liturgical thinking, and would result in the need to go far beyond slight emendations of the Cranmerian liturgies. To this end, the appointment in 1955 of a Liturgical Commission can be seen as one result of the 1927–1928 debacle; however, it also marked the beginning of a new era of liturgical renewal and revision in the Church of England.

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The Legacy of the Church of South India

Colin Buchanan

The Church of South India (CSI) was formed in 1947 by the union of three denominations: Anglicanism, Methodism, and the South India United Church (itself the result of an earlier union of Presbyterians and Congregationalists). It arose from twenty-eight years of negotiations, beginning in 1919, and included, both in its pre-union drafting of its constitution and its post-union liturgical practice, many issues of worship and sacraments, particularly with regard to texts. It was the first instance of a union of Anglicans and non-episcopalians, of liturgical and non-liturgical churches, and inevitably brought about a revisiting of received traditions.

Elements of the Constitution

The negotiations leading to the form of the constitution were largely concluded by 1932, and its crucial feature, as far as liturgy was concerned, was the 'Pledge'. The heart of the Pledge lay in this sentence: 'Neither forms of worship or ritual, nor a ministry to which they have not been accustomed or to which they conscientiously object, will be imposed upon any congregation.' This meant that non-liturgical congregations would not have liturgical forms imposed upon them, nor would episcopalian congregations have to tolerate ministers who had not been ordained by bishops. With this protection, it was widely hoped that both sides could learn to welcome what they had previously feared. This wording of the Pledge was crucial to gaining the confidence of the participating churches.

Chapter II of the constitution is entitled 'Governing Principles of the Church', and section 12 'The Worship of the Church of South India'. This section confirms the Pledge, looks ahead to Chapter X (entitled 'The Worship of the Church'), and states that if its provisions with regard to the services of ordination and consecration, and the essential elements of other services, especially baptism, Holy Communion, and marriage, are observed, then 'every pastor and congregation shall have freedom to determine the forms of their public worship'. Chapter X itself is largely concerned with Holy Communion; the requisite baptismal formula and the use of creeds get a very brief mention. Section 2 lists nine elements of eucharistic services common to all three participating churches that should have a place in every Communion service. These include 'the thanksgiving for God's glory and goodness and the redemptive work of Christ in His birth, life, death, resurrection and ascension, leading to a reference to His institution of the Sacrament, in which his own words are rehearsed, and to the setting apart of the bread and wine to be used for the purpose of the Sacrament with prayer that we may receive that which our Lord intends to give us in this Sacrament'. It is suggested that this section begin with the *Sursum corda* and the *Sanctus*.

In this text, probably little known outside South India, much was adumbrated that was later to become normative across the Anglican world, quite apart from any impact on the non-Anglican churches involved.

Formal Union

The service for the inauguration of the Church of South India was held in Madras on 27 September 1947. The first part of the service was the actual uniting of the churches by their formal acceptance of the constitution, and the commissioning of existing bishops and presbyters to serve in the united church. The second part was 'The Form of Consecrating the First New Bishops of the Church of South India', which was based very closely upon the Church of England Prayer Book (the 1928 is specifically mentioned), and the eucharistic text, which was presented in outline, conformed exactly to the 1662 order. A unique feature of the CSI, arising from its origins, was (and still is) the participation of presbyters in the laying-on of hands upon those being consecrated as bishops. The booklet also included the service for the ordination of presbyters (the CSI always calls them 'presbyters') and this too followed very closely the provision of 1662/1928 – and, like the consecration of bishops, was in use for the immediate years ahead.

The Eucharistic Rite

The General Synod of the CSI met early in 1948 and appointed a liturgical committee with Leslie Brown as convenor, whose first task was to prepare a eucharistic liturgy to be used when the Synod would next meet in January 1950. As this was the time when people of different traditions would come together, the rite had to be more flexible as to Anglican tradition than the inaugural rites had been. The committee had, of course, an across-the-board membership, but it also used two separate, external sources for inspiration. The first was the Liturgy of St James as used in the Indian Orthodox tradition; in drawing on this liturgy, the committee had ample precedent in the work on the 'Bombay Liturgy' devised in 1920 by J. C. Winslow, E. C. Ratcliff, and others. The second source was Gregory Dix's *The Shape of the Liturgy* (published in 1945); this was the first time Dix's principles were actually used when composing liturgy (although T. S. Garrett does acknowledge in his account, 'We hope we have taken him with a grain of salt'). Synod so welcomed the product that it was promptly authorized 'for optional and experimental use on special occasions' – and, when published as a booklet, the text not only passed into much wider use within the Church of South India, but also became an item of great interest across the world.

The central distinctive features of the CSI Liturgy were these:

(a) it was recommended that the presbyter should face the people;
(b) three readings from scripture were provided: Old Testament, epistle, and gospel;
(c) the intercessions could be extempore, as in the non-liturgical traditions;
(d) a congregational 'peace' appeared for the first time in post-Reformation liturgical writing, with indications on how it was to be conducted (passed along rows or from front to back), and its position in the rite was prior to the sacramental action, as in Justin Martyr;
(e) the shape of the liturgy followed Dix in providing for a sacramental part of the service in this order: preparing the table, thanksgiving, breaking the bread, and distribution (although the rubrics confined the term 'offertory' to the prior collecting of alms and the bringing of them to the table);
(f) the eucharistic prayer was called 'The Thanksgiving', and the term (then almost universal in Anglicanism) 'Prayer of Consecration' did not appear;
(g) an interesting interpolation, drawing in part on Mozarabic sources and said by the whole congregation, introduced the Thanksgiving: 'Be present, be present, O Jesus, thou good High Priest, as thou wast in the midst of thy disciples, and make thyself known to us in the breaking of the bread, who livest and reignest . . . ' (*see* 'From "The Breaking of the Bread", Liturgy of the Church of South India');

From 'The Breaking of the Bread', Liturgy of the Church of South India

A hymn shall now be sung, and the bread and wine for the Communion, together with the alms of the people, shall be brought forward and placed on the Table. Those who bear the offertory shall stand before the Table during the following prayer.

All standing, the presbyter shall say:

Holy Father, who through the blood of thy dear Son hast consecrated for us a new and living way to thy throne of grace, we come to thee through him, unworthy as we are, and we humbly beseech thee to accept and use us and these our gifts for thy glory. All that is in heaven and earth is thine, and of thine own do we give to thee. ℟ Amen.

The bearers of the offertory shall now return to their places. The presbyter and people shall kneel, and say together:

Be present, be present, O Jesus, thou good High Priest, as thou wast in the midst of thy disciples, and make thyself known to us in the breaking of the bread, who livest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Spirit, one God, world without end. Amen.

The rite continues with the salutation, *Sursum corda,* preface, and *Sanctus.*

(h) within the thanksgiving, the congregational responses were drawn from the Syrian Orthodox tradition in India—after the narrative of institution ('Thy death, O Lord, we commemorate, thy resurrection we confess, and thy second coming we await . . . ') and after the *anamnesis* ('We give thanks to thee, we praise thee, we glorify thee, O Lord our God');

(i) the *anamnesis* itself broke new ground by avoiding any suggestion that the heart of the rite is offering the bread and wine (or body and blood of Christ) to God, responding instead to the dominical command 'Do this' by stating simply, 'We do this in remembrance of him.'

The Liturgical Committee worked on this rite in the following years. It first provided the text in the four main languages of South India—Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam, and Canarese (or Kannarese); it then effected minor changes for the 1954 edition, and finally incorporated the rite with seasonal provision into the CSI's *Book of Common Worship,* published in 1963.

While it is difficult to assign cause and effect, the overall impact upon Anglican worship

A Post-Communion Prayer

The Church of South India rite provided two alternative prayers following reception of Communion, of which the second matched the corresponding prayer in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. This is the first alternative.

O almighty God, our heavenly Father, who hast accepted us as thy children in thy beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord, and hast fed us with the spiritual food of his most precious Body and Blood, giving us the forgiveness of our sins and the promise of everlasting life; we thank and praise thee for these inestimable benefits, and we offer and present unto thee ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a holy and living sacrifice, which is our reasonable service. Grant us grace not to be conformed to this world, but to be transformed by the renewing of our minds, that we may learn what is thy good and perfect will, and so obey thee here on earth, that we may at the last rejoice with all thy saints in thy heavenly kingdom; through Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Spirit, one God, for ever.

People: Amen. Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be unto our God for ever and ever. Amen.

of the CSI Liturgy's eucharistic principles has been enormous. Leslie Brown even took the view that it was CSI precedent that led the Church of Rome to use congregational acclamations after the narrative of institution and to restore a congregational greeting of peace. Brown's personal influence was strong; he became bishop of Uganda in 1952 and was appointed secretary of the section on liturgical revision at the 1958 Lambeth Conference. A large number of the CSI rite's features emerged in Lambeth's recommendations, although, interestingly, the peace was not mentioned. It is a matter of history how, after 1958, the various elements then found their way into Anglican liturgical revisions, not least through Leslie Brown, who was himself the principal drafter for *A Liturgy for Africa* (1964). This rite embodied quite a few of Lambeth's recommendations and, although it was not much used in the provinces of Africa, its text was circulated freely round the Communion and provided a new point of departure.

Ordination

While the initial ordination rites of the Church of South India were based heavily upon the 1662 Prayer Book, the Liturgy Committee worked in the 1950s on a new form for ordinations, and its proposals were authorized by the General Synod in 1958. They passed into immediate use, and took their place in *The Book of Common Worship* in 1963.

In the 1662 texts the bishop was seated and concerned above all with the handing on of authority; it can be argued that ordination was conducted by the laying-on of hands without prayer. The heart of these new services, however, was a great ordination prayer that provided both the framework and the accompaniment for the laying-on of hands. In the process of this major change, not only was the emphasis of 'Take thou authority' transmuted into prayer, but also the charge 'Whose sins you forgive they are forgiven' disappeared from view. Taken from its subsidiary role in medieval ordinals and made central by Thomas Cranmer, this charge was not integral to the pattern of ordination being devised, and was indeed open to serious misunderstanding.

This major shift was also highlighted at the 1958 Lambeth Conference, though without the direct participation of any bishop who had been on the CSI Liturgy Committee during the mid-1950s. The CSI ordination rites then came before the joint Anglican-Methodist Unity Commission in England which, between 1965 and 1968, sought to create a common ordinal for the two churches as part of the scheme of union then being prepared. The scheme failed but the ordinal, based very closely on the CSI ordination rites, was well received. From there it was but a short step to the provision for the Church of England itself of a 'Series 3' ordinal in 1978; it took its place in the *Alternative Service Book 1980* of the Church of England, and is being marginally revised at the time of writing.

Other Liturgical Work

The Liturgy Committee had plenty of other work to do in the years 1948 to 1962, including rites for baptism, confirmation, marriage, and burial. Each was compiled in English, translated into the four main languages, and duly incorporated into the 1963 book. Between 1962 and 1964 the committee then worked on a supplement of services that was duly authorized by Synod in 1964 and published as *The Book of Common Worship: Supplement Part One.* It contained a range of intercessions and orders for harvest, for the induction of ministers, and for the dedication of churches. A fuller, unnumbered supplement was published in 1967.

From 1968 onwards English-speaking liturgical churches around the world began to address God as 'you' rather than as 'thee' or 'thou'. While the four vernacular languages were used for most services in the Church of South India, which needed no comparable updating, a sense of lagging behind in English-language usage resulted in a somewhat revised text in 1972. Since it was still western in tone, an experimental Eucharist was devised in English in

1984 – less to modernize the English than to make the whole rite more Indian. The very particularity of the Indian context meant that its relevance to the Anglican world had to do with indigenization rather than the shaping of this or that rite or text. Yet just as people were free to continue with the 1662 and other books after the CSI Liturgy was first published, so in English-language uses in India today the 1950 text itself proves very enduring.

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The Liturgical Movement and Its Consequences

John F. Baldovin, s.j.

A Methodist liturgical scholar, the late James White, once wrote: 'Why teach ecumenism when you can teach worship?' It is difficult to imagine those words being uttered before the Second Vatican Council – at least if Roman Catholics were meant to be included. By the mid-1960s much had changed, and the liturgical renewal undertaken in the Roman Catholic Church was to have broad and deep ramifications for liturgical reform in the Anglican Communion. The mutual influence between these traditions goes back much further than Vatican II, however. This article will trace the relationship between the revisions of the various Books of Common Prayer and the Liturgical Movement, from its nineteenth-century roots through its twentieth-century flourishing, together with the 'return to the sources' represented by the revival of patristic scholarship and the Council's effects on recent Anglican liturgical reforms. The result should illustrate White's point that the understanding of liturgy goes a long way towards reconciliation among Christians.

The Roots of the Liturgical Movement

As with most intellectual and ecclesiastical movements, the Liturgical Movement is not easily defined as a movement. Certainly it was never strictly speaking an organization, although it eventually comprised many organizations and societies. Nor is it very easy to define exactly when the Liturgical Movement began. While there have always been scholars and pastors, like Theodore of Mopsuestia (fourth century), Amalar of Metz (ninth century) and Durandus of Mende (thirteen century), who have been concerned with studying and explaining the church's worship, the roots of the modern Liturgical Movement can be sought in the concern for early sources that characterized the Renaissance and the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Although modern critical historical method had not yet been developed, even the Council of Trent desired to reform the liturgy on the basis of the ancient liturgies. The sixteenth-century reformers also wanted to return not only to the biblical foundations of liturgy but also to the authority of the church fathers.

We come closer to the modern Liturgical Movement, however, with the collection and study of the ancient and medieval liturgies that began in the eighteenth century, around the same time that modern scriptural criticism was being developed. Here primary mention must be given to the French Benedictine Maurists, especially Jean Mabillon and his student, Edmond Martène. Another editor of early liturgies was Ludivico Muratori. Jacques Goar, Eusebius Renaudot, and Joseph Assemani were seventeenth- and eighteenth-century editors of the liturgies of the eastern church. The ancient liturgies, especially the Jerusalem Liturgy of St James and the Syrian Liturgy of the *Apostolic Constitutions,* Book VIII, were studied and employed by eighteenth-century Anglican liturgical scholars like Hamon L'Estrange and Edward Stephens. These liturgies figured significantly in the work of Nonjurors such as Thomas Brett, author of *Dissertation on the Ancient Liturgies* (1720). Lesser known perhaps are the reforms of the Jansenist Synod of Pistoia (1796), which among other things included a

radical pruning of the Roman calendar, a single altar in every church, and a severe reduction in the multiplication of Mass celebrations.

The immediate roots of the twentieth-century Liturgical Movement can be found in the remarkable revival of interest in both the patristic and medieval periods that occurred during the nineteenth century. The revival in patristic studies represented by Edward Bouverie Pusey, John Henry Newman, and other members of the Oxford Movement in the 1830s and 1840s, as well as the medieval ideals espoused by John Mason Neale, Benjamin Webb, and their associates in the Cambridge Movement, is detailed elsewhere (*see* White, 'Architecture', pp. 111–14). At the very same time, Roman Catholic theologians in the Tübingen school were beginning to recover patristic ways of doing theology over against a scholasticism that had become calcified. The later nineteenth century was also the period of the discovery of a number of important sources, such as the fourth-century travel diary of Egeria, the fifth-century Armenian Lectionary for Jerusalem, and the *Apostolic Tradition* ascribed to Hippolytus. These sources were to prove extremely important for the development of ecumenical consensus on liturgy. Anglican scholarship also had a major impact on the recovery of patristic and medieval liturgical sources, with contributors such as F. E. Brightman (*Liturgies: Eastern and Western;* 1896), W. H. Frere (*The Use of Sarum;* 1898–1901), Cuthbert Atchley (*Ordo Romanus Primus;* 1905), and J. Wickham Legg (*The Sarum Missal;* 1916).

Perhaps the most significant precursor of the contemporary Liturgical Movement in the nineteenth century was the recovery of Benedictine monasticism and Gregorian chant at the monastery of Solesmes in France by Prosper Guéranger in 1837. Guéranger is a controversial figure since his models were medieval and his Ultramontanism made him combat neo-Gallican elements in the French church. All the same, he was almost single-handedly responsible for a revival of interest in liturgical sources and especially the Christian year. Finally, one of the German Benedictine Maurist Congregation's monasteries, Maria Laach, was to become a vital centre of the Liturgical Movement in the twentieth century.

The Twentieth-Century Roman Catholic Liturgical Movement

By now it should be clear that the roots of the contemporary Liturgical Movement are complex. In addition to the revival in patristic studies and development of the historical-critical method in biblical research, there arose a sense of disenchantment with the industrialized mass society that characterized so much of northern Europe in the nineteenth century. Nowhere was that discontent clearer than in the Anglo-Catholic ritualists in England, like Father A. H. Stanton of St Alban's, Holborn, or Father Robert Dolling of Portsmouth in the latter part of the nineteenth century. These pioneers understood the corporate dimension of worship as intimately linked with a critique of a dehumanizing society. Therefore it is no surprise that much of the impetus for the revival of the liturgy came from northern Europe. There are three major streams that contributed to the movement that came to fruition at the Second Vatican Council: the movement in Belgium, the movement in Germany and Austria, and certain papal initiatives.

No assessment of the modern Liturgical Movement would be complete without mentioning the contribution of Lambert Beauduin, a Belgian diocesan priest who became a Benedictine monk at the Abbey of Mont César in Louvain in 1905. The hallmark of the twentieth-century Liturgical Movement – full, conscious, and active participation by all the members of the worshipping assembly – finds its first important representative in Beauduin. The earlier Liturgical Movement had concentrated on historical sources and the twentieth-century movement continued this trend, but was also concerned with the idea of the liturgy as participative. This conviction was to become central to the promoters of Prayer Book revision as well. Like the Anglo-Catholic urban ritualists, Roman Catholic pioneers like Beauduin stressed the intimate relation between liturgy and society – the liturgy presented the world the way God wishes it to look, and that 'liturgical world' is a profound critique of

a dehumanizing culture. Therefore one of Beauduin's major projects was a popular monthly missal with translation of the Mass and popular articles for the ordinary faithful. It is also important to note, in light of White's comment that Beauduin was also committed to ecumenism, founding a joint Roman Catholic/Orthodox monastery at Amay-sur-Meuse (now Chevetogne) in Belgium.

Another major contributor to the contemporary Liturgical Movement was the Beuronese monastery of Maria Laach, where Abbott Ildephons Herwegen founded the Institute of Liturgical and Monastic Studies in 1931. Maria Laach was to become the centre of a great deal of scholarly liturgical activity and was also to produce a theologian, Odo Casel, whose work, arguing that the mysteries of Christ's life are made present in the liturgy (*Mysterienlehre*) as it is celebrated now, had a profound influence on later liturgical theologians and especially on Vatican II's Liturgy Constitution. The Austrian Augustinian Pius Parsch was another great promoter of liturgical participation in the pre-Vatican II period, as was the Munich theologian Romano Guardini, who started university youth Masses in the 1920s and 1930s.

Roman Catholic historical scholarship on the liturgy also advanced during the twentieth century. In a way this progress was ironic. Dogmatic and speculative theology became suspect during and after the Modernist crisis at the beginning of the century, and therefore much of the energy of scholars turned to linguistic and historical studies. For example, Josef Jungmann, whose *Missarum Sollemnia: The Mass of the Roman Rite* (1949) proved to be so influential in the liturgical reform inspired by Vatican II, began his career in catechetical theology but changed to liturgy; the former was judged to be too dangerous a field. The Roman *ordines* (medieval books of rubrics) and many of the ancient sacramentaries were edited by Michel Andrieu and Hieronymus Engberding respectively. An important centre for liturgical research, the Institut Supérieur de Liturgie associated with Centre Pastorale Liturgique, was opened after World War II in Paris.

A further contribution that was to have a significant impact both in Roman Catholic liturgical circles and on ecumenical scholarship was that of the German lay liturgical philologist and historian Anton Baumstark. Baumstark's work, especially the much translated *Comparative Liturgy* (1939), described a method of comparative liturgical history that helped scholars to transcend the narrow confines of confessional history and thus to see the broader sweep of the history of worship and a number of rules of liturgical development. Among other things Baumstark maintained that liturgical evolution moved from 'earlier variety to later uniformity, and also from austerity or simplicity and brevity to richness and prolixity', although he qualified both assertions. He also described two laws operative in liturgical evolution: a law of organic development, by which later additions to the primitive liturgies tended to strangle earlier elements, like weeds in a garden, and (somewhat paradoxically) a law of the retention of the most primitive elements on the most solemn days. Baumstark's disciples were to include historians who became enormously influential in the ecumenical liturgical consensus after Vatican II: Bernard Botte, Juan Mateos, Robert Taft, and Gabriele Winkler.

It is extremely doubtful that the Liturgical Movement could have been so successful were it not for support from the papacy. Beginning with Pius X's plea for the restoration of Gregorian chant in 1905 and his recommendation for more frequent reception of Holy Communion, the Liturgical Movement had backing in the highest circles of the Roman Catholic Church. In fact the principle of active participation of the faithful in the liturgy as the 'foremost and indispensable' font of the Christian spirit, a principle championed by the Vatican II Liturgy Constitution (#14), was coined by Pius X in his appeal to restore Gregorian chant. After the Second World War, Pope Pius XII continued support of the Liturgical Movement with his encyclical letter on the liturgy, *Mediator Dei* (1947), relaxation of the rules of fasting before communion, approval of a new Latin Psalter based on the Hebrew (1945), allowing the use of the vernacular in certain rituals (though not the Mass or the Divine Office), and restoration of the rites of the Easter Vigil (1953) and Holy Week (1956).

Anglican Currents

The first part of the twentieth century was also an active time for Anglicans who had caught the liturgical spirit. An important organization, the Henry Bradshaw Society, had been founded in 1890 to publish liturgical texts, and it continues to do so up to the present. Even more influential has been the Alcuin Club, founded in 1897, with its significant impact on Prayer Book reform in England and on Roman Catholic scholarship as well. Among this society's most influential publications were books on Christian initiation by E. C. Whitaker, J. D. C. Fisher, and Peter Jagger. Also important were Cuthbert Atchley's work on the *epiclesis,* as well as later Boone Porter's edition of western ordination prayers and Kenneth Stevenson's study of nuptial blessings. Finally, the work by Bernard Wigan and Colin Buchanan in collecting and publishing Anglican liturgies in English should be mentioned. It has helped scholars and liturgical reformers alike.

One of the most significant contributions to the reform and renewal of the Prayer Book was the notion that the Eucharist is primarily an action and belongs at the centre of the church's life of worship. This contribution was made in the 1930s by a priest of the Society of the Sacred Mission, Gabriel Hebert. Hebert was strongly influenced both by the Scandinavian liturgical movement (especially by Yngve Brilioth, whose *Eucharistic Faith and Practice: Catholic and Evangelical* he translated) and the European Roman Catholic liturgical movement as represented by the monks of Maria Laach. Hebert's *Liturgy and Society* (1935) is widely regarded as one of the most significant books of the twentieth-century Anglican reform.

The contemporary Anglican liturgical movement also took root in North America, beginning with William Palmer Ladd of Berkeley Divinity School in New Haven. Ladd introduced American Episcopalians to the important theological work of Abbot Herwegen and Odo Casel, and the same influence can also be traced to one of his most influential disciples, Massey H. Shepherd, who had studied the German Catholic liturgists even before meeting him. Shepherd, long-time professor of liturgics at the Episcopal Theological School and then the Church Divinity School of the Pacific, together with Samuel West, John Patterson, and John Keene, founded Associated Parishes for Liturgy and Mission in 1946. Associated Parishes, still a vital force in the Episcopal Church, had as its first goal the restoration of the centrality of Sunday morning Eucharist. In England a similar movement, Parish and People, was founded in 1949 for the same purpose.

Associated Parishes' members, especially Shepherd, were to have an important role in the preparation of the 1979 American Book of Common Prayer. The Roman Catholic revival of the catechumenate (*see* p. 257) influenced Associated Parishes to work for its renewal in the Episcopal Church as well. Well before Vatican II, however, Anglicans had shared research into the liturgy as well as a vision of the participative nature of the liturgy. Shepherd, in commenting on the ecumenical mix of the Liturgical Movement, spoke of 'a community of scholars that transcends confessional loyalties'. Writing in 1959, prior to the beginning of Vatican II, Shepherd noted the informality of the Liturgical Movement, arguing that mutual influence occurred 'through an indefinable free play of ideas and personal acquaintances. It rarely involves inter-church group participation.' This situation was, of course, to change with Vatican II and the post-conciliar Roman Catholic liturgical renewal.

Before turning to Vatican II, however, it is necessary to take note of an author who is 'unquestionably the one who has exercised the greatest influence not only within the Anglican Communion but also outside it' (Paul Bradshaw, 'Gregory Dix', in Irvine, 11). An Anglican Benedictine of Nashdom Abbey, Gregory Dix (1901–1952) made important contributions in the field of the study of confirmation and early Christian ministry. He also produced an important edition of the *Apostolic Tradition*, which was commonly but mistakenly attributed to Hippolytus of Rome. But his most important and influential work was *The Shape of the Liturgy*, published in 1945. Dix was a fierce critic of Archbishop Cranmer's liturgical reforms,

Gregory Dix on 'Do This'

Among the most memorable of many memorable passages in Gregory Dix's *Shape of the Liturgy* is this paragraph near the end of the book, about the command to 'do this for the remembrance of me'.

Was ever another command so obeyed? For century after century, spreading slowly to every continent and country and among every race on earth, this action has been done, in every conceivable human circumstance, for every conceivable human need from infancy and before it to extreme old age and after it, from the pinnacles of earthly greatness to the refuge of fugitives in the caves and dens of the earth. Men have found no better thing than this to do for kings at their crowning and for criminals going to the scaffold; for armies in triumph or for a bride and bridegroom in a little country church; for the proclamation of a dogma or for a good crop of wheat; for the wisdom of the Parliament of a mighty nation or for a sick old woman afraid to die; for a schoolboy sitting an examination or for Columbus setting out to discover America; for the famine of whole provinces or for the soul of a dead lover; in thankfulness because my father did not die of pneumonia; for a village headman much tempted to return to fetich because the yams had failed; because the Turk was at the gates of Vienna; for the repentance of Margaret; for the settlement of a strike; for a son for a barren woman; for Captain so-and-so, wounded and prisoner of war; while the lions roared in the nearby amphitheatre; on the beach at Dunkirk; while the hiss of scythes in the thick June grass came faintly through the windows of the church; tremulously, by an old monk on the fiftieth anniversary of his vows; furtively, by an exiled bishop who had hewn timber all day in a prison camp near Murmansk; gorgeously, for the canonization of S. Joan of Arc—one could fill many pages with the reasons why men have done this, and not tell a hundredth part of them. And best of all, week by week and month by month, on a hundred thousand successive Sundays, faithfully, unfailingly, across all the parishes of christendom, the pastors have done this just to *make* the *plebs sancta Dei*—the holy common people of God.

especially the 1552 Prayer Book, and of what he considered the Zwinglian theology behind them. He argued that the origins of the eucharistic meal lay not in the Passover seder but rather in the Jewish fellowship-meal, the *chabûrah*. Dix also emphasized the length of time it took for the Liturgy of the Word to be joined to that of the Eucharist. His book is filled not only with memorable passages but also with theories, like his treatment of the development of the liturgical calendar, that have prompted a large number of books and articles in response.

Dix almost single-handedly put an end to the search for a primitive eucharistic prayer, or *anaphora*. No, he argued, the central question about the Eucharist is not related to the texts of the prayers, but rather to a universal shape, a 'four-action' shape that the primitive church adapted from the seven actions reported of Jesus at the Last Supper in the synoptic gospels. The Eucharist is fundamentally constituted by taking (offertory), blessing (eucharistic prayer), breaking (fraction), and giving (communion). Those traditions that have rearranged this shape (as in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer) or omitted parts of it have betrayed the universal tradition of the church. Even though individual elements of the argument have been questioned (like the nature and centrality of the offertory), everyone would agree that Dix's fourfold shape has affected every subsequent liturgical reform of the eucharistic liturgy. The pattern is clear, for example, in the second order for Holy Communion in *A Prayer Book for Australia* (1995) and Order One of the Church of England's *Common Worship* (2000). One could even argue that the clarity with which the four-action shape can be observed in the post-Vatican II Mass of Paul VI can be attributed to the consensus that Dix created (*see also* Buchanan, 'Change', pp. 233–34).

The Second Vatican Council: Constitution on the Liturgy

For Roman Catholics, several hundred years of scholarship and at least a half-century of critical reflection on the participative aspects of pastoral liturgy and liturgical theology found

their culmination in the Liturgy Constitution of Vatican II. Although it will not be dealt with explicitly here, we should also note that the Council's ecumenical opening made it much easier for the results of Vatican II to be appreciated by other Christian churches. The fact that the Council produced a decree on ecumenism, that a number of ecumenical observers were invited to the Council sessions, and that a department for ecumenism was created in the Vatican made a kind of cooperation possible that pioneers like Massey Shepherd could have hardly imagined.

A number of features of the Constitution can be considered validations of Reformation insights and practices. As such it could be said that the influence ran from the Protestant and Anglican churches rather than vice versa. These features included: the introduction of the vernacular (#36); the desire that the treasures of the Bible be opened up to include a richer portion of the scriptures (#24, 51); an insistence on the centrality of Sunday as the Lord's Day (#106); and a renewed emphasis on the importance of preaching (#35, 53). The introduction of the vernacular could be considered the *sine qua non* of mutual influence of liturgical theory and practical cooperation among the churches, as we shall see below. To be sure, the Constitution itself did not envision that the entire liturgy would be translated into the language of the people (*see* #36:1). But within a few years of the Council's end it became obvious that translation of all the rites was the only reasonable implementation of the Constitution's agenda.

The Liturgy Constitution served as the vindication of those who understood the liturgy as the common action of believers. Its charter statement reflected the language of Pius X (1905) about liturgy as the indispensable source of the Christian spirit but made it even stronger by grounding participation in the baptismal status of Christians: 'The Church

Vatican II on Liturgy

This is an excerpt from the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium,* promulgated by Pope Paul VI on 4 December 1963.

8. In the earthly liturgy we take part in a foretaste of that heavenly liturgy which is celebrated in the holy city of Jerusalem toward which we journey as pilgrims, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God, a minister of the holies and of the true tabernacle [Rev. 21:2; Col. 3:1; Heb. 8:2]; we sing a hymn to the Lord's glory with all the warriors of the heavenly army; venerating the memory of the saints, we hope for some part and fellowship with them; we eagerly await the Saviour, Our Lord Jesus Christ, until He, our life, shall appear and we too will appear with Him in glory [Phil. 3:20; Col. 3:4].

9. The sacred liturgy does not exhaust the entire activity of the Church. Before men can come to the liturgy they must be called to faith and to conversion: 'How then are they to call upon him in whom they have not yet believed? But how are they to believe him whom they have not heard? And how are they to hear if no one preaches? And how are men to preach unless they be sent?' (Rom. 10:14–15). . . .

10. Nevertheless the liturgy is the summit toward which the activity of the Church is directed; at the same time it is the font from which all her power flows. For the aim and object of apostolic works is that all who are made sons of God by faith and baptism should come together to praise God in the midst of His Church, to take part in the sacrifice, and to eat the Lord's supper.

The liturgy in its turn moves the faithful, filled with 'the paschal sacraments', to be 'one in holiness'; it prays that 'they may hold fast in their lives to what they have grasped by their faith'; the renewal in the eucharist of the covenant between the Lord and man draws the faithful into the compelling love of Christ and sets them on fire. From the liturgy, therefore, and especially from the eucharist, as from a font, grace is poured forth upon us; and the sanctification of men in Christ and the glorification of God, to which all other activities of the Church are directed as toward their end, is achieved in the most efficacious possible way.

earnestly desires that all the faithful be led to that full, conscious, and active participation in liturgical celebrations called for by the very nature of the liturgy. Such participation by the Christian people as "a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people" . . . is their right by reason of their baptism' (*Sacrosanctum Concilium,* the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, #14; see #30). The Constitution also supported the controversial theological approach of Odo Casel's Mystery Theology by quoting a prayer from the Roman Missal to the effect that the liturgy makes 'the work of our redemption a present actuality'. This prayer reflects Casel's often cited line from an Ascension sermon of Pope Leo the Great, that 'what was visible in the Redeemer has passed over into the sacraments'. Appreciation of this theology enabled ecumenical progress on difficult issues like eucharistic memorial and sacrifice.

A number of other features in the Constitution bear mentioning, since they added to the general atmosphere of liturgical reform and renewal and thus foreshadowed many of the features of the contemporary generation of Anglican liturgical books. First, the document insists on the public and communal nature of liturgical services; they are not private functions, but belong to the whole church. Therefore provision was to be made for rubrics that involved the people, an innovation in post-Reformation Roman Catholic liturgy. Second, the Constitution's program had a charter for inculturation (#37–40). This has clearly had an impact on the thinking of various Anglican Churches, such as those of New Zealand and Australia, which have seriously incorporated inculturated aspects into their recent books. Finally, the Constitution both affirmed the liturgical project of the sixteenth-century Reformation and pointed a way forward for the updating of liturgical language, which will be dealt with at greater length below. In prose that could have been written by Archbishop Cranmer, it stated, 'The rites should be marked by a noble simplicity; they should be short, clear, and unencumbered by useless repetitions; they should be within the people's powers of comprehension and as a rule not require much explanation' (#24).

The Post-Vatican II Roman Catholic Liturgical Reform

Just as the fathers at the Council of Trent had left the detailed work of liturgical revision to particular commissions in the late sixteenth century, so the work of actually reforming the liturgy was left to the Roman Curia after Vatican II. Every aspect of Roman Catholic liturgy from the Eucharist to the dedication of churches and rites of exorcism was reviewed and updated. For this project the Roman Curia enlisted the aid of a large number of historical, theological, and pastoral experts. The process was governed by the *Consilium ad exsequendam Constitutionem de sacra liturgia* (Commission for the Implementation of the Liturgy Constitution). This commission was eventually replaced by the Congregation of Rites (whose name has subsequently been changed to the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments). Of particular interest here is the fact that Pope Paul VI permitted a number of non-Roman Catholic observers to be invited to the meetings of the commission. Ronald Jasper, chair of the Church of England Liturgical Commission, and Massey Shepherd, a major architect of the revised American Prayer Book, were appointed as representatives of the Anglican Communion. Thus two of the most significant late twentieth-century Anglican liturgical reformers had an intimate knowledge of the workings of the Roman Catholic liturgical renewal. Later (and to this day) the Church of England's liturgical commission has a Roman Catholic participant, while the Liturgical Commission of the Roman Catholic Bishops' Conference of England and Wales has an Anglican participant.

There are at least four areas in which the influence of Roman Catholic reform can be indirectly discerned in the contemporary revisions of the Prayer Book in the churches of the Anglican Communion: the Sunday eucharistic lectionary, the eucharistic prayers, the Christian initiation of adults, and liturgical language.

The Lectionary for Sunday Eucharist

The Roman lectionary system had remained fundamentally the same since the seventh or eighth century. It was based on four major liturgical seasons–Advent, Christmas, Lent, and Easter–and included a series of Sundays after Epiphany and after Pentecost (the exact number depending on the date of Easter). There were very few lessons from the Old Testament. Each Sunday was provided with an epistle (taken from the non-gospel New Testament books) and a gospel. The sixteenth-century Book of Common Prayer retained the Roman calendar pattern, complete with Ember Days and the season of Septuagesima preceding Lent, and much of the content of the lessons, especially the epistles. The lectionary clearly needed revision given the Liturgy Constitution's mandate to provide a 'richer share' of God's word for the faithful.

Bugnini regards the revision of the lectionary as 'one of the most difficult tasks of the entire reform'. The result of the work was a three-year Sunday lectionary based on a Christocentric principle; it is centred around the gospels, with Old Testament readings chosen for their correspondence with the gospel lesson of the day. The second reading, from the non-gospel New Testament material, followed an independent, sequential course of readings–at least in the 'Sundays of the Year' (before Lent and after Pentecost). The three-year cycle was based on the synoptics (Matthew in Year A, Mark in Year B, Luke in Year C), with Johannine material included in the major seasons (especially Lent and Easter). John 6 was to be read over five post-Pentecost Sundays in the year of the shortest gospel (Mark). The Acts of the Apostles was retained as the first reading during the Easter season.

The Church of England was slow to adopt this new Roman pattern. In the late 1960s it authorized a two-year Sunday lectionary based on a proposal from the Joint Liturgical Group. This became the lectionary of the *Alternative Service Book* in 1980 but was later to prove idiosyncratic and unsatisfactory. In the course of the 1980s some began to recommend the adoption of the Roman lectionary instead. (The daily Roman Catholic eucharistic lectionary had already been approved in the *Alternative Service Book*.) Eventually the *Revised Common Lectionary*, a project of the North American ecumenical Consultation on Common Texts, was proposed. It takes the Roman Catholic three-year lectionary as its base with two significant alterations. First, it puts the gospel of the Transfiguration on the last Sunday before Lent (instead of the Roman position on the Second Sunday of Lent); and second, it provides a continuous reading of Old Testament narratives independent of the gospels for the Sundays after Pentecost (now called Ordinary Time). Thus congregations have the choice of either a 'continuous' or a 'related' series of (Old Testament) lessons.

The 1979 American Book of Common Prayer adopted the Roman lectionary pattern with very few alterations, and the Episcopal Church has subsequently allowed the use of the *Revised Common Lectionary*. Both the Canadian *Book of Alternative Services* (1985) and the newest Australian Prayer Book follow the Common Lectionary.

It seems safe to argue that, despite the differences in detail, the revised liturgical books of the Anglican Communion have been inspired by the bold Roman Catholic reform of the lectionary. Perhaps such a radical revision of what the churches read at Sunday Eucharist would not have been likely at all without the Roman reform. (*See also* Mitchell, 'Calendar', pp. 478–80.)

Eucharistic Prayers

Another major feature of the Roman Catholic liturgical renewal had to do with the eucharistic prayer. The Roman canon had been the sole prayer of the Roman rite for about fifteen hundred years. The reformers of the sixteenth century abandoned the canon because of its sacrificial terminology; some, like the Lutherans and Anglicans, had retained the preface and *Sanctus*. While the 1549 Book of Common Prayer did contain a eucharistic prayer

similar to the Roman canon, it did not survive the objections of Bucer on the left or Gardiner on the right and was greatly altered in the 1552 book (*see* Jeanes, 'Cranmer', pp. 31–33). Much historical scholarship had shown that the eastern churches as well as the non-Roman churches of the West (Gallican and Mozarabic) employed more than one eucharistic prayer. In addition, the Roman canon was under fire from Catholic theologians like Hans Küng, who judged it to be inadequate as contemporary prayer. The *Consilium* dealt with a number of proposals for reforming the Roman canon, but eventually Pope Paul VI decided that it would be retained (with some minor editing) and that several new eucharistic prayers would be added. This resulted in the creation of three new eucharistic prayers for the Roman rite, two of them based on ancient models (the *Apostolic Tradition*, and the Alexandrian Anaphora of St Basil). Eventually five more prayers were added to the Roman rite's library of eucharistic prayers: two for reconciliation, three for use with children, and one for special occasions.

The Roman Church's decision to expand the number of eucharistic prayers was a major landmark in the modern history of the liturgy. Implicitly such a move acknowledged Dix's insight that the search for the *one* correct (or original) eucharistic prayer was fruitless and that it was the shape or structure of the liturgy that mattered. Other churches were quick to follow Rome's lead. The 1979 American Prayer Book has five prayers. Two of them follow ancient models even more closely than the Roman prayers do. Prayer B is an adaptation of the *anaphora* from the *Apostolic Tradition* (though with an added *Sanctus*) and Prayer D is a much more faithful rendering of Alexandrian Basil (since it has only one *epiclesis,* and that follows the institution narrative). The 1995 Australian Prayer Book also has five eucharistic prayers, including the 1662 prayer. *Common Worship* has a total of twelve. It is remarkable that one of the contemporary prayers of Order One (Prayer G) contains a good deal of the wording of a prayer that had been proposed by the Roman Catholic International Commission on English in the Liturgy (ICEL) and was rejected by the Vatican (*see* p. 416). Contemporary Anglican Prayer Books have also followed the Roman reform in including acclamations for the people (such as 'Christ has died, Christ is risen, Christ will come again') within their eucharistic prayers. In addition, although not technically part of the eucharistic prayers, the blessing formulas of the Roman rite presentation of the gifts are an option in *Common Worship*.

Despite these similarities there still remain differences. There is no common agreement on the wording of the formula of offering or oblation after the institution narrative. While the American and Canadian books have employed terminology of offering the bread and cup or offering the gifts, the English and Australian books use circumlocutions like 'we celebrate, with this bread and this cup, his one perfect and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the world' (*A Prayer Book for Australia*).

The Christian Initiation of Adults

Undoubtedly one of the major achievements of the post-conciliar Roman reform was the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults (1972). As the Liturgy Constitution mandated, 'the catechumenate for adults, divided into several stages, is to be restored and put into use at the discretion of the local Ordinary' (#64, 66). Originally intended mainly for use in 'mission' countries, it soon became popular elsewhere, especially in the United States. The catechumenate consists of a number of well-articulated rites and stages which might last over a period of several years and normally culminates in the integral celebration of baptism, confirmation, and first Eucharist at the annual Easter Vigil. Contemporary Anglican liturgical reform has provided for the celebration of baptism (and confirmation) at the Easter Vigil as well as for the renewal of baptismal vows (*see* Meyers, 'Initiation', pp. 493–95). The recovery of an extended process for adult Christian initiation is very much related to the patristic revival and, in particular, to the discovery of the *Apostolic Tradition*.

Interest in the catechumenate in the Episcopal Church in the United States has caught on mainly through the efforts of Associated Parishes. A clear example of this influence can be found in the section 'Preparation of Adults for Holy Baptism' in the Episcopal *Book of Occasional Services*. The Church of England's *Common Worship* now has suggested material for the catechumenate as well.

Liturgical Language

Ever since the Vatican II Liturgy Constitution approved the use of vernacular languages in the Roman Catholic liturgy, language has become a major concern for all of the major western churches, not only those of the Reformation. The International Commission on English in the Liturgy (ICEL) was formed in 1963 during the second session of the Council. Initially it was formed by ten national Roman Catholic Bishops' Conferences (Australia, Canada, England and Wales, India, Ireland, New Zealand, Pakistan, Scotland, South Africa, and the United States of America). The Philippines joined in 1967. ICEL became a major force in the reform and renewal of the liturgy, not only for Roman Catholics but also for the whole English-speaking Christian world.

Fairly soon English-language ecumenical groups began working on common texts. Among these were the North American Consultation on Common Texts (CCT, founded in the mid-1960s) and the British Joint Liturgical Group (JLG, which began in 1963 and was later joined by the Roman Catholic Church). The JLG and CCT joined to form the International Consultation on English Texts (ICET) in 1968. This group published *Prayers We Have in Common* in 1970 (with a second edition in 1975 and a third entitled *Praying Together* in 1988). These translations, including the 'Glory to God in the Highest' and the 'Holy, Holy, Holy', are still in use by many English-speaking churches. A successor to ICET was formed in 1985 as the English Language Liturgical Consultation (ELLC). ELLC is an illustrative representative of the fruit of ecumenical cooperation in the modern Liturgical Movement. Its members include the Association of Irish Liturgists, the Australian Consultation on Liturgy, CCT, ICEL, JLG, and the Joint Liturgical Group New Zealand. ICEL is, of course, Roman Catholic but the others are all ecumenical groups.

The search for contemporary language that is reverential, elegant, and communicative at the same time is a daunting task for all the churches. It is one of the major issues that fuels opposition to modern revision of Anglican liturgy (*see* Buchanan, 'Preserving', pp. 264–67). But perhaps a hopeful sign that a kind of ecumenical consensus is developing is the 2003 publication of a collection of scripture-related collects for the three-year lectionary cycle in England. Entitled *Opening Prayers,* this collection was originally put together by ICEL, rejected by the Vatican, and subsequently offered to the English-speaking Christian world at large. Given modern technology it would be surprising if similar ecumenical endeavours did not ensue.

The Liturgical Movement, Ecumenism, and the Future

It should be evident by now that White was correct in 1980 when he related ecumenism so closely with the study, teaching, and promotion of the liturgy. A kind of ecumenical consensus about what is important in liturgy, especially with regard to the value of intentional and active participation in worship, has developed over the last century or so. For example, White's paper was originally delivered at a meeting of the North American Academy of Liturgy, an association founded in 1975 with the intention of promoting the liturgy in all of the churches and sharing research among scholars of every Christian denomination. Eventually the organization became inter-religious as well, with Jewish scholars joining the conversation.

In addition, the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches has en-

couraged ecumenical conversation on the liturgy with the publication of its document: *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* (Lima, 1982). The International Anglican Liturgical Consultation (IALC), begun in 1983, meets every two years on topics of interest across the Anglican Communion. It regularly involves ecumenical partners in its deliberations and normally meets in conjunction with another international and ecumenical academy, the *Societas Liturgica,* founded in the mid-1960s. This group convenes every two years to discuss a theme of mutual interest among the churches. Recent congresses have dealt with liturgical theology, liturgical music, liturgies of the life cycle, and the liturgical veneration of saints and angels.

Needless to say, the Liturgical Movement and the ecumenical activity of the past hundred years have not produced a perfect consensus among the churches when it comes to liturgy and sacraments. One need only recall the debates over the language of sacrifice and oblation in the eucharistic prayer in the Church of England, or peruse the six volumes of official responses to the Lima Document mentioned above. On the other hand, the modern Liturgical Movement has created significant agreement among those interested in the promotion of the liturgy in the life of the church. It is well outlined in the eight areas that John Fenwick and Bryan Spinks enumerate in the introduction to their history of the Liturgical Movement in the twentieth century (Fenwick and Spinks, 5–9): the struggle for community (in both society and church), active participation, rediscovery of the early church as model, renewed appreciation of the Bible, rediscovery of the Eucharist, emphasis on the vernacular, rediscovery of other Christian traditions, and emphasis on proclamation and social involvement. These elements have shaped the revision of Anglican Prayer Books from the early twentieth century and promise to continue to do so in the future.

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Preserving the Classical Prayer Books

Colin Buchanan

In the preface to the 1662 Book of Common Prayer there is a reference to the precedent set by past revisions of the Church of England's Prayer Book. This has happened at intervals since 'the first compiling of her public liturgy' in 1549. Yet, the preface continues, 'the main Body and Essentials of it (as well as in the chiefest materials, as in the frame and order thereof) have still continued the same unto this day, and do yet stand firm and unshaken'. Clearly, those who framed the 1662 Book of Common Prayer would have defended the continuance far into the future of the 'main Body and Essentials of it' and 'the chiefest materials, as in the frame and order thereof'. Equally, however, they would have been ready in principle to allow that their successors should retouch details, which they call 'particulars'. In England itself there proved to be a dearth of 'Princes of blessed memory' such as had precipitated the previous revisions – and a dearth, too, of ways to revise texts, as there were neither Convocations (closed from 1717 to 1852) nor a will in Parliament – so that the 1662 text ran without legal alternative until 1966. First in Scotland and then in America and Ireland there was some fiddling with 'particulars', but it hardly went beyond the confines of what the 1662 preface attributed to the blessed Princes. Later on, there were indeed Romanizing tendencies in the way services were conducted, arising from the impact of the Oxford Movement, but there was little change in official texts. Thus the Prayer Book entered the twentieth century more or less still in line with its preface.

It is an interesting question how far the unsanctioned (but not necessarily absolutely banned) recasting of the externals of Prayer Book uses in the years 1850 to 1900 amounted to a recasting of the book itself. The question actually reflects one instance of a slow change in perceptions of the Prayer Book, and the interest lies deep within the extent to which the changed perceptions have become the reality. Thus, for example, it is clear that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the nature of the Book of Common Prayer was such that each parish had to have one copy, but one was enough. The idea that members of a congregation would each possess a copy of a book which was genuinely reckoned to be for congregational use must have come fast in the nineteenth century – but when it came, it became a fixed point, part of the nature of things. In a different way, the Communion rite, which Cranmer had devised to exclude Roman Catholicism and a large measure of Lutheranism, came to be perceived as that which had entrenched a catholicism at the Reformation, securing catholic credentials then in order to reassure Anglicans of the nineteenth century that all was well. A different kind of view of Matins and Evensong was also emerging in the same period. Two services which had been devised to be daily offices, constituting a twice-daily liturgical diet, which centred around the continuous reading of scripture and psalmody, became somewhat enriched public services belonging explicitly to Sunday mornings or evenings. They thus took on a 'once-off' character: nothing hung upon any sense of continuity of readings, and the psalms that were used in public had the purely random character of being those set for the days of the month which happened to fall on Sundays.

From the eighteenth century to the twentieth minds moved without noticing it, and the Prayer Book 'was' what it was to each generation. It is hardly surprising that the whole

world of Anglicanism was sure that textual change had something in common with repairing Old Masters in the art world – a task to be attempted with the utmost delicacy of touch in the first place, and the result was then to be valued in direct proportion to the degree to which the outcome was either invisible to the naked eye or, rarely, had so unobtrusively improved some visible defect as to be genuinely appreciated. That is the underlying rationale for W. H. Frere's commendation of the 'Interim Rite' – a rearrangement of the order of prayers in the Communion service which left their wording virtually untouched. This strategy both catered to the prevailing 'catholic' understanding of Cranmer's rite, and yet also retained Cranmer's materials in such a way as to sustain the positive vibes of recognition which Cranmer's text accorded to its users.

Thus Anglican understanding of liturgy in, say, the first half of the twentieth century had vast presuppositions which may well have often escaped the notice both of those who held them and of those who, by proposing changes in liturgy, were in subliminal but sweeping contention with them. There were three main elements to these unexplored presuppositions.

First, that liturgy is itself preservative. It is there to ensure the continuance into the future of that which the worshippers have known in the past – whether this means the past and the future are in seen in terms of whole lifetimes, or of the cycle of the liturgical year from one Christmas to the next and one Easter to the next, or of the immediacy of knowing that next Sunday's worship is going to be similar to last Sunday's.

Second, that liturgy has a hieratic character to its wording and ceremonial. From this it follows that a somewhat exalted level (or 'register') of language, vesture, ornamentation, and movement is not only desirable but actually integral to liturgy.

Third, that the hieratic character of the celebration is matched, and in part constituted, by the poker-faced and emotionally withdrawn stance of the congregation. Such a stance may be compared to participating in a masked ball with carefully prescribed moves, since it is the wearing of such liturgical masks that saves the participants from having to recognize or relate to those in physical proximity to them, and it is the careful prescribing of the moves that saves the people from doing anything out of line or letting personal preferences or predilections be seen.

An unsympathetic observer would also note that the combination of these three elements in practice gives enormous security to the participants. The long-standing, though not universal, Anglican tradition of sitting as near the back of church as possible confirms this analysis – that the tradition was for worshippers not to expose themselves or risk being seen as individuals.

Liturgical revision of the 1927–1929 sort (as found in provinces using the English language, such as the United States, Scotland, England, and South Africa) may have contained threats under the first category above, but was actually blameless in respect of the second and third. Twentieth-century revisers might tinker with texts, but they would compose their novelties in the language of the Tudors, and would leave the atmosphere of the service and the mood of president and people exactly as they had been before. The culture of the cultus was carried forward unchanged through such minor textual changes, strongly supported by the unchanged architectural and ornamental milieu, the inviolability of the Authorized (King James) Version of the Bible, and the relative durability of the hymnbooks compiled and circulated since the mid-nineteenth century. Many of these features were also to be found in Africa and Asia, imported as almost foundational to being Anglican Christians at all. However, where translation into vernacular tongues was involved (and that much of a principle of inculturation was well observed by Anglicans), a 'classical' or 'antique' form of a tribal language was unlikely to be available for the translation. In point of fact, pioneer Bible and Prayer Book translators were not usually looking for antique forms anyway, but were actually more seized of the necessity of contemporary clarity and transparency. Their forms, however, were still deeply embedded in a culture of an imported architecture, ves-

ture, music, and style – an Anglican style which proclaimed its unruffled continuity with the past, and its relative uniformity across the face of the earth.

In England, of course, there were strong objections to the revisions of the Book of Common Prayer proposed in 1927 and 1928 (*see* Spinks, 'Crisis', pp. 239–43). These created a deep division within the Church of England, and that led to the defeat of the successive Prayer Books in Parliament. The dispute had no connection, however, to any of the features raised above; rather, it was closely related to detailed doctrinal concerns, and particularly to the proposed legalizing (under strict conditions) of the reservation of the consecrated elements. In the House of Commons the debate centred around the question of whether the 'Deposited Book' moved the Church of England Romewards or not – it had no bearing upon whether the Prayer Book cultus itself was under threat. It was not.

The Cultural Swing

If this account of the complex skein of Prayer Book culture is correct, it can be said that in the second half of the twentieth century first one thread in it frayed, then another was pulled out, and by stages its total character came stealthily under threat. In the years from 1950 to 1965 the parish communion and the Liturgical Movement brought changes in architecture and furnishings, new Bible translations slowly undermined the assumptions that God was properly known in Tudor language, organ music and the traditional hymnody and chant were gently outflanked by new forms of singing, and – most disconcerting of all – people were allowed and even encouraged to notice each other. Then, somewhere between 1966 and 1970, in the English-speaking parts of the Communion, the key threads fell out and the skein completely unravelled. These two key threads, common to a very high proportion of congregations, were the Tudor language and the wearing of 'masks'.

The first of these changes has been well documented elsewhere. The earliest texts to address God as 'you' emerged in 1966 in Australia and New Zealand; and, with one exception, the last new texts written in Tudor English were authorized in 1967. Meanwhile, Roman Catholics were moving from Latin to modern language without going through four hundred years of Cranmer's prose on the way; modern Bible versions were proliferating also, and by 1968 the (ecumenical) International Consultation on English Texts (ICET) was hard at work proposing common modern-language texts (as, for example, of the Lord's Prayer) to all the liturgical denominations in all English-speaking countries of the earth. To those with eyes to see, the change was fundamental and had come to stay.

The second key strand to fall out of the Anglican skein was the metaphorical wearing of 'masks'. The Church of South India in 1950 revived the sharing of a congregational peace, although, at that stage, it was carried out in a mannered and formal style. The peace was not mentioned in the 1958 Lambeth Conference report, but it was present, at least as a versicle and response without any rubric about actual greetings, in some of the new rites of the late 1960s. The Roman Catholic provision of the post-Vatican II years ushered it in also. Indeed, it had its own affirming character between Roman Catholics and others, when people who could not share communion with each other could at least share the peace. By the early 1970s the practice was developing far beyond the spoken versicle and response, and far beyond the formal 'passing of the peace' which South India had pioneered. And this was when the masks fell off. The problem with the peace was not centrally the handshake or other touching; it was the eye-contact and mutual affirmation, the recognizing of fellow worshippers as living Christians with a needed part to play, the dissolution of the drill-squad atmosphere and its anonymous way of being physically together without meeting. Once the masks were off and the partners could see each other, they actually met. The original skein had fallen apart. The old culture was at an end. Correspondingly, much of the security which that culture guaranteed was under immediate threat.

The Reaction Sets In

If the trends of the late 1960s and early 1970s were in fact as described above, then it is understandable that a strong reaction should follow. On *a priori* grounds it might be expected to come in its most vocal form among the most private, the most insecure, and the most traditionalist parts of the Anglican Communion–and particularly among those with access to journals and the media. All these pointers lead unswervingly towards the Church of England itself, where conflict did in fact break out, and where it has shown little sign of abating. It will be described further below, but the record needs to look at other countries first.

In the United States the 1976 General Convention took two steps at once, both of which were opposed by traditionalists. First it gave provisional approval to the 'proposed' Prayer Book which thus became a lawful alternative to the 1928 Book of Common Prayer then current, though the intention and expectation was that in 1979 at the next General Convention final approval would follow, and the use of 1928 services would be curtailed. Second, the General Convention also legislated for the ordination of women as presbyters. On the first point, reaction consisted in calling for the 1928 services to be continued as an option even after 1979. However, the Standing Liturgical Commission and the General Convention were persuaded that all that anyone could ever properly desire in the 1928 services was available in the new book's traditional-language Rite One provisions–and indeed that the reaction was irrational, a hitting out blindly against forces of history rather than actually identifying what had been lost and what retained. The reaction was all the more virulent (though small in its numbers) because of the simultaneous decision in favour of ordaining women. It became conventional to wrap all such forces for change together and denounce them as a single 'liberal' and trendy declension from the faith. History suggests that paranoia and shrillness set in early, and that the 'liberal' majority, satisfied in conscience that they had done all that could reasonably be done to include the minority, then turned relatively deaf ears to their cries. A Prayer Book Society, formed to oppose the trends, gave regular expression to this last-ditch anguish, though without disturbing the policy behind the 1979 Book of Common Prayer.

This experience in the United States of different matters being lumped together has not been duplicated elsewhere. In Canada, the 1962 Prayer Book–a traditionalist one, born out of due time–was still being assimilated when diocesan experimentation began around 1970. As the experiments were drawn into the moves leading towards the 1985 *Book of Alternative Services* (*see* Hill, 'Canada', pp. 370–77), so a fear arose in some quarters that the liturgical tradition of this or that parish would be imperilled. However, as the book proved indeed to contain just what its title stated–legal alternatives to Prayer Book services–and as it was introduced with some sensitivity, most of the possible anger was easily siphoned off. A Prayer Book Society came into existence, but it has not been well supported nor has it had reason to allege persecution or other action from the authorities against continuing users of the 1962 Prayer Book.

In Australia, although a Prayer Book Society exists, the course of liturgical revision has been different yet again, and reaction against it differently deployed. A series of optional experimental rites was produced from 1966 onwards, all addressing God as 'you'. This series led to *An Australian Prayer Book* in 1978. There had been little conflict about leaving Tudor language behind, but there was plenty of jockeying for the pole position. The Sydney diocese, a strong centre of Evangelicalism for the whole Anglican world, had always valued the 1662 Book of Common Prayer more for its Reformed theology than for its Tudor language. Thus the dynamics of revision were that, whatever happened linguistically (and *An Australian Prayer Book* came when all Australian dioceses had already been accustomed for years to modern-language experimental booklets), the doctrinal balance of 1662 was not to be disturbed. If ever a controversy arose in drafting, then 1662 was the umpire and could overrule the conflict. On the other hand, there was no cultural problem in going modern, and thus

An Australian Prayer Book included (with other eucharistic provision) a 'modernized 1662', a concept which would have been unimaginable in most English-speaking provinces. *An Australian Prayer Book*, while technically an alternative to 1662 (hence the '*An*' in its title), passed almost uncontroversially into use throughout the land. However, its 1995 successor, *A Prayer Book for Australia*, was seen by the Sydney representatives on General Synod as somewhat more corrosive of the evangelical character of 1662. They were not content with simply an indefinite article and got it subtitled *Liturgical Resources Authorized by General Synod*—a clear indication of downgrading it. In the event the Archbishop of Sydney declined to give permission for much of *A Prayer Book for Australia* to be used in the diocese, though it would have passed muster as properly inclusive in many other parts of the Communion.

In Ireland, traditionally seen as a seat of reaction, a sensible progress was made in modern-language rites. First, in the 1970s there were booklets; then, in 1984, there was the *Alternative Prayer Book*, which did provide only 'alternatives' to the 1926 Book of Common Prayer; finally, in 2004 there was a single book, *The* Book of Common Prayer, which, as in America twenty-five years before, contained traditional-language rites as well as the developed modern-language ones. No doubt many individuals found the changes unwelcome, but there appears to be little record of organized resistance in Synod or the media against the progress of this policy.

In Wales there occurred the one exception (mentioned earlier) to the universal pattern of texts drafted from 1968 onwards addressing God as 'you'. A complete new Prayer Book was authorized in 1984, with new services drafted in old language. This appears to have arisen not so much because an unhappy section of the Church in Wales managed to block desired moves into modern language, but rather because no particular expectation of crossing that watershed had ever achieved prominence in provincial policy. Modern-language rites have been drafted from 1984 onwards, but have caught on slowly, and without such a high profile as to occasion organized resistance.

So it has been that England has been the true cockpit: the seat of the tradition on the one hand, and the vanguard in addressing revision on the other. The reaction correspondingly took two different forms—the defence of the tradition, and the attack on the revisions. The 1662 Book of Common Prayer was to remain as normative for doctrine and worship, even when 'alternative services' were authorized alongside them—and even though the 'Series 1' alternatives in 1966 themselves stood squarely in the Prayer Book tradition, being lightly edited forms of the Prayer Book proposed in 1928. These had been used with doubtful legality in the intervening period, but were now being properly authorized as 'alternatives'. The 'Series 2' rites in 1967 were new. They had some modern features and a little more flexibility, but were still in a 'thou' form of address. While pointing towards the new era, they nevertheless belonged culturally to the tradition.

When the 'Series 3' (genuinely modern-language) rites began to appear from 1971 onwards, there was quite a reactionary rallying in favour of both 'Series 1' and 'Series 2' Communion services—and the Liturgical Commission worked on uniting them into a 'Series 1 and 2 Revised' rite, with alternatives from the two sources all the way through. It was authorized in Synod in 1976 by a margin of a decimal point only in the House of Clergy. Meanwhile, both Synod and Parliament had passed the major legislation of the Church of England 'Worship and Doctrine Measure 1974', and this gave Synod wide powers to authorize alternative services for any number of years (and thus enabled new hardback books to replace the little booklets, first in 1980, and then in 2000). However, the measure defended the tradition not only by entrenching 1662 so that Synod could not abolish it without going to Parliament, but also by stating in the measure that Synod must ensure that the 1662 forms would 'continue to be available for use in the Church of England'.

From one point of view, Synod in the ensuing years went far beyond this requirement, authorizing 'Series 1' and 'Series 2' forms alongside the modern ones, and including a light revision of 'Series 1 and 2 Revised' as 'Rite B' in the *Alternative Service Book* in 1980. The

Alternative Service Book also included a modern-language 1662, along the lines of the Australian provision mentioned earlier. When the run-up began to *Common Worship*, scheduled to replace the *Alternative Service Book* in 2000, the Liturgical Commission asked the Synod whether the old services should be printed in the same book as the new, and received the answer 'yes'. Thus the main *Common Worship* book includes a modern Eucharist and a 'traditional language' variant on it, both labelled 'First Order', but along with these it also has a 1662 rite in both 'contemporary' and 'traditional' language as 'Second Order'. The last of these is, of course, almost identical to the 1662 rite to which it has become an 'alternative'. The inclusive policy has led to a book the size of which makes it inconceivable that it would be bought in quantities for congregations or individual worshippers, while modern technology makes parish editions of whichever rite is favoured the regular format used in much congregational worship.

The policy of retaining in print the liturgical antiquities of the Church of England owes no small debt to the energies of the Prayer Book Society. The lovers of the traditional (who are predictably loathers of the peace) were slightly slow to gather themselves. Perhaps in the early 1970s they rather hoped that the new liturgies and new liturgical language would simply not take on, but would go away of their own accord. (One is reminded of similar views in 1971 about decimal currency in Britain. There were shops which continued to mark their goods in £.s.d. for years after the change.) So it was the mid-1970s before they gathered their forces, and formed the Prayer Book Society around 1976. They were initially reassured by that word 'available' in the 1974 Worship and Doctrine Measure, but they found in time that it gave no guarantee that any particular parish, deanery, or diocese would in fact continue using the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, and that the only realistic interpretation of the word was that the Privileged Presses would keep the 1662 Prayer Book in print.

So it was that the Society gathered signatures from eminent men and women of letters (not always Christian believers), and in November 1979, when the services to go into the *Alternative Service Book* in 1980 were to receive their final authorization, they presented three weighty petitions to the Synod calling for serious continued use of the Prayer Book services, the Authorized (King James) Version of the Bible, and traditional church music. Twice in the early 1980s they even attempted to get 'Prayer Book Protection' bills initiated in the House of Lords, requiring parishes to hold a proportion of public services each month from the Prayer Book (virtually without reference to the wishes of the people). A series of books (such as *Ritual Murder*, and *No Alternative*, and *The Prayer Book Controversy*) came from the same stable. Bishops were pressed to require theological colleges to give the students live experience of worshipping with the 1662 Prayer Book. Citizens were polled in the street as to whether they would like a 'traditional' or a 'modern' wedding service. A prize was given each year for children reading aloud Authorized Version and Prayer Book texts. The Prince of Wales became a patron, and by no means a silent one. A glossy journal began to be published four times a year. The energies seemed unlimited.

However – the second point about the form taken by reaction – the attempted protection of what was passing over the horizon of history inevitably involved, on the negative side, a sustained attack on modern services. They were abused for their thinness, their banality, the irreverence of the peace (of course) and, above all, for their failure to 'fill the churches' (a prospectus which had never been issued, but one on which the modern services were nevertheless deemed to have short-changed the church spectacularly). But there are three factors, largely unexplored, which have militated against these energetic campaigns to keep the Church of England Tudor.

First, despite the single-issue fixation of the Prayer Book Society, and the slight nods in their direction by the authorities, their 'controversy' is a snapping at the heels of people who actually have different agendas to pursue. The conflict is asymmetrical – the all-consuming preoccupation of the complainants, the rarely noticed nuisance to the supposed defendants. These latter are in possession of the ground, and it is an unequal combat. Synodically most

Anglicans have had far bigger different battles to fight, and the snapping at the heels of the Prayer Book Society is not going to divert them.

Secondly, the Prayer Book Society believes (as all of us once believed) that Prayer Book text is the point at issue. In fact, as shown above, it is a vast flow of cultural change which they are opposing, and the Tudor text seen in its narrow limits cannot withstand that force. Nor is accepting the cultural change simply a selling out to the *Zeitgeist*. It might actually be truly incarnational.

Thirdly, as the churches have now passed up to four decades beyond the cultural shift, it is clear that few, if any, 'formed' by worshipping with Tudor texts have been offering or have been selected or trained for ordination. The literary sallies of the ageing or anachronistic few have no confident next generation of Anglicans coming up behind them to sustain the conflict. As the 1988 Lambeth Conference said of the 1662 Prayer Book in its obituary notice: 'if we do not dwell on its strengths today, it is because we judge its era is slipping irretrievably into the past. The presuppositions . . . were of a static "Christendom" England.'

There may be encomia still to be delivered; there may be Prayer Book worship yet to be conducted. But the old book has not been regaining currency; even if that obituary was marginally premature in 1988, yet its credibility has become unquestionable in the decades since.

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PART FIVE

Family Portraits: Prayer Books Today

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Inculturation and Anglican Worship

Ian T. Douglas

Rightly understood, the Book of Common Prayer, in both its inception and its contemporary forms throughout an increasingly multicultural Anglican Communion, is a product of inculturation. At the root of inculturation is the word 'culture', which here refers to the meanings and values by which people live. It is impossible to separate Christian worship from the culture in which it developed and the context in which it is brought to life. Culture, furthermore, viewed from the perspective of inculturation, is not static or monolithic but the ever-changing, all-encompassing matrix for human social interaction. Culture infuses and invigorates all of life and, for Christians, it cannot be divorced from the gospel.

This expansive view of culture is crucial for Christianity. Christians believe that the universal creator God became real and accessible to all of humanity through the incarnation of Jesus the Christ. That is why the universal saving truth of the Good News of God in Jesus can only be made known through the cultures in which each Christian lives and worships. Although the gospel itself is never identical with any one culture, it can only be expressed in terms that are culturally conditioned. There is no pure, disembodied, 'decultured' gospel. For the universal truth of the gospel to be meaningful and real, it must be located in a particular time and place; in other words, it must be 'in-culture-ated'.

The word 'inculturation', however, is a relatively new expression that grew out of the intersection of anthropological and missiological discussions in the last half of the twentieth century. Before that most Christians in the world rested secure in their belief that there was only one culture – the western Enlightenment, Euro-American worldview. Within missionary circles, western culture was not only perceived as representing the best of human civilization, it was also thought to be more or less unchanging. All of this began to be challenged, however, as the demographics of world Christianity began to shift in the postcolonial era, the period of the emergence of nation states in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Pacific over the last five decades. At the turn of the twentieth century, approximately seventy-five per cent of the world's 558 million Christians lived in Europe or North America. Today almost sixty per cent of the 2.1 billion Christians live in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Pacific, and by 2025, the numbers will increase to sixty-six per cent of the 2.6 billion Christians in the world. As a result of the growing plurality of cultures in which Christianity is now located around the world, there is an increasing awareness and new appreciation of inculturation as basic to the church's witness and worshipping life wherever Christians find themselves today. The Anglican Communion in particular, as a worldwide family of churches embodying a vast diversity of cultures, languages, and peoples, is being challenged as never before to reconsider Prayer Book worship in light of inculturation.

Inculturation and 'Translatability'

The great South African missiologist David Bosch argues that from the very beginning the missionary message of the Christian church incarnated itself in the lives and worlds of those who had embraced it. Bosch points out, however, that only in the last half of the twentieth

Prayers in a House after Death

This service in the *New Zealand Prayer Book* (1989) marks the return of a now smaller family to a house after the death of a member. By this formal entry, and the meal shared with friends that follows, the house is re-hallowed. The service is to take place as soon as possible after the funeral, and when possible every room is to be visited. If it is the custom of the people concerned that the house should be sprinkled with water, the two prayers that follow are used.

When water is to be sanctified, the priest shall say

Almighty and everliving God,
in baptism you give water a holy use to wash away sin:
sanctify this water
as a sign of cleansing from all the powers of evil;
through Jesus Christ our Lord,
who triumphed over evil on the cross,
and now lives and reigns with you for ever.
Amen.

If water is to be used the priest shall visit various places, inside and outside the house, and sprinkle water, saying

We sprinkle this place
to wash away the effects of all evil,
whether of people, or of spiritual powers,
in the name of the Father,
and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.
Amen.

century has this essentially contextual nature of the Christian faith begun to be recognized as basic to the Christian experience. The word 'inculturation', or 'enculturation', came into missiological discussions in the 1960s among Roman Catholic theologians and later in Protestant circles, as missiologists began to reconsider the history of the spread of the church from Constantine on. Mission was something that westerners imposed upon those different from themselves: missionaries divided the world into the 'cultured' and everyone else. They did not realize the cultural conditioning that pervaded their theology, believing instead that it stood 'above culture' and was true for all times and places. Because western culture and Christianity were taken to be coextensive, to export one was to export the other.

Since the practices and policies of missions around the world were controlled primarily by agencies in London and New York, only modest cultural adjustments were allowed in the case of vestments, music, and non-sacramental rites. These strategies were variously known as 'adaptation' or 'accommodation'—or, within Protestantism, 'indigenization'. The addition of drums and other 'traditional' musical instruments in worship or the use of local cloths in liturgical vestments (while maintaining the western shape of the liturgy and style of vestments) began to appear. Such adaptations, however, simply grafted 'local' or 'traditional' elements onto existing liturgical practice without any deep dynamic exchange between the gospel and the culture. Without that exchange, it was difficult for new forms of Christian community to emerge beyond the confines of the traditional model exported by European and North American churches. With the advent of the post-colonial era and the increasing ownership and direction of churches in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Pacific by local leaders, the limits of indigenization began to surface.

Biblical and liturgical translation, initiated by missionaries and then advanced through local agents in the post-colonial era, contributed significantly to the growth of inculturation. In his theory of the 'translatability' of the gospel, Lamin Sanneh emphasizes that translation

A Kenyan Litany of Intercession

This litany, included in *A Kenyan Service of Holy Communion* (1989), is based on an ancient Kikuyu litany, recorded by Jomo Kenyatta, first President of Kenya, in *Facing Mount Kenya.* The words 'may justice be our shield and defender' appear in the Kenyan national anthem.

Leader May the bishops and leaders of our churches have wisdom and speak with one voice.
People **Amen. Lord have mercy.**
Leader May the leaders of our country rule with righteousness.
People **Amen. Lord have mercy.**
Leader May justice be our shield and defender.
People **Amen. Lord have mercy.**
Leader May the country have peace and the people be blessed.
People **Amen. Lord have mercy.**
Leader May the flocks and the herds prosper and the fish abound in our lakes.
People **Amen. Lord have mercy.**
Leader May the fields be fertile and the harvest plentiful.
People **Amen. Lord have mercy.**
Leader May we and our enemies turn towards peace.
People **Amen. Lord have mercy.**
Leader May the love of the Father touch the lonely, the bereaved and the suffering.
People **Amen. Lord have mercy.**
Leader May the path of the world be swept of all dangers.
People **Hallelujah. The Lord of Mercy is with us.**

into the local vernacular is much more than the simple direct exchange of one word for another. From Pentecost onward, all Christians in all cultures of the world have lived into the universal good news of Christ as each has come to see Jesus through their own cultural lenses. 'No culture is so advanced and superior', Sanneh writes, 'that it can claim exclusive access or advantage to the truth of God, and none so marginal or inferior that it can be excluded' (Sanneh, *Whose Religion is Christianity?*, 106). Cultural uniformity is not essential to Christianity, and Christian pluralism is something more positive than doctrinal and institutional disparity – it is a diversity that the world character of Christianity has enhanced in each tradition. There is much to be gained by embracing the new Pentecost of world Christianity brought about by the translatability of the gospel into the many and diverse cultures of the world today.

In light of the new Pentecost, Anglicans must begin to ask themselves: How much does the translatability of the gospel and the missiological imperative of inculturation inform worship across the Anglican Communion today? Are current attempts at liturgical revision simply modest examples of adaptation and indigenization? What gifts are there within Anglicanism that call it beyond the confines of a primarily 'English' church to a deeper engagement in the plurality of cultures in which Anglicanism has taken root?

Inculturation and the Challenges of the Contemporary Anglican Communion

Anglicans often argue that in the increasingly diverse Anglican Communion of today, affiliation with the Prayer Book liturgical tradition of the Church of England helps to identify what it means to be Anglican. Such positions, however, often rest on an unstated assumption that 'things English', best enshrined in some adapted form of a seventeenth-century English-language liturgy, is sufficient to hold the Communion together in these often difficult and

contentious times. However, the historic linking of 'Englishness' with the Book of Common Prayer in both the dwindling churches of the West and the burgeoning churches of the Global South must be reconsidered in the light of a deeper understanding of what it means to be genuinely Anglican in our unique cultural differences as well as in our common sharing in God's mission. Bluntly stated, can Prayer Book worship within Anglicanism be separated from the historic Anglo-American imperialist imperative?

The belief that God can, and does, speak through the local language and culture of a specific people was a foundational tenet of the English Reformation. It was the radical idea that English could be used to communicate the good news of the gospel that motivated such Anglican divines as Tyndale, Coverdale, and Cranmer to translate the Bible into English and develop a Book of Common Prayer for the English people. The embrace of the vernacular and the emphasis on inculturation of worship thus were key priorities that helped to define the worship and witness of the Church of England. Unfortunately these priorities were eclipsed during the growth of the British Empire, as the cultural product of the Church of England, namely 'Englishness', was exported to its colonies. Nevertheless, although no one associated with the founding of Church of England could have imagined the contemporary global Anglican Communion with all of its diverse tongues, cultures, and peoples, the seeds for this multicultural family of churches were planted in the sixteenth century.

In the Articles of Religion, the Church of England embraced translatability and inculturation principles long before any twentieth-century missiologist began to use such terms. Article XXIV, 'Of Speaking in the Congregation in such a Tongue as the people understandeth', emphasizes the priority given to the vernacular in worship. Public and private worship in a 'tongue' that people understand celebrates the incarnational reality that God lives among the people, dwells in the familiar and the known. It underscores the classical Anglican belief that people come to know and experience God through their own everyday languages, symbols, and cultures. Article XXXIV, 'Of the Traditions of the Church', follows logically from this understanding and points towards the emphasis on inculturation in Anglican worship. For if the language of worship should be in such a 'tongue as the people understandeth', the form of worship itself should also reflect the specifics of time and place of the worshipping community. Article XXXIV states, furthermore, that particular churches have the authority and responsibility to determine their own traditions and ceremonies; rites and ceremonial may be changed or even abolished 'according to the diversity of countries, times, and . . . manners'. Taken together, these articles acknowledge the need for churches continually to be involved in liturgical reform for the sake of contextually appropriate and relevant worship. The Articles' embrace of translatability and inculturation, giving license to local church agency in determining worship appropriate to particular cultural realties, undermines the argument for homogeneity and uniformity in Prayer Book worship.

It has been argued that the modern Anglican Communion came into being when the Episcopal Church in the new United States separated from the Church of England in 1785. Although the (Anglican) Church of Ireland and the Scottish Episcopal Church had wrestled with their relationship to the Church of England for centuries, the founding of the 'Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America' marked the first independent Anglican church outside the British Isles. The Episcopal Church did not stray from Church of England Reformation principles when it declared the authority by which the church would define its own form of worship. The preface to its 1789 Book of Common Prayer is an apologetic for inculturation in Anglican worship, affirming that worship of God must be culture-specific to be meaningful and true, provided that 'the substance of the faith be kept entire'. It also emphasizes that matters of discipline, as opposed to doctrine, may be altered as long as the edification of the people is the purpose, 'according to the various exigency of times and occasions' – in this case, the political and ecclesiastical separation from England. In other words, the Episcopal Church at its inception articulated the right and responsibility of

Christians in every time and place to worship in a style grounded in their own context and culture.

Not until the post-colonial era of the mid twentieth century, however, did the pace of development of other Anglican churches outside the English-speaking world quicken. From the 1850s to the 1960s the Anglican Communion was dominated chiefly by the Church of England, the Episcopal Church in the United States, and the Anglican churches in Canada and Australia. Each of these English-speaking Anglican churches supported and controlled its own missions around the world. This was especially true for the established Church of England, for wherever the crown went, so did the church. If one considers a map of today's Anglican Communion one will find that the majority of Anglican churches lie in areas of the world that at one time or another were territories of either England or the United States. Mission was inextricably linked to colonialism and imperialism.

All of this began to change in the 1960s. As British and American colonies in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Pacific struggled for political independence from their former masters, mission fields in the same regions sought ecclesial independence from their founding churches in England and the United Sates. Over time the missions grew into fully 'autonomous' Anglican churches in their own right, while the number of churches in the Anglican Communion multiplied from a handful in the early 1960s to its current thirty-eight provinces. Just as Anglicans in the post-colonial realities of the newly independent United States in the late eighteenth century struggled to determine their own governance and liturgical expressions appropriate to their culture, so Anglicans in the post-colonial realties of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Pacific have done for the last five decades. A key difference, however, is that the newer churches of the Anglican Communion embody a vast variety of languages and cultures never imagined by the English-speaking churches of the North Atlantic. While until recently the Episcopal Church in the United States rested secure in an assumed unity of the English language and cultural expression, new Anglican churches of the twentieth century enjoy enormous linguistic and cultural variety.

For example, in some Anglican churches in Africa over forty different languages are spoken within a province. In the United Churches of South Asia (the United Churches of South India, North India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh) not only are there different languages spoken in different states, but these churches must also wrestle with the cultures of the ecumenical traditions out of which each has developed. Nor is the variety of cultural expressions of Anglicanism today limited to language or ecumenical tradition: in the Anglican Church of Aotearoa, New Zealand, and Polynesia, for example, racial differences and identity politics have significantly informed their inculturation processes. In this church, the three *tikangas*, or racial identity groups of Pakeha (white), Maori (indigenous), and Polynesian (Pacific Islanders) are trying to live into a new constitution and liturgical identity that acknowledges and celebrates the three *tikangas* while holding them together in diversity. Many across the Anglican Communion recognize *A New Zealand Prayer Book / He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa* as an important expression of how one church in the Anglican Communion is trying to genuinely inculturate Anglican liturgy in diverse cultural contexts.

It might appear, given the authority of national churches to determine their own rites and traditions according to their own cultural context, that worship in the Anglican Communion might devolve into an unfamiliar cacophony of voices. Some believe that the increasing diversity of the Anglican Communion is already reaching the point at which differences can no longer be reconciled. As inculturation of worship advances across the Anglican Communion, it too might become a wedge issue separating Anglicans one from another. So far, however, worship among the many churches of the contemporary Anglican is still recognizably linked to the original Book of Common Prayer. The primacy of the English language and the use of Prayer Books not too dissimilar from those of the historic colonial churches persist in some Anglican churches of the Global South. Increasingly, however, theologians and liturgists in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Pacific are beginning to

challenge Anglican churches in the Global South to move beyond this cultural inheritance. Even African bishops coming together in the first ever African Anglican Bishops' Conference held in Lagos, Nigeria, in 2004 considered how worship could come of age in African cultural realties.

With Anglicans around the world increasingly inculturating their worship, questions related to a progressively more diverse and plural Anglican Communion will arise. As Anglican worship looks and sounds less and less 'English', an increasingly post-colonial, multivocal, and polycentric Anglican Communion will emerge. Some might see the loss of its English identity as the demise of Anglicanism; others might see the increasing diversity of worship as a gift of the new Pentecost, where more and more people come to know the saving truth of Jesus Christ in their own vernacular and cultural contexts. The challenge for Anglicans, in their growing cultural diversity, will be how to remain connected and in communion with one another as inculturation in Anglican worship continues to grow and spread. Could it be that the genius of the English Reformation, with its embrace of the vernacular, might in the end give rise to a new reformation in the contemporary Anglican Communion? Will the Anglican Communion thus become more genuinely 'Anglican' even as it cuts itself loose from the cultural mooring of Englishness?

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Anglican Liturgies in Eastern Africa

Esther Mombo

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF Anglicanism in the colonies of eastern Africa had as one of its main resources the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. Written in the context of English tradition, imported and translated for use by the colonized, the Prayer Book nevertheless continued to dominate Anglicanism in the region even after political independence was achieved in the mid-twentieth century. Although the ecclesiastical provinces of eastern Africa are more than one hundred fifty years old, only in recent years have newer liturgies and practices begun to emerge. Even so, the 1662 Prayer Book–both in the original and in translation–is still widely used.

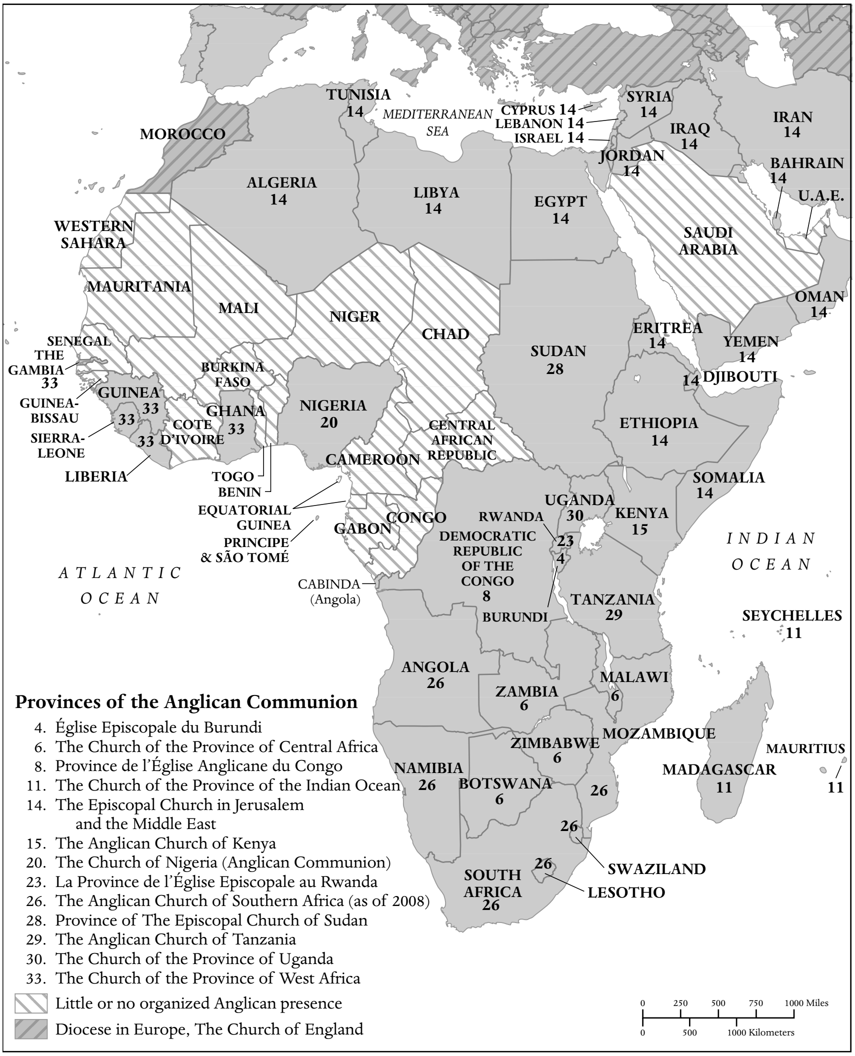
The development of Anglicanism in eastern Africa–Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and Sudan–was influenced by the different characteristics of two mission societies. The Church Mission Society (CMS), was 'low church', while the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA), was 'high'. Translation of the Prayer Book into Swahili began with the work of both societies. But in Tanzania, where they worked side by side, the UMCA area went in 1919 from using the 1662 Book of Common Prayer to using the Zanzibar rite, prepared by Bishop Frank Weston and much influenced by the 1549 Book of Common Prayer and by Roman Catholic liturgy. Other parts of Tanzania, however, as well as the rest of eastern Africa, continued to use the 1662, translated into Swahili and later into other ethnic languages.

The first initiative in liturgical reform, the *Liturgy for Africa* (1964), came at the same time that many African colonies were moving towards independence and this new spirit affected the churches. The African archbishops asked one of their number, Leslie Brown, Archbishop of Uganda, who had helped in writing the Liturgy of the Church of South India, to produce an African liturgy. The resulting *Liturgy for Africa* was not widely used, however, partly because its language was English, and also because, despite its name, it was essentially an English liturgy and did not reflect the local context. The 1662 Book of Common Prayer thus maintained its pre-eminence, except in those parts of Tanzania where the Zanzibar rite was used.

The East Africa United Liturgy (EAUL)

The need for a common liturgy had long been felt in eastern Africa. Missionaries from many European churches were active in Kenya and Tanzania, though in Uganda Anglicanism was the only major denomination apart from Roman Catholicism. Early in the twentieth century, the various mission societies were exploring the possibility of common efforts and even a federation of churches. Their leaders argued that a single church, united in worship of God and proclaiming one message, would enhance their work among Africans. Instead of duplicating effort, a federation of mission societies would promote evangelism, translation, education, and industrial missions, making it possible to share resources and speak with one voice on issues of common concern.

Four important mission conferences were held at Kikuyu, Kenya, from 1913 to 1926. At the first of these, two Anglican bishops celebrated Holy Communion using the 1662 Book of



African Provinces of the Anglican Communion (2006)

Common Prayer. All were invited to participate, and except for the Quakers, all did. But although the service showed how the different societies could take the lead in ecumenical co-operation, it raised questions in Anglican circles. UMCA Bishop Weston in particular challenged the propriety of an interdenominational celebration, and asked that the Archbishop of Canterbury try the two bishops on a charge of heresy. The commission set up by the archbishop reported that the service of Holy Communion had not been necessary in order to provide sacramental ministrations to those who were, on that occasion, cut off from their own churches, but it abstained from judgement. It held that the service had been acceptable to God, but to treat it as a precedent would be inconsistent with the principles accepted by the Church of England.

The real issues that arose from the Kikuyu conference were, first, Anglican understandings of ordained ministry; and second, the fact that what was under consideration was a federation of mission societies, rather than churches. Ecumenical cooperation in eastern Africa was clearly going to be even more difficult than in South India. There was much to sort out between the high and low church parties within Anglicanism first. Meanwhile, the mission societies were also suspicious of what had happened – a case of European denominational rivalries being fought out on African soil.

Subsequent discussions at Kikuyu did, however, have some concrete results, especially in Kenya. One was the formation of ecumenical institutions like the Alliance High Schools for boys and girls. Another was the formation of national councils of churches, which made room for discussing theological differences even though their primary focus was social rather than liturgical. A third was the formation of a united theological college by the Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists, and later, members of the Reformed Church. At the outset, certain subjects were taught denominationally rather than ecumenically – liturgy, church polity, and post-Reformation church history, for example – and the different groups also worshipped separately. While students did need to learn the polity and worship of their own traditions, the prevailing ethos was still colonial. The theological college created space for different students to live together and get to know each other, but offered few opportunities for them to engage critically with each other's traditions.

Nor was there much discussion of liturgy among the mission societies until the countries they served won political and religious independence. In the 1950s and the early 1960s, the societies relinquished their powers to local leaders, and independent churches replaced missions. In Tanzania and Kenya, the quest for a united liturgy began in 1963. These discussions involved the Anglicans of the Province of East Africa, Lutherans and Moravians (mainly in Tanzania, which had been a German colony before it became a mandated territory of the British crown), and Methodists and Presbyterians in Kenya. The Anglican Church in Uganda was not part of the East Africa province, and did not take part, but its archbishop, Leslie Brown, was adviser to the group. The mandate was not to impose uniformity of worship on a united church, but to agree on principles and prepare an order of Holy Communion that might be used at the inauguration service of the new church. The result was *A United Liturgy for East Africa,* known as the East Africa United Liturgy (EAUL) or United Liturgy. (*See* 'New Consecration Prayers in Africa'.)

The working party for this liturgy met at the Lutheran theological college in Makumira in northern Tanzania. After two years they produced a draft order of Holy Communion that was accepted in 1965 and published, after approval, in 1966. Although Brown had taken part in composing the Church of South India Liturgy, this seems not to have had a big impact on the EAUL; the major influences were the Book of Common Prayer and the Lutheran liturgy. Two Lutheran suggestions – putting the creed, rather than the sermon, after the gospel, as the people's response, and putting the intercessions after the offertory – also corresponded to the order in the 1662 Prayer Book, which Anglicans elsewhere were altering. The EAUL was published in both English and Swahili, the languages used in Kenya and Tanzania, and it was used at major church conferences, at theological colleges like St Paul's, Limuru, and St Philip's, Kongwa, as well as in university chapels. But although the Lutheran church adopted the EAUL as its official liturgy, none of the other participants did. In Anglican churches the Book of Common Prayer in English, Kiswahili, and other local translations continued to be used. There was even less awareness of the EAUL in Uganda, which by this time was a separate ecclesiastical province.

The Synod of the Province of East Africa met for the last time in June 1970, when the province was divided in two: the Church of the Province of Kenya, and the Church of the Province of Tanzania. From then on, each province was to make its own decisions on matters of liturgy.

Kenya

When the new Kenya province came into being, the available liturgies were the 1662 Book of Common Prayer (in English and Kiswahili), the *Liturgy for Africa,* and the EAUL. A theological and liturgical panel, set up in 1974, recommended the use of the EAUL, but not the *Liturgy for Africa.* In the following year the province began to use *Modern English Services,* which altered the archaic language of 1662 and revised certain prayers so as to reflect Kenya's political independence. The constitution of the church included a clear statement of how liturgical matters would be handled. It asserted the Kenyan church's autonomy and its right to 'determine those forms of liturgical worship by which it judges that its peoples can best be edified and led into maturity of Christian life and expression, and in which God will be glorified'. Until these new forms were drawn up, the doctrine, sacraments, and discipline of the 1662 Prayer Book and its principles of worship were to remain normative. In making this declaration the church did not, on the one hand, limit its duty to discover for itself 'the truth as it is in Jesus' and to express it in life and liturgy; nor, on the other hand, did it have any wish to depart from the standards of faith and order set forth in the Prayer Book.

Although the language of *Modern English Services* had been modernized, the text of 1662 remained normative for other translations. The reason has to do with philosophy and ideology, rather than a wish for formal or archaic language. For each of the major ethnic communities in Kenya where the Anglican Church is dominant, the Prayer Book has been translated into the local language. The Uzima Press, which publishes most of the Anglican liturgical books, lists a dozen translations in its catalogue in addition to the one in Swahili.

Tanzania

As mentioned above, the history of Anglicanism in Tanzania owes its character to differences between the missionary societies that worked there. Dioceses along the coast used Weston's Zanzibar rite or else *Sala I* (1959), while dioceses in the interior used *Kitabu cha Sala kwa Watu Wote,* a Kiswahili translation of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. The use of three distinct liturgies within a single province was something of a scandal, and worked against the witness of the Anglican Church in a country that espoused the philosophy of Julius Nyerere—*ujamaa ni utu,* 'Community is humanity'. Dioceses from both missionary traditions saw the need for one liturgy, and efforts to unite them resulted in the *Common Liturgy of Tanzania.*

The work went forward in two stages. First, in 1972 the province's liturgical committee composed *Kawaida ya Tanzania,* 'Tanzanian Rite', and in the next year issued an experimental service of Holy Communion. After corrections and further editions, a service was authorized for provincial use along with an English translation. The second phase began in 1986, when the *Kitabu cha Sala* or *Prayer Book of the Church of the Province of Tanzania* was put into use, with services of Holy Communion, Morning Prayer, and Evening Prayer. This book made use of previous Tanzanian liturgies, as well as the Church of England's *Alternative Service Book 1980* and the Prayer Books of the Southern African, Canadian, American, and Australian provinces. Finally, in 1995, a Prayer Book with a full range of services appeared. Intended to unite the church liturgically, it is the book currently in use. The entire project was carried out in Kiswahili; only the service of Holy Communion is available in English. Thus, from the outset, this was a liturgy for all people: unlike liturgies translated from the original English, it was developed in the local language throughout.

Uganda

In Uganda, by contrast, little liturgical development took place. This is partly due to the history of the Anglican Church in Uganda, which was the dominant Protestant denomination

New Consecration Prayers in Africa

Following the 1958 Lambeth Conference, an inter-Anglican committee that included Archbishop Leslie Brown formulated 'recommendations for the structure of the Holy Communion service which should be taken into consideration by any Church or Province revising its Eucharistic rite'. Among these recommendations was that 'the consecration prayer should be in the form of a thanksgiving for creation and for God's mighty acts in Christ and in sending the Holy Spirit'. The first proposal to move in this direction was the *Liturgy for Africa,* which influenced the ecumenical 'East Africa United Liturgy'.

A Liturgy for Africa (1964)	**United Liturgy for East Africa (1966)**
It is most meet and right that we should at all times and in all places give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom thou hast made and dost sustain the worlds.	It is very meet and right that we should at all times and in all places give thanks to thee, O Lord, Almighty Father, Everlasting God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.
We praise thee for the order of thy creation, and for all the material blessings of our life.	We praise thee for the whole world which thou hast made and dost sustain through him, for the order of thy creation and for thy many gifts of grace.
But chiefly we praise thee for thy love for fallen man in giving thy Son to take our nature upon him, to die for our sins and to be raised from the dead for our justification. We praise thee, O God, who hast set him in glory at thy right hand, where he ever lives to make intercession for us, who draw near to thee through him.	Above all we praise thee for thy love for us fallen men, in giving thy Son Jesus Christ, to take our nature, that he might overcome sin and death and set us free to become heirs of thy kingdom.
Again, we praise thee, O Father, for sending to us the promised Holy Spirit, through whom thou dost pour out upon us thy manifold gifts of grace and hast made us a royal priesthood, to set forth thy praises who hast called us out of darkness into the glory of thy light.	We praise thee, O Father, for thy Holy Spirit, through whom we know that thou hast set thy seal upon us in baptism to be thine own, chosen to declare thy mighty works.
Therefore with angels and archangels, with patriarchs and prophets, apostles and martyrs, and with all the holy company of heaven, we cry aloud with joy, evermore praising thee and saying:	Therefore with angels and prophets, apostles and martyrs, and all the company of heaven, we cry aloud with joy, evermore praising thee and saying:
Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of hosts . . .	**Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts . . .**
All glory be to thee, O heavenly Father, who in thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son Jesus Christ that all who believe in him might have eternal life.	Glory be to thee, O heavenly Father, who in thy tender mercy didst give thy only Son Jesus Christ, that all who believe in him might have eternal life.
Hear us, O merciful Father, we humbly beseech thee, and grant that we receiving this Bread and this Cup, in remembrance of the death and passion of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood:	Hear us, O merciful Father, we humbly beseech thee, and grant that we, receiving this bread and this cup as thy Son commanded, may be partakers of his Body and Blood.
for in the same night that he gave himself to death, he took Bread . . .	In the same night in which he was betrayed, he took bread . . .

and evangelical in character. Moreover the country was a protectorate, not a colony, and its movement towards political independence was less vigorous than in the rest of eastern Africa. From early in its history the church was active in evangelizing other parts of eastern Africa and thereby developed a sense of its own independence quite early. The political upheavals of the 1970s forced the church to concentrate on survival rather than on liturgical renewal even after the return of stability.

The result is that in Uganda today the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, translated into various languages, remains the most important liturgical book, and the one that is officially

authorized. There is no specifically Ugandan Prayer Book. In some academic settings, such as St Francis Chapel at Makerere University, experimental orders (in English) are used, as they are at Uganda Christian University. There is, however, a liturgical commission that meets sporadically, and Uganda Christian University has used several experimental services. Furthermore, in 2005 a liturgical commission was appointed to begin the process of drawing up a new Ugandan Prayer Book.

Sudan

The history of Anglicanism in Sudan goes back to the formation of the Gordon Memorial Sudan Mission, under CMS auspices. Because of the Islamic presence, the government allowed only social services such as education and medical care, and it was through these activities that evangelism was carried out. The cathedral church in Khartoum, completed in 1912, catered mainly to expatriates. Between 1899 and 1917, the CMS opened mission stations in both northern and southern Sudan, which worked among various ethnic groups. The variety of languages made the task of translation very complex, but at a conference in Rejaf it was agreed to concentrate on six of them; the orthography for them all is now known as Rejaf. Translating both the Bible and the Prayer Book became somewhat easier as a result.

The situation of the Episcopal Church of Sudan is made more complex still by ongoing war and by the relations between the Muslim north and the Christian south. The church's official liturgy is the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, but an alternative rite of Holy Communion is being used, and there are also local forms that vary from one diocese to another. The Church of England's *Alternative Service Book* is also used, but only in main towns like Khartoum and Juba.

Translating the Prayer Book presents great challenges, one of which is the existence of several dialects. For example, one local church uses a Prayer Book in the Dinka/Bor dialect, first published in 1930. This is not the dialect spoken by either priest or people, however, and while it is closely related, there are some words in the Prayer Book which, in the local dialect, are considered insulting. Whenever the liturgy is translated into any one dialect, and used by people who speak another, moreover, feelings of superiority and inferiority arise. Each group would prefer to have a Prayer Book in its own language, but lacks the personnel and resources that translation requires.

Besides translation itself, the context in which the translation is used can be problematic in places like Sudan. People, women especially, worship through music. They worship outdoors, under trees, and music is the way they express themselves. Suffering is a central motif of this worship; Jesus' cross and sufferings are the things with which they can most readily identify. Longing for liberation from their enemies, the Sudanese sing and pray about their oppression and their hope for a better future – if not on earth, then in heaven. Their pastor or evangelist may have a Prayer Book, but where the congregation is illiterate, the major task is to reinterpret its words in this context. In such cases the Book of Common Prayer is apt to be a book of the few; the liturgy of the people is what they *make,* linking them to God in their own situation.

Why the Prayer Book Persists

In most parts of eastern Africa, the major liturgical text is the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, as the survey shows. Despite its dominance, however, the use of the Prayer Book can be problematic. Writing in 1973, Bolaji Idowu observed that the Book of Common Prayer is not suitable for the church in Nigeria, for the simple reason that it is Anglican – a book for English worshippers, not intended for export except in the service of England's colonial outreach. Idowu would probably be surprised to find most Anglican provinces in Africa using the same book today, to say nothing of the presence of African and charismatic forms

of worship in these same churches. How is it that this formal, highly structured book is so powerful, while at the same time informal, unstructured, spontaneous worship is so popular?

To begin with, there are several reasons why even now, after long political and ecclesiastical independence in eastern Africa, the Prayer Book of 1662 still holds sway. First, it is available. It has been translated into many local dialects. People are familiar with it and identify it with the Anglican tradition. Christianity being a religion of the book, all Christians had to own the two most important volumes, the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, translated into as many local languages as possible.

The second reason is eastern Africa's colonial heritage. In the *Gloria Patri* recited after each psalm, there is the phrase 'as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be', which seems to have gripped people's minds. Using the Prayer Book is part of remaining in touch with the missionary roots of the Anglican tradition, despite the accepted fact of provincial autonomy. This autonomy now includes indigenous leaders–bishops–and a locally approved constitution, but the indigenization of worship has not been taken as seriously. When it comes to thinking about a new liturgy, people ask: what is wrong with the one we already have?

This question reflects a tension between the issue of Africans' identity as Anglicans on the one hand and their cultural context on the other. Producing a truly local liturgy requires understanding the life of the people, acknowledging some of the aspects of the local culture that have been ignored, and dealing with the challenges that arise from differences among traditions within the same area. Especially in places where the local culture was portrayed negatively by those who preached Christianity there, inculturation, as it is called, can be viewed with suspicion. Elsewhere, people have not developed a contextual way of thinking theologically, freed from their colonial heritage. It can be argued that inculturation need not undermine the unity of the Anglican Communion, and indeed that it builds on a fundamental tenet of Anglicanism, which is the possibility of provincial diversity. Yet even so inculturation is not widely accepted, and there is resistance to producing local liturgies.

The third reason for the Prayer Book's continued dominance in eastern Africa is the shortage of people to write new liturgies. Most provinces have liturgical commissions, but they are often inactive. Either there are no local people familiar with the problems of liturgical composition, or there is no funding. In general liturgy is not a high priority, partly because it is not taught well in the theological curriculum, where most of the effort goes into teaching about the Book of Common Prayer and how to use it. An ecumenical setting for theological study can make the situation even more difficult, and it takes courage on the part of provincial leaders to undertake writing a liturgy. The Anglican Church of Kenya began to do this in 1987, producing the eucharistic rite used at the opening service of the 1998 Lambeth Conference. In the preface to *A Kenyan Service of Holy Communion,* Bishop David Gitari wrote: 'This is not a modern translation or even an adaptation of the old, nor an importation of liturgical revision from the West but rather a new liturgy which has grown out of recent developments in African Christian theology and liturgical research. It is both thoroughly biblical, and authentically African.' It would seem that to write a liturgy is not enough–one must justify it also. Gitari's words also reveal a tension between being 'African' and being 'biblical'. But where does this demand for justification, this perception of tension, come from? They reflect a residue of colonial thinking that continues to haunt African Christians, who persist in comparing what they do with what has been handed down to them even though diversity is one of the strengths of the Anglican Communion.

Fourth, the Prayer Book is still widely used because it gives authority and power to one group of people in the church. The Book of Common Prayer is logocentric, heavily clericalist, and male-oriented. The Anglican Communion's hierarchical organization strengthens the place of the Prayer Book in the life of the church. Those who have the book and know how to use it are the church's leaders, and they feel bound to defend what they have. In their hands the

book is a powerful tool, and can limit the people's participation in worship as they wait to be led to do what they are supposed to do. It is no wonder that one of the challenges to traditional Anglican liturgy is Pentecostal worship, in which people are freer to participate spontaneously. Nor is it any wonder that some people will attend more than one service on a Sunday, one of them conducted according to the Anglican Prayer Book, the other Pentecostal.

Inculturation and the Book of Common Prayer

The many local languages into which the Prayer Book has been translated have made it available to many African homes and churches. Availability, however, does not necessarily mean use. Liturgy, in Idowu's definition, is 'a people's way of approaching God in worship; a means of expressing themselves, especially in a congregational setting before God, and of assuring themselves of communion with Him'. For many Africans the Book of Common Prayer in its original form is not their way of approaching God, but they have transformed Prayer Book worship by adapting it to their situation in various ways.

In Africa music is no luxury, but a way of life. Benezet Bujo has written that a human being in Africa dances his or her own life. All existential events–birth, marriage, death–as well as political events and the new moon, are danced, and the different kinds of dance have different religious dimensions of pain and suffering, joy and sadness, love and thankfulness. With the upsurge of the Pentecostal movement and charismatic renewal, eastern Africa has been flooded with worship practices in which music plays a central part. Young people are said to be moving away from the Anglican Church to other churches, and the Anglican Church is being pressed either to change its own music or adapt other forms.

Consequently, churches will have various forms of 'two-in-one' services, all of which aim to include space for creating an atmosphere of lively worship. One service follows the Prayer Book pattern, and the other meets the people's needs and aspirations. A 'praise and worship team' may take the lead at the beginning, to set the mood, or in the middle of the service, or at the end. Using in some cases a keyboard with a microphone, they will lead people in worship with singing and open prayers in which each person speaks to God. Cheerful singing, loud musical instruments, and dancing make God happy; Christians should worship with their heart, and imitate David, who danced before the Lord. This quest for liveliness challenges the Anglican churches to include such features, and gives a reason for liturgical renewal.

Weddings and funerals often take this two-in-one shape, with a quiet, sombre service inside the church and a very different mood outside. At a wedding there may be jubilation and dancing until the congregation reaches the church door, but all this ceases as soon as the leader picks up the Prayer Book to start the ceremony. Thus these cultural or contextual dimensions–what it takes for people to feel that wedding or funeral rites have been properly conducted–take place outside the prescribed order of service.

Such two-in-one forms of worship raise important issues. On the one hand, Christian worship should not lack cultural grounding in the realities of life, but should reflect the needs and situations of all sorts of people. Sometimes, however, it amounts to unquestioned toleration of cultural practices, as when a man is buried who had more than one wife. The existence of certain African social customs is accepted even though they are incompatible when a truly Christian life is maintained. Little attempt is made to argue for the positive value or Christian potential of these customs.

The problem is not new. Early missionaries working in eastern Africa tended to reject out of hand, as 'pagan', most of the cultural practices they encountered. Later they realized that the people they worked with were continuing these practices, such as male and female initiation rites, despite the church's disapproval. Since the Prayer Book had rites for both baptism and confirmation, it seemed wise to adapt these rites so as to include aspects of traditional practice.

Two missionary bishops in Tanzania, Vincent Lucas of Masasi of the high church UMCA and Wynn Jones of the low church CMS, both developed ways of bringing these coming-of-age rituals into the church by focusing on their parallels with a period of instruction for Christian confirmation. Lucas, who worked among the Yao of southern Tanzania, developed an initiation rite whereby adolescent boys spent six weeks in a forest camp learning the traditional ethical codes, hunting, and Christian values. In a 1928 paper Lucas wrote that some ceremonies, such as the use of sacrificial flour offered to the spirits of the departed, setting up the *lupanda,* a tree with lopped branches, and the invocation of the spirits of great ones of the past, were so bound up with paganism that they could not be tolerated by the Christian church. So the ground on which the rite would be conducted was blessed with prayer; holy water replaced the flour, the cross the *lupanda,* and the invocation of Christian saints the appeal to great ones of the tribal past. This was done after dark, at a vigil, and the customary all-night dance was allowed. In the morning everyone gathered for the Christian sacrifice, 'the offering of the true Flour and the true Cup'. Then circumcision was performed by a trained and qualified African.

Similarly Jones, who worked among the Gogo, emphasized a 'Christian and clean *jando*' or circumcision rite. After a service conducted by the local vicar, catechists began their four-week period of instruction in both traditional and Christian values, followed by circumcision. Recent research has shown that in the diocese of Masasi Lucas's pattern was still being followed by the Yao, although his attempt at 'Christianization' rested on a misunderstanding of some of the cultural practices involved. Among the Gogo, church involvement in the initiation camps lasted until the 1970s.

These two examples were successful partly because they were carried out in areas where there was only one people. In both, circumcision was an essential part of the 'rite of passage', and the two bishops were legitimately concerned about the health risks in traditional methods. At the same time, they were seeking ways to give boys traditional teaching together with their catechism. Given the restrictions of church order and the Prayer Book services, they both created practices that were relevant to the local context. In the end, however, these adaptations were too localized for general application, since other groups had other ways of carrying out the coming-of-age ceremonies. Initiation rites continue to be problematic, and Christians are divided over what should be done. For some, medical hygiene is most important; others would wish to uphold both the traditional method of circumcision and the traditional teachings. Both continue to be practised, and meanwhile there is no initiation rite other than those of baptism and confirmation.

More generally, there is an obvious gap between what theologians write about liturgy, and what Christians do in their various contexts. While debate goes on about the best way to describe what Christians are or should be doing, the Christians themselves find ways of linking worship with life. While theologians struggle with terms – toleration, translation, assimilation, Christianization, acculturation, incorporation, inculturation, contextualization, *skenosis* ('tenting', indwelling) – these things are being done by Christians, and in the case of the Prayer Book, the text is being used to serve the needs of the people. Despite its many strengths, the book faces many challenges. There is an increasingly urgent need for adaptation, for newer liturgies, and for liturgical renewal that meets the needs of worshippers. True worship is worship in spirit, and it must be the worshippers themselves who determine how best to make worship true in their own context.

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The Anglican Church of Kenya

Grant LeMarquand

When the bishops of the Anglican Communion gathered for the opening Eucharist of the Lambeth Conference in 1998, the rite they used was the service of Holy Communion from *Our Modern Services,* the Prayer Book of the Anglican Church of Kenya. Perhaps no Anglican liturgical innovation of recent decades has been so far-reaching. *Our Modern Services* is clearly an African book which encourages an African style of language, African prayer, and musical traditions within worship, and seeks to meet the needs of Kenyan realities. Yet it is also a book which in its forms and much of its theological content is clearly a descendant of the Book of Common Prayer.

The first Anglican missionaries to Kenya, Johann Ludwig Kraft and Johannes Rebmann, both of whom arrived in the mid-1840s, were engaged primarily in three activities as they attempted to offer the message of the gospel of Jesus Christ to the people of East Africa. They explored, they preached, and they translated. Of course, the most important translation work of these early missionaries was rendering the scriptures into African languages. Soon, however, portions of the Book of Common Prayer appeared in many of the languages of East Africa, and many of these early translations are still in use in local communities.

In 1970 the Church of the Province of Kenya became an autonomous province of the Anglican Communion. The newly independent church (now called the Anglican Church of Kenya) in what had been a British colony found itself ministering to people from many language groups. English and Kiswahili had become the official languages of the country, and many of the Kenyan churches, especially in the larger towns and cities, held worship services in English. Not long after the church became autonomous, a small booklet was produced containing the services of Morning and Evening Prayer, Baptism, and Holy Communion. This booklet, published as *Modern English Services*, removed the Elizabethan language of the Book of Common Prayer and shortened the services (the eucharistic canon was drastically reduced), but otherwise kept to the order, theology, and language of the 1662 Prayer Book.

In the 1980s a more ambitious project was launched. A trial eucharistic rite was published in 1989 with the title *A Kenyan Service of Holy Communion*, followed in 1991 by *Modern Services,* a booklet containing trial versions of Morning and Evening Prayer, Baptism, Admission to Holy Communion, and Confirmation and Commissioning. When David Gitari, who had already been closely involved in the movement for liturgical renewal in Kenya, became archbishop in 1994 he made it one of his goals to ensure that a new Kenyan Prayer Book would be published before his retirement. The completed *Our Modern Services* was officially released for use at the Archbishop's farewell service on 15 September 2002.

Its contents are largely those of the classical Book of Common Prayer. The book contains the daily offices, pastoral services, and ordination services. Also included, however, are some unique services which are not found in Prayer Books from other provinces. There is, for example, a service for the Commissioning of Evangelists, a Litany for the Preservation of Environment, a service for Readmitting Christians to the Anglican Church, and a Service for the Restoration of Things Profaned. The section on Prayers and Intercessions includes

collects for the environment and for rain as well as prayers for healing, for the hungry or unemployed, and for those infected with or dying from HIV/AIDS. Most poignant is a prayer for those who are not infected with AIDS, but who are affected by this disease:

> Forgive us for victimizing AIDS sufferers and for avoiding them when they need us most. Forgive us for our fears and horror when we were too concerned with saving our skin. Remind us afresh the words of our Lord that in seeking to save our lives we lose them, but in accepting to lose our lives for his sake we shall save our very lives. May Christ be a hiding place for us and for them, and may he give us the courage to serve our fellows in their need.

Both the reality of suffering and death and the confidence that God is present to comfort, heal, and give courage in the midst of this reality permeates the text.

The style of the services in the Kenyan book is distinctive. Most of the services are structured around short, fast-moving, rhythmic phrases. This kind of quick rhythm encourages a high level of congregational involvement. There is great love of rhyme and alliteration in African literature and this book includes plenty of both. Note, for example, the alliteration in the eucharistic canon: 'In these last days you have sent us your son, your perfect image, bringing your kingdom, revealing your will, dying, rising, reigning, remaking your people for yourself.' Excitement and enthusiasm are at times explicitly encouraged. In the baptismal service, at weddings, and at ordinations, rubrics at the high points of the services often encourage clapping and ululation.

There are a few elements missing which would have made the book more helpful. The Psalter is omitted because of the increased cost of including it. There is a short list of Festivals and Holy Days but this is extremely basic and commemorates no Africans, not even those connected with East Africa who are mentioned in most western calendars, such as the Martyrs of Uganda, Archbishop Janani Luwum, or Bishop James Hannington. This lacuna is reportedly being addressed and a calendar in preparation will remind Kenyan Anglicans of the faithful witness of their Kenyan and African Christian ancestors. There is no lectionary printed in the book, but Uzima Press in Nairobi does produce an annual diary that includes lectionary readings.

Use of Scripture

A notable feature of the classical Book of Common Prayer is that the liturgy is thoroughly scriptural. Not only is the Bible to be read and preached in the context of the prayers of the church, but the prayers themselves are saturated in biblical quotations, allusions, and echoes. Although *Our Modern Services* departs from Cranmer's language and style, it is solidly within the Cranmerian tradition in its use of the Bible. As opposed to the Book of Common Prayer, the biblical basis of many of the prayers is made explicit by the inclusion of marginal biblical references. Even though not every scriptural allusion has been uncovered and identified, editor Joyce Karuri Kirigia notes in her helpful essay at the back of the book that some users of the book complain that there are too many scripture references. Kirigia offers no apology for this feature of the book, stating only that 'it has been truly amazing to discover how . . . relevant scriptures can be'.

At least two consequences seem to follow from giving the Bible such prominence in the liturgy. The first is that these marginal notes assure the scripture-minded Kenyan churchgoer that *Our Modern Services* is in fact a biblically sanctioned form of prayer. The book, therefore, has the authority not merely of committees which compile rites and synods which approve their use: it also projects a sense of scriptural authority. A second consequence is that these marginal citations allow the book to function as a kind of catechism, a

resource in which the worshipper is formed not merely by the prayers of the church, but by the scriptural story itself.

Appreciation of the African Traditional Context

African churches that owe their origin in part to European missionary efforts have found it necessary to spend a good deal of time and energy thinking through what it means to be both genuinely Christian and authentically African. The present generation of African theologians and church leaders has reflected deeply on the meaning of African culture and religion. Most have concluded that although every culture is in need of redemption, there is much in the African context that is good and beautiful, congenial both with biblical revelation and with living a Christian life. Three examples will suggest how African traditional concerns have been woven into the Kenyan book.

The first is respect for the ancestors. An aspect of the Kenyan service of Holy Communion that particularly strikes those experiencing the rite for the first time is the frequent mention of 'ancestors'. In the African traditional context ancestors play a central role in the life of the community. Africans do not consider their dead to be gone, living only in the memories of those who are now alive. Rather, in the phrase of theologian John Mbiti, those who have died are the 'living-dead': they have passed into another dimension of existence, but their presence is still a reality of daily life. They cannot be ignored or neglected, for although they are unseen their approval or disapproval has an impact on the life of the living. Managing the power of the unseen world of the ancestors and the spirits is still an important dimension of African life.

African Christians are also aware of the importance of respect for the ancestors, and this has found liturgical expression in many of the prayers of *Our Modern Services*. For example, one of the optional post-communion prayers begins, 'O God of our ancestors, God of our people'. In the intercessory prayers the final petition reads:

> Gracious Father, we heartily thank you for our faithful ancestors and all who have passed through death to the new life of joy in our heavenly home. We pray that,

Song of Habakkuk

The service of Morning Worship in the new Kenyan Prayer Book begins, like Matins in the classical Book of Common Prayer, with a canticle, which may be the traditional *Venite,* a 'Jubilate Song' based on Psalm 100:3, or the following adaptation of Habakkuk 3:17–18.

Though the mango tree does not blossom
    nor the fruit be on the vines,

the crop of the coconut fails,
    and the fields yield no food,

Though the flock be cut off from the fold,
    and there be no herd in the stall,

yet I will rejoice in the Lord,
    I will be joyful in the God of my salvation.

Glory to the Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit;
    as it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be. Amen.

surrounded by so great a cloud of witnesses, we may walk in their footsteps and be fully united with them in your everlasting kingdom.

The reference in this prayer to 'faithful' ancestors is a reflection of the African tradition which would acknowledge that not all who have died could be considered 'ancestors' but only those who have lived a morally upright life. The adjective also reflects a Christian sensitivity that the 'faithful' are those who were loyal 'to the Supreme God before the arrival of the gospel, as well as the early converts' (Kings and Morgan, 20). Again, in the introduction to the *Sanctus*, instead of the more familiar 'Therefore with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven', the minister prays, 'Therefore with angels, archangels, faithful ancestors and all in heaven'. The use of 'faithful' as a modifier for 'ancestors' was apparently the subject of some debate. The first draft of the rite had 'Christian ancestors'; it was felt that the term 'ancestor', used without qualification, would be too inclusive. The use of the term 'Christian', however, left many in doubt as to the eternal fate of their ancestors who died before the coming of the gospel to parts of Africa. The phrase 'faithful ancestors' seems to have satisfied both concerns.

A second example of including traditional African concerns comes in the final prayer of the service of Holy Communion, which has its genesis in a traditional prayer of the Turkana people of the desert of northern Kenya. 'Its foundation as a curse on their enemies has been turned into a blessing', writes Graham Kings. 'Traditionally the Turkana, with a dramatic sweep of their arms to the west, would send all their problems, difficulties and works of evil to the Karamajong (Karamoja), a nomadic ethnic group in what is now Uganda. When a group of Turkana, who had migrated southwards became Christians, their Kenyan evangelist stressed Jesus' call to love our enemies and suggested that instead of sending those things to the Karamajong they should send them to the setting sun' (Kings and Morgan, 24). So it was that the draft released in the late 1980s included a responsive prayer in which the people send to the setting sun 'all our problems, all our difficulties, and all the devil's works'. This draft met with difficulties, however, especially since those living in western Kenya did not appreciate the implication that curses were being sent in their direction. It was decided that the 'sun' was not an appropriate place to send the troubles of this world in any case, and it was noted that the cross was God's appointed way of dealing with evil. The prayer was therefore amended to read:

Minister All our problems
People **We send to the cross of Christ**
Minister All our difficulties
People **We send to the cross of Christ**
Minister All the devil's works
People **We send to the cross of Christ**
Minister All our hopes
People **We set on the risen Christ**
Minister Christ the Sun of Righteousness shine upon you and scatter the darkness from before your path: and the blessing of God almighty . . .

A final example concerns the invitation to the table, following the Lord's Prayer. The worldview of traditional Africans can be summed up in the phrase, 'I am because we are' (Mbiti, 108). That is, African identity is essentially communal: Africans understand themselves to be defined by their relationships, as opposed to the individualistic worldview of the western world as it was articulated in Cartesian terms: 'I think, therefore I am.' It therefore seemed appropriate for the drafters of the Kenyan liturgy to include this phrase in the eucharistic prayer. In the original draft of the Communion service, at the point which most

modern liturgies call the fraction, after the Lord's Prayer and before the *Agnus Dei*, the following was included:

Minister I am because we are.
People **We are because he is.**

African theologians loved it, but most lay people failed to grasp the point. Since most African lay people do not spend a significant amount of their time and energy struggling against the Enlightenment, the line was found to be too obscure. The final draft was amended to read:

Minister Christ is alive forever.
People **We are because he is.**

African Christian Spirituality: Reformation, Revival, and Renewal

The spirituality of the Anglican and other Protestant churches of East Africa is unashamedly evangelical – that is, within the Reformation tradition. This is largely the result of these churches having been evangelized by the Church Missionary Society and other evangelical mission organizations. At the same time the spirituality of East African Christianity also bears the stamp of the East African Revival Movement, which swept through the region during the 1930s and has been an active movement ever since. Lately, many parts of East Africa have also been receptive to aspects of the charismatic renewal movement. Several dimensions of *Our Modern Services* reflect these traditions.

One of the effects of the liturgical renewal movement of the 1970s was a decrease in the language of 'blood' and 'sacrifice' within the canon of many eucharistic prayers. In Canada the *Book of Alternative Services* (*BAS*) gives an explicit theological rationale for such a change, arguing that the liturgy of Cranmer was too tied to medieval and Reformation ideas about Christ's death as a 'full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction'. The idea that 'Jesus, although innocent, stood in the divine courtroom in the place of guilty sinners and suffered the sentence and punishment of death for our sins' (*BAS,* 178) is largely abandoned in the *Book of Alternative Services* and many other modern western liturgies.

The Kenyan book, however, far from finding these notions of Christ's sacrificial death embarrassing or abhorrent, celebrates the sacrificial character of Christ's death for human sin. In the confession in the eucharistic rite the worshippers already look to the cross for their deliverance from sin: 'Cleanse and forgive us by the sacrifice of your Son; Remake us and lead us by your Spirit, the Comforter.' The absolution continues the theme of Christ's death as a sacrifice. In words alluding to the letter to the Hebrews, the priest pronounces God's pardon 'through Jesus Christ our merciful High Priest'. The absolution is followed by a feature of the liturgy which appears to be unique in Anglican rites: a prayer in which the whole congregation together thanks God for the forgiveness offered in Christ. The prayer itself is a reworking of Cranmer's Prayer of Humble Access, and is worth quoting in its entirety:

> Thank you Father, for forgiveness; We come to your table as your children, not presuming but assured, not trusting ourselves but your Word; we hunger and thirst for righteousness, and ask for our hearts to be satisfied with the body and blood of your Son, Jesus Christ the Righteous.

In Cranmer's original version, based in part on the story of Jesus' encounter with the Syrophoenician woman (Mk 7:24–30; Mt 15:21–28), the Prayer of Humble Access is phrased negatively: 'We are not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy table'. The

Kenyan version retains the note of human unworthiness ('We come . . . not presuming') but expresses this thought within the context of God's forgiveness and assurance of pardon. The foundation of this assurance is the sacrifice of Jesus, spoken forth in the visible words of the elements of the Communion service. Having prayed for forgiveness on the basis of Jesus' sacrifice on the cross, having heard the word of absolution pronounced through the name of Jesus the High Priest, the worshippers express thanks that their forgiveness has been achieved. Clearly this is a liturgy solidly within the Reformation tradition. The Kenyan church has made it plain that they have needed liturgical tradition, but they have not jettisoned the Reformation; the words have changed, but the theology is still in many ways that of Cranmer.

The service of Holy Communion continues the theme of Christ's death as a sacrifice in the eucharistic prayer. In the canon, after the recital of the words of institution and an acclamation, the service continues:

Minister	Therefore, heavenly Father, hear us as we celebrate this covenant with joy, and await the coming of our Saviour, Jesus Christ. He died in our place, making a full atonement for the sins of the whole world, the perfect sacrifice, once and for all. You accepted his offering by raising him from death, and granting him great honour at your right hand on high.
People	**Amen. Jesus is Lord.**
Minister	This is the feast of victory
People	**The lamb who was slain has begun his reign. Alleluia.**

In this sequence we see the marriage of two surprisingly compatible traditions. It is clear that African traditional religion is a framework in which the idea of sacrificial blood is comprehensible for Kenyan worshippers. In many African cultures covenants are still a living reality. 'There are oaths', Mbiti writes, 'which bind people mystically together, the best known being the one which creates what is rather loosely referred to as "blood-brotherhood." By means of this oath, two people who are not immediately related, go through a ritual which often involves exchanging small amounts of their blood by drinking or rubbing it into each other's body. After that they look upon each other as real "blood" brothers or sisters, and will behave in that capacity towards each other for the rest of their lives' (Mbiti, 212). In some African societies, furthermore, such oaths form a central part of a covenant between people of different ethnic groups, forming a bond of peace between groups that had been at war. In some of these covenant ceremonies an animal will be sacrificed and eaten as a part of a covenant meal. Such traditions bear a striking resemblance to covenant rituals recounted in the Old Testament. At the same time, the language of the Kenyan eucharistic prayer also echoes the Reformation theology of Cranmer: Christ 'died in our place, making a full atonement for the sins of the whole world, the perfect sacrifice, once and for all'. African traditional religion and Cranmer's eucharistic theology are thus knit together.

The theology of the Reformation is also discernable in what has been left out of the Kenyan book. There is no *epiclesis* over the elements, for example, although the Spirit is invoked on those who will receive the elements at communion: 'Pour your refreshing Spirit on us as we remember him in the way he commanded.' Nor is there a presentation of the bread and wine at the offertory. A hymn is sung during the preparation of the table, during which, according to the rubric, 'the offering is collected'; but it is clear that this is an offering of money, not of the elements. There is a clear distinction between the worshippers' offering of themselves to God and God's offering of himself on the cross, commemorated in the communion meal.

The Revival Movement: Walking in the Light

One of the great themes of the East African Revival was (and still is) the view that true Christian conversion must be accompanied by a contrite confession of sin. After being convicted of their wrongs by the preaching of the message of the cross, believers should be willing to give public testimony to what Christ has done in their lives and be willing to make restitution to anyone who has been harmed by their sins. There is a plethora of stories in East Africa of new believers returning things that had been stolen, or confessing past racial or ethnic hatred or sexual misconduct. Such confession must also be accompanied by a willingness to lead a new life of honesty and openness, a lifestyle described as 'walking in the light' (see 1 John 1:6–7). The resolve of believers is strengthened by regular meetings of revival fellowships in which evangelistic preaching, testimonials, and the singing of gospel songs play a prominent part. Largely a lay initiative, the Revival Movement forms the backbone of most of the Protestant churches in East Africa, including Kenya.

Themes resonating with the revival ethos can be found scattered throughout the new Kenyan Prayer Book. One example is the revised Collect for Purity, which echoes the favourite biblical text of the 'fellowship':

Almighty God,
You bring to light
Things hidden in darkness,
And know the shadows of our hearts;
Cleanse and renew us by your Spirit,
That we may walk in the light
And glorify your name,
Through Jesus Christ,
The Light of the world.

Here the theme of 'walking in the light' is given a rich theological context in which God the creator who brought light into being is also the redeemer who comes in Jesus as the light of the world. One of the great dangers of the revival has been its tendency to legalism. This prayer reminds the worshipper that it is by God's action of the Spirit that believers are 'cleansed and renewed'.

The hymnody of the Revival Movement was largely borrowed from nineteenth-century gospel songs, many of which were translated into local East African languages. The love of this tradition is seen in the Kenyan service of Compline. In place of the ancient hymn *Te lucis ante terminum* ('Before the ending of the day'), *Our Modern Services* has inserted a verse of 'Rock of Ages':

Nothing in my hands I bring,
Simply to thy cross I cling,
Naked come to thee for dress,
Helpless look to thee for grace,
Foul, I to the fountain fly,
Wash me Saviour or I die.

Most Kenyan Anglicans would not need a text at this point, the hymn being so well known by virtually every English-speaking believer.

Mission: The Church in the World

The western churches tend to be deeply divided over the issue of mission. On the one hand a number of more conservative Christians argue that mission is essentially about evangelism

and church-planting; on the other, there are many who think of mission more in terms of social justice. This disjunction owes much to the Enlightenment worldview, which has divided the sacred from the secular, the private from the public, the religious from the political. No such dualism exists in Africa. Life is seen in much more holistic terms, and mission is seen as God's loving offer extended to the world in all of its dimensions. Mission, therefore, includes both evangelism and social action, both proclamation of a saving gospel message and the prophetic critique against injustice in society.

As is well known, the Anglican churches of Africa are experiencing a period of tremendous numerical growth. One of the reasons for this expansion is surely the intentional training and mentoring of young men and women to serve as evangelists within a parish. A necessary addition to the Kenyan Prayer Book, therefore, is a service for the Commissioning of Evangelists. Included in the exhortation that precede the vows and prayers of commissioning is this description of the evangelist's task:

> As an evangelist you are called to proclaim the good news of Jesus Christ; inviting those who are responsive to turn to Christ and be saved.
> You are to testify to the truth about Jesus Christ as the Way, the Truth and the Life. . . .
> As an evangelist you must have a personal commitment to Christ and be a model of a good Christian to the Christian community.
> You are to be involved in the preaching rota of the local church and the parish.
> You must also seek to update yourself on the current social affairs affecting the people.

The ministry of the evangelist is not meant to diminish the baptismal ministry of every believer to witness to Christ, but evangelists are those who are perceived to be gifted and called to that particular ministry within the parish. It should be noted that most parishes in Kenya employ at least one evangelist.

In several places in the Kenyan Prayer Book are not too subtle hints that the church serves as the conscience of the nation. If there is social disorder or violence–and especially if that violence is state-sanctioned–God and his people will not be silent. Even in the eucharistic canon there are expressions of opposition to tyranny, as the history of salvation is recited in terms that resonate with both the traditional African context of pastoral life and with the often-present reality of political tension:

> From a wandering nomad you created your family;
> for a burdened people you raised up a leader;
> for a confused nation you chose a king;
> for a rebellious crowd you sent your prophets.

Similarly, the intercessions in the Communion service remind those who pray that God takes the side of the poor and suffering and that God opposes oppression:

> Loving Father, your Son grew in wisdom and stature, in favour with God and man: as he brought your good news to the poor, we now bring to you those who are suffering from hunger, poverty and sickness, and who are under oppression and exploitation. Your kingdom come, your will be done in transforming their lives and in inspiring us to share your gospel, so that friends and strangers may be saved.

This prayer admirably combines motifs from the Lord's Prayer and from Jesus' programmatic first sermon in Nazareth (Luke 4:16–30) in such a way that the ministry of transforming the unjust structures of society and the ministry of evangelism are held together.

A Litany for the Preservation of Environment

This service is to be used 'inside the church or near a threatened environmental site', as a way of 'celebrating God's gift of the created order and reminding people of their obligation to be responsible stewards of the same' in a country with a fragile ecosystem and a growing population. It has its climax in the following antiphonal section.

O Lord of all creation, who viewed all you had created
and concluded it was all very beautiful,
grant that your people, whom you created in your image
shall seek to safeguard and not destroy your beautiful creation.

May the shaved hills be reforested,
And turn flourishingly green again.

May the forests grow denser and greener.
May the encroachment of the deserts be averted.

May the rivers stay in their courses,
And be safeguarded against pollution.

May the fields yield a hundred fold,
And people be well fed;

May the herds and flocks ever find green pasture and cooling streams;
May our seas, oceans and lakes team with aquatic life;

May all wildlife be protected.
May it be safeguarded against poaching and fire catastrophes;

May water gush forth in the deserts and springs in the wastelands.
May creation harmony be furthered and humanity be truly good stewards as was decreed in the garden of Eden.

Glory to the Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit,
As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be. Amen.

Opposing 'oppression and exploitation' is not divorced from sharing the message of God's love in Christ 'so that friends and strangers may be saved'.

An unexpected feature for the western reader is a service for the Restoration of Things Profaned. This service is meant to be used 'after any kind of defilement of [a place of worship] has taken place through people's wrongful use, unholy invasion, wicked behaviour'. No doubt a variety of uses for such a service are envisioned, but the service probably has its origins in a particular event. On 11 July 1997 a peaceful pro-democracy demonstration that was being held in a park next to All Saints Cathedral in Nairobi was violently suppressed by Kenyan security forces. More than a dozen people were killed and many were injured. Some of the demonstrators sought shelter in the cathedral, but were followed by police, who beat the unarmed demonstrators in the nave. The following Sunday Archbishop Gitari led a congregation of several thousand in a memorial service and a ritual of cleansing of the cathedral. The service of Restoration begins: 'Brothers and sisters in the Lord, today we gather here to restore what the devil had destroyed and what the evil one profaned'. In its Service of Healing, the Kenyan Prayer Book includes a prayer for deliverance from 'satanic invasion'; here demonic forces are thought to be working against church buildings as well as believers, and one source of demonic activity might be the powers of a tyrannical government bent on injustice.

A Blessing

There are five alternative blessings at the conclusion of Morning Worship in *Our Modern Services,* four drawn from scripture and this adaptation, 'which may be said outside the church, with the minister stretching out his hand towards the fields, etc.'

May the Lord of the harvest bless your crops:
your maize and beans,
your rice and potatoes,
your tea and coffee.

May the Lord of creation bless your animals:
your cattle and camels,
your sheep and goats,
your chickens and pigs.

May the Lord of all life bless your families:
your husbands and wives,
your sons and daughters,
your brothers and sisters.

May the Lord of mercy have compassion on:
all our sick ones in hospitals and at home,
all who mourn your loved ones, and
all orphans and widows.

And the blessing of God Almighty,
the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit,
be among you and remain with you always.

Conclusion

Our Modern Services is a wonderful achievement, and it has set a high standard for liturgical inculturation in the twenty-first century. It is to be hoped that a Kiswahili version will soon be produced to take its place alongside the English version, and that services such as Holy Communion, Morning Prayer, Baptism, Confirmation, and the funeral rites will be translated into many local languages. The book was hurried to completion so as to appear before Archbishop Gitari's retirement, and that has inevitably resulted in errors of typography and grammar as well as a few stylistic inconsistencies. None of these, however, affects the experience of worship that the book is meant to facilitate. Those who have used it, whether in Kenya or in the west, can testify to the sense of joy and celebration it brings, as they are reminded again of God's love in Christ.

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The Church of Nigeria: The Book of Common Prayer

David C. Okeke

The Book of Common Prayer is part of the inheritance that came to what is now Nigeria with the introduction of Christianity. The first missionaries, sent from Sierra Leone in West Africa by the Church Missionary Society (CMS), arrived at a place called Badagry in 1842. From Badagry they moved to Abeokuta, which would later become the centre of missionary activity. Encouraged by the success of this mission to the Yoruba, the Igbo population in Sierra Leone appealed to the CMS to take on a mission to Igboland, which they agreed to support. This mission arrived at Onitsha in 1857, led by the Revd Samuel Ajayi Crowther, who was Yoruba, and the Revd John Taylor, who was Igbo. From there, part of the team moved north to Lokoja and then to Nupe, to start a Hausa mission.

By the turn of the twentieth century four distinct missions existed in Nigeria: Yoruba, Igbo, Delta, and Hausa. Many ecclesiastical and structural changes took place as dioceses were created, expanded, carved out, joined again, and separated. For a time these Nigerian dioceses were part of the Anglican Province of West Africa, which included Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Gambia, and Rio Pongas in Senegal. In February 1979, an autonomous ecclesiastical Province of Nigeria came into being, with sixteen dioceses and its own archbishop as metropolitan. Today the Church of Nigeria has over eighty dioceses and has been described as the fastest growing church in the Anglican Communion.

At its inception the Anglican Church in Nigeria adopted the 1662 Book of Common Prayer and began translating portions of it into various ethnic language groups – Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa, Ijaw, Itsekiri, Benin, and Nupe – as part of its missionary outreach to these peoples. Some of these translations included special services which were meant to meet particular needs, and which depended for their success on the education and commitment of indigenous leaders, lay and ordained. Similarly, the Church of Nigeria's new Prayer Book, discussed below, is now being translated into the three main indigenous language groups – Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba.

The language study needed for making these translations began in Freetown, Sierra Leone, where there were settlers from different ethnic groups following the abolition of the slave trade. The work done there greatly enhanced the efforts being made in Nigeria. It became possible to translate parts of the Bible, as well as the Prayer Book and hymns. Language work thus became the means of creating 'people of the book' in the widest sense, enabling converts to be educated and literate, and to appreciate the spiritual vitality of the Word of God.

The Igbo Prayer Book

There were various compilations and translations of the Igbo Book of Common Prayer, which took place in two phases. The first was the Onitsha Dialect Prayer Book, which began

at the same time as the mission and was later taken up by the Revd J. C. Taylor and completed in 1900. A revised edition was published for the CMS in 1929 by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), entitled *Akwukwo Ekpelu Nke Anekpelu Chukwu N'Ogbo*. Earlier, the services of Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, and Baptism had been in circulation. The psalms were taken from the Onitsha Dialect Igbo Bible published in 1900. The second phase began when it became clear that a Union Igbo Bible for the entire Igbo race was needed. The road to Union Igbo was tortuous and sometimes painful but rewarding. The effort was championed by Archdeacon T. J. Dennis, who was assisted by Igbo missionaries from the Anglican, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches. The Union Igbo Prayer Book was a revision of the Onitsha Dialect translation, together with separate Union Igbo rites already in use. The complete volume was published in 1940. Gradually the Onitsha Dialect version fell into disuse, while the Union Igbo Prayer Book came to be widely accepted and used.

The contents of the two Prayer Books are not quite the same. The compilers of the Onitsha Dialect Prayer Book were evidently familiar with liturgies besides those approved of by the evangelical CMS. It includes the service for the visitation of the sick, with its scriptural readings, short admonitions, prayers of intercession, confession, and absolution. Unfortunately this very important element of pastoral ministration has been omitted in the Union Igbo Prayer Book now in use. Clearly Igbo converts needed this sort of ministration, particularly readings from the psalms and pastoral care to infants who were ill. The Onitsha Dialect translation also has a long preface that includes 'Concerning the Service of the Church' and 'Concerning Ceremonies'. These were cut down in the Union Igbo Prayer Book, when the interests of Methodists and Presbyterians were taken into account in the ecumenical endeavours of the 1920s and 1930s.

Also included in the Onitsha Dialect book were the Forms of Prayer to be Used at Sea and the service of thanksgiving on the anniversary of the beginning of the king's (or queen's) reign. The various psalms, hymns, and prayers for use at sea could also be used in connection with travel on the Niger River and its delta; but they were understandably omitted from the Union Igbo Prayer Book, since most converts came from the mainland and travel was mostly by road. As for the Accession Day service, when the Onitsha Dialect Prayer Book was compiled there were still many Igbo kingdoms, large and small. They were recognized by the missionaries, and at times their kings offered protection to itinerant preachers and mission agents. The first gatherings of converts were sometimes held in the king's courtyard, though he himself had yet to be converted. With the pacification of Igboland and the military expeditions throughout what would later be known as Nigeria, these kingdoms fell out of respect and honour. Missionaries and their sponsors felt it would no longer serve their purposes to recognize these kingdoms. This section of the Prayer Book was carefully omitted. Colonial masters, as Nigerians came to realize, were not invariably 'defenders of the faith'.

The Onitsha Dialect Igbo Prayer Book was ambivalent as to the proper designation of ordained clergy. In a number of services, especially those of Morning and Evening Prayer, the word 'presbyter' was used. At the same time, the rubrics used the term *Ukochukwu,* which is the proper and widely accepted word for an ordained man. In some of the pastoral rites like marriage, the visitation of the sick, and the thanksgiving of women after childbirth, as well as in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, the term *Ukochukwu* was also used. By contrast, the Union Igbo book uses 'presbyter' in the Morning and Evening Prayer services, but 'minister' in the pastoral offices and other rites. It is unclear why this ambiguity about terminology persisted, since by the time that the Onitsha Dialect Igbo Prayer Book was translated, the word *Ukochukwu* was being widely used in Igbo Anglican churches. One reason, perhaps, was the growing association with other churches brought about by a proposed union that would have included the Presbyterians, the Qua Iboe, and the Methodists. These other

churches preferred to use 'minister', which may be reflected in the Union Igbo translations. The word 'bishop' is appropriately used throughout the translations, however.

The Union Igbo Prayer Book has two unequal sections. The first, which is longer, follows the order of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, beginning with the order for daily Morning Prayer and continuing with the services of ordination for deacons and priests. It has no service for the consecration of a bishop, although this had been included in the Onitsha Dialect translation. Perhaps it was thought unlikely that a Nigerian would be consecrated to the episcopate. If so, the translators were forgetting that Samuel Ajayi Crowther had been consecrated bishop of the Niger Territories at the time the Igbo Mission began. But many of the English thought it would be a mistake to have local African bishops. Perhaps here too ecumenical considerations played a part, since the other churches that were proposing to unite did not have the office of bishop. Another significant omission is the Athanasian Creed. Was it left out in order to spare Igbo congregations from its barrage of theology? Or was the omission just a matter of liturgical convenience? Certainly the intricate, technical statement of beliefs about the Trinity and Christ might be thought to stand in the way of a straightforward presentation of Christianity.

The second section is called the Appendix, a collection of various services and prayers. It includes children's worship; a celebration of the CMS anniversary, to mark the coming of Christianity to Igboland; services for the Harvest Thanksgiving holiday, for the laying of a foundation stone for a new church building, and for dedicating or consecrating a church or a burial ground; rites for the admission of catechumens and the reception of converts from Roman Catholicism; burial services for children and for those not yet baptized; Admission of Licensed Lay Readers and a commissioning service for catechists; and a short form of the Ten Commandments for use at the Holy Eucharist. It may be noted that in this appendix the word *Ukochukwu* is used for the ordained person throughout. While some of these services are borrowed from Prayer Books used in other Anglican churches, several were composed to serve the evangelistic needs of converts, such as the services for children, harvest, admitting catechumens, and commissioning catechists. All these give evidence of the creative ingenuity of the mission agents. None of the contents of the appendix had been in the Onitsha Dialect Prayer Book.

There are still gaps, however, and attempts were later made to fill them. Dedication services for houses, the blessing of canoes and nets, memorial services, rites for Rogation Sunday with its theme of agricultural pursuits, dedication of maternity clinics and hospitals, admission to the Women's Guild and the Mothers' Union, and the institution and induction of clergy – these and others were brought together in 1954 as *Occasional Services* (*see also* Ekpunobi, 'Services', pp. 305–8).

The Hausa and Yoruba Prayer Books

By the turn of twentieth century, parts of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer were being used also by the growing congregations of Yoruba and Hausa Anglicans, with Sunday worship being conducted in the north in Hausa. It was not until the 1950s that those parts of the rites already being used for worship and services were collected and printed. A revised edition of the Hausa Prayer Book (*Littatin Addu'a*) was published in 1968 to serve what was then the diocese of Northern Nigeria, and reprinted ten years later. The translation was based on a combination of 1662 Book of Common Prayer and the 1928 Proposed Book. It had an abridged preface, the same contents as in the 1662, and occasional prayers for important needs. The rubrics in the preface stated that only the bishop could authorize the use of alternative forms of service, and they omit restrictions on the language to be used. Although this rite was written in Hausa, it was expected that as other ethnic groups converted, the language of the rites would differ while the general format was retained. Presumably

the 1928 Proposed Book influenced the choice of sentences for Morning and Evening Prayer in the Hausa Prayer Book, since they are similarly arranged according to the seasons of the church year.

There are a number of rubrics to guide preachers and lay readers, which are contextualized to suit different levels of understanding on the part of users, and make very explicit how the service is to be conducted. Several of the 'occasional prayers' are adapted for local use. Instead of prayers for the king and the royal family, there are prayers for Nigeria and its head of state. The omission of prayers for the king reflected the political and social circumstances of Christians who were under Muslim domination at the time the translations were made, while the thanksgivings are appropriate for the mainly agricultural pursuits of the people and for other social issues of concern to converts and worshippers. Preparation for the celebration of the Eucharist forms a separate section, ensuring the solemnity of the rite and the reverence expected of communicants. Offertory sentences from the Apocrypha are replaced by others from canonical books, and contemporary prayers are permitted.

Another important feature of the Hausa Prayer Book is a section on what in religious practice today would be termed an 'altar call', in which converts publicly express their commitment to Jesus Christ, giving their lives to him so as to follow him always. This theme is elaborated in the catechism, which in addition to basic Christian knowledge includes teachings on the church and its worship, the Holy Spirit in the church, the Bible, confirmation, ordination, matrimony, healing, the Second Coming, and the Last Judgement. In this way the Prayer Book not only directs the celebration of the various rites in the church, but also serves as a basis for effective church teaching.

It is evident that the translators were aware of other rites in the wider Anglican Communion and were sensitive as well to the yearnings and needs of the worshippers. For example, while this Prayer Book has no alternative order for the solemnization of a marriage, it does contain an order for blessing the marriages of those who have followed local customs with regard to marital relationships. This rite ministered to the pastoral needs of many converts who were already living together in the traditional manner as husband and wife and who had children. Such adaptations were also made in the sections for the burial of adults, children, and non-baptized members, as well as for the licensing of lay readers. On the other hand, it is strange that *Littafin Addu'a* does not include the Commination service for Ash Wednesday, the service for the consecration of a bishop, the Table of Kindred and Affinity, or the Accession Day service.

The Yoruba Book of Common Prayer, *Iwe Adura Yoruba,* followed a pattern of translation, adaptation, and inculturation much like that of the Hausa Prayer Book. By 1852 many translations of portions of the Bible and other literature existed in the Yoruba language, including the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, *The Pilgrim's Progress,* Watt's *Catechism,* and Barth's *Bible Stones.* Bishop Crowther published a Yoruba dictionary; worship was conducted in its language and many Yoruba songs and lyrics were used. The Yoruba Prayer Book, like the Hausa, contains all the major sections of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer and, like the Onitsha Dialect Igbo Prayer Book, has an abridged preface and no appendix. Some portions of the appendix in the Union Igbo Prayer Book, however, form part of the contents of the *Iwe Adura Yoruba.* In order to make it easier for Yoruba converts to follow the liturgy, the translation used widely known and acceptable terms such as *alfa,* with its many cultic and ritualistic overtones, for 'priest'.

The New Church of Nigeria Book of Common Prayer

When the Church of Nigeria became an autonomous province in 1979, Nigerian Anglicans wished to have a liturgy that would express the cultural milieu of the people. It was to be a contemporary liturgy that was intended both to address the basic needs of the people and to

enable them to worship in spirit and truth. Hence a trial liturgy of Holy Communion preceded the completed Prayer Book of 1996, with the hope of translating the English version of 1996 into various Nigerian language groups.

The 1996 Book of Common Prayer is based on other Prayer Books already in use, and has a strong western orientation. The language of the entire Book of Common Prayer is simple, contemporary, and easily understood, with a minimum of rubrics. Here and there, certain features of western liturgies have been modified to give them a Nigerian cultural face. It might have been thought that the spirit of the Lambeth Conference's declaration that 'each province is free to adopt the liturgy that will meet the need of its Christian people, especially in this age of charismatic movement in the church universal' would have guided the revisers more strongly. Part of the difficulty may have been that African churches seem reluctant to produce liturgies of their own, drawing on African sources, lest they weaken continuity with their historical roots. Moreover, infatuation with western ways is strong. Yet Nigerians are colourful, lively, simple people, who dance their faith and chant their emotions. That is why the new charismatic Anglicans, while formally maintaining their Anglican membership, go elsewhere to 'receive prayers'. But although there are some points in the new Prayer Book's various rites where a more charismatic style is attempted, on the whole it relies on adoption and adaptation rather than on liturgical creativity and innovation.

There are, however, some features that cannot be found either in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer or in the other sources which the new book draws upon. Here the new Prayer Book has drawn these other liturgies into an intelligible whole, for example in the Easter Vigil, which takes a form different from the corresponding rites in other Anglican Prayer Books. The calendar makes provision for 'local feasts', which may be 'observed as so desired by the local congregation' and include the dedication of a church and the anniversary of a diocese. But though specific liturgies for these occasions could have been provided, they were not. Samuel Ajayi Crowther is specifically commemorated on 3 October, and the work of 'others who had contributed in building up the Church in Nigeria' may also be celebrated. An attempt has been made to lend a clearer focus to the services of Morning and Evening Prayer, with scriptural sentences that reflect the seasons of the church year, as well as liturgical flexibility with the provision of canticles and alternative prayers. The service of Compline is very welcome for people who cannot attend Evening Prayer. Other important features of the new book are the Penitential Office and the rites for Palm Sunday, Good Fri-

Renunciation of Secret Cults

The Nigerian Book of Common Prayer provides that at the service of ordination for a bishop, priest, or deacon, the bishop or archbishop who presides shall require five ordination oaths to be taken: loyalty to scripture and the formularies of the church; submission to Synod; canonical obedience to the bishop; submission to any ecclesiastical penalty; and one of the following oaths of allegiance to God.

I, . . . , confess before God and His Church that I have never been a member of any secret cult. I also vow that I will never join any secret cult; that I owe allegiance to no other but to the Lord Jesus Christ; and that my loyalty to Him will always be absolute, total and undivided. If I go back on this oath and vow, I put myself under the wrath of God, in the Name of God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit.

I, . . . , confess before God and His Church that I was once a member of a secret cult. I confess that I have renounced my membership of it. I also vow before God and His Church that I will never again join any secret cult; as from now on, my allegiance will always be to no other but to the Lord Jesus Christ; and that my loyalty to Him will always be absolute, total and undivided. If I go back on this oath and vow, I put myself under the wrath of God, in the Name of God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit.

day, and the Easter Vigil. These rites invite much participation and are well adapted to local needs.

The Ministration to the Sick is also new, adapted from the Church of England's 1928 Proposed Book, with provision for both confession and anointing. The rite allows the use of traditional choruses as well as extempore prayers; it touches deep feelings of members who love to dance their faith. Another distinctive new feature, found in the services of ordination and consecration, is an oath of allegiance to God in which the ordinand renounces membership in any secret society. This declaration arose from a real concern that the church was being infiltrated by members of secret cults, which in many places continue to play an important part in local affairs. The oath is meant to ensure a complete commitment to God and to the church. It is now required only of those who are being ordained, but it could equally apply to candidates for adult baptism and confirmation who need to recommit themselves to God.

The Way Forward

The Church of Nigeria, as an important part of the Anglican Communion worldwide, shares the mores, ethos, faith, and traditions of that wider world. Together with the scriptures, the episcopate, and the traditions of the universal church, the Prayer Book helps to hold this Communion together. In the Nigerian context, language work has been a uniquely important part of this liturgical inheritance, which has given the Anglican Church a centre of identity as a 'people of the book'. There needs to be deliberate, ongoing effort to reflect in liturgy the cultural patterns of the people and the theological challenges that face them as a worshipping community.

While the framework set by the 1662 Book of Common Prayer may remain, clear and determined efforts ought to be made to incorporate Nigerian culture. The services of baptism, Eucharist, and marriage, together with the Rogation rites, are some of the places where this can happen. The Prayer Book wedding service, for example, might be made part of the traditional marriage ceremony, which is very important for the couple and their relatives. Baptism might be brought together with the traditional ceremony of naming, and initiation services such a confirmation might be associated with traditional Nigerian rites of passage. Much labour would be required, but the rewards would be rich – a theological cultural face for rites that matter greatly to Nigerians who are rooted in the ethos of their traditional culture. A dynamic approach would enable the church to remove superstitious accretions that are associated with the traditional rites, as it tries to incarnate its doctrines within the cultural systems and patterns of the people.

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The Church of Nigeria: *Occasional Services*

Emmanuel Ekpunobi

The book entitled *Occasional Services* was first produced in 1954 to complement the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, by supplying liturgies for important occasions such as admission to the Mothers' Union. The diocese on the Niger, under the episcopate of Archbishop C.J. Paterson of West Africa, sponsored the production of the first edition, which was introduced to all Anglican churches in West Africa. Translated into many languages, this book was used exclusively by the clergy. This first edition became so popular that it soon sold out, and in 1973 the second edition appeared. In the 1980s it became the practice to produce an 'order of service' with a mimeograph machine; later, printing became the order of the day. Parts of the book *Occasional Services* were subsequently reproduced and used as the order of service without acknowledging the source, and at this time the material in the book is used extensively in Nigeria in print forms like these.

Measuring four inches by eight, the *Occasional Services* book has two hundred seven pages in twenty chapters that are divided into two main sections. Section A is designated 'for general congregational use' and among its chapters are The Public Institution and Induction of a Pastor, An Early Morning Service, A Late Evening Service (Compline), A Service of Rogationtide, A Service for the Admission of Choristers, An Admission Service to the Women's Guild/Women's Christian Association, and A Service of Admission to Mothers Union. Section B is 'chiefly for the use of Pastors and Church Leaders' and contains chapters such as A Memorial Service, A Watch Night Service, A Service for the Dedication (or Blessing) of a Parsonage or new Dwelling House, A Service for the Dedication of a School, and A Service for the Opening of a Maternity Home. Each of the twenty chapters is followed by an Igbo translation of the text, in keeping with the recommendation of the 1958 Lambeth Conference that the worship and witness of the Anglican Communion should be expressed in the vernacular. These Igbo sections are carefully done to reflect all the nuances of the original language, and written in the official Igbo orthography.

The compilers did not indicate the sources of the texts they used. For the most part they were 'redactors' who took existing texts and embellished them with references to the culture and local situation of the people. For example, the Rogation service contains prayers for trees and fruits, among them a prayer for yams and cassava. Palm trees used to be a major source of income in the region, so there are prayers specifically directed 'upon the palm trees and their fruits; upon those who climb the trees that their ropes may be strong'. Whether or not they stated their sources, the writers wove the needs and aspirations of the people into the prayer format. These compositions may not be original, since texts exist for similar services; probably the authors added 'local content' to existing prayers.

Occasional Services also prescribes specific hymns, psalms, and Bible passages for particular services, although in some cases it merely indicates that 'a hymn will be sung'. In the Rogation service, for example, nine different hymns are selected, beginning with 'All people that on earth do dwell'. Other hymns, such as 'O Worship the King', 'The King of Love my

Shepherd is', and 'Lead us Heavenly Father, Lead us' are prescribed to be sung at different points as the congregation processes out of the church and pauses at various places. These 'stations' include the centre of the village, where psalm texts are prescribed: 'Behold, how good and joyful a thing it is: brethren, to dwell together in unity. Except the Lord build the house; their labour is but lost that build it. Except the Lord keep the city: the watchman waketh but in vain.' At a well or stream there are prayers and hymns on the theme of water. The verses for the 'station' at a group of farms are: 'The life of one that laboureth and is contented shall be made sweet. Hate not laborious work; neither farming which the Most High hath ordained. O let the earth bless the Lord; yea, let it praise him, and magnify him for ever.'

In the introductory prayer for Rogationtide, the congregation asks for blessings on the soil that helps the plants to grow and for those who work and preserve it, for those who compost and teach others to do so, for those who work to prevent erosion, and for all those 'who through their studies and labour help us to work together with God for the feeding of his children to the glory of his name'.

It is significant that *Occasional Services* prescribes specific hymns, since most other Books of Common Prayer in the Anglican Communion do not. Singing is an aspect of Nigerian culture that helps to make liturgy relevant to the congregation, so it is not surprising that in the course of a specific liturgy, local choruses are also substituted for the prescribed hymns. These local choruses are short sentences set to music in quick-moving rhythms, with tunes that are easy to learn, and they are usually accompanied with local musical instruments. Members of the congregation relate strongly to these choruses, clapping and dancing as they sing the words.

Liturgies of Admission

According to the laws and traditions of most of West Africa, women are the property of men and, with the exception of some ethnic groups in Ghana, inheritance is patriarchal. Before the arrival of Christian missionaries, the number of wives a man possessed was the measure of his wealth. The role of leadership in the family and the society belonged to men, while women provided free labour–they cultivated the farms, looked after their children, and prepared food for their husbands. A few women, however, became priestesses, prophetesses, and medicine women who contributed to the leadership of the society. The missionaries introduced monogamy, an alien practice for Africans and one that Christian converts found difficult to accept given the social and economic advantages of polygamy.

In keeping with this ideal, the liturgies of admission to the Women's Guild and to the Mothers' Union institutionalized and reinforced the importance of Christian marriage. In these services the women swear to uphold the sanctity of Christian marriage and promise to uphold 'Christ's teaching on the nature of marriage and to promote its wider understanding'. These liturgies reinforce biblical principles of patriarchy, as found for example in Ephesians 5:22–23: 'Wives, submit to your own husbands, as to the Lord. For the husband is head of the wife, as also Christ is head of the church; and He is the Savior of the body.' Submissiveness is an integral part of social relationships: children should submit to the authority of their parents; servants ought to submit to the authority of their employers. All must imitate the joyful, glad, and willing obedience of Jesus Christ. Moreover, these liturgies of admission take the concept of the 'church as family' and apply it to the entire society. Membership of the family is consequently identified with the roles each member performs, roles that hold the families together by making the members work towards a common goal. These goals unite the family and consequently the society. Just as no role is inferior, in the same way no gender, class, or ability that contributes to the progress of the society is inferior. No one member lords it over the others. Every member of the family should serve in love. The

church-as-family is meant to create an egalitarian society where there is equality, respect, and justice.

Both the Women's Guild and the Mothers' Union are diocesan organizations. In each diocese the bishop's wife serves as president, while the archdeacon's wife is the vice-president. Wives of the vicars are 'enrolling members' and have the primary responsibility of preparing the candidates for admission. Each candidate is helped to memorize the rules, goals, and prayers of the associations.

An Admission Service to the Women's Guild

Started in 1921 by Bishop Frank Jones and his wife, Frances, in the diocese of Lagos, the Women's Guild is open to all baptized women of the Anglican Church. Its motto is taken from Galatians 5:13: 'By love, serve one another.' Members subscribe to six rules: (1) to read some verses of the Holy Scriptures, memorize a biblical verse, and pray every day; (2) to uphold the sanctity of marriage, bring up children and servants in the right way, and to teach them to pray twice a day; (3) to lead exemplary lives, avoiding debt, corruption, alcohol, blasphemy, and slander; (4) to attend church services, class meetings, and Guild meetings regularly; (5) to endeavour to win people for Christ; (6) to visit all sick people and those who are bereaved.

In the service for admission to the Guild, a rubric specifies that 'only the Bishop or his deputy will conduct this service'. It starts with an introit, sentences, confession, absolution, scripture lessons, and the *Magnificat*. Then those seeking admission stand before the altar, where the priest's wife presents them to the bishop, saying: 'Reverend Father in God, we present unto you these women of whom we have rightly inquired and found fit to be admitted to the Women's Guild of this Diocese.' They affirm their desire to be members of the Guild and recite the six rules. After saying the prayers of the Guild, the bishop admits them with these words: 'We admit these women to the Women's Guild of this Diocese and pray that God may bless them, and their household, and all that they do in His name.' While the women and the whole congregation kneel, the bishop reads the collects for the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Second Sunday in Advent. The prayer is read that follows at the end of the ministration of baptism of those who are of 'riper years', and then all join in the grace. The service ends after the sermon, a hymn, and the benediction.

Service of Admission to the Mothers' Union

The Mothers' Union was founded in 1876 by Mrs Mary Sumner, and in 1887 the diocese of Winchester in England recognized it as a diocesan organization. Its motto, from Philippians 4:13, is: 'I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me.' The Union has spread throughout the Anglican Communion, and in some countries is open to both men and women. In Nigeria, only women are members. They must profess these five goals: (1) to uphold Christ's teaching on the nature of marriage and to promote its wider understanding; (2) to encourage parents to bring up their children in the faith and life of the church; (3) to maintain a worldwide fellowship of Christians united in prayer, worship, and service; (4) to promote conditions in society favourable to stable family life and the protection of children; and (5) to help families in adversity.

The service of admission to Mothers' Union is also called the 'Enrolment Service', and can take place after a Holy Communion or Morning Prayer service. The bishop starts with the invocation and the *Kyrie;* after that, the service is much like the one for admission to the Women's Guild. The first prayer of the newly admitted members of the Mothers' Union is called 'Teach Us to Train Our Children for Heaven' and is made up of nine petitions, each beginning with 'O Lord':

Fill us with your Holy Spirit that we may firmly believe in Jesus Christ and love Him with all our hearts;
Wash our souls in His precious blood;
Make us to hate sin, and to be holy in thought, word, and deed;
Help us to be faithful wives and loving mothers;
Bless us and all who belong to the Mothers' Union, unite us together in love and prayer;
Teach us to train our children for heaven;
Pour out your Holy Spirit on our husbands and children;
Make our homes, homes of peace and love;
May we so live on earth that we may live with you forever in heaven.

At the centre of the members' concern is the home and the responsibilities of wives in training of the children. It is important to remember that Christianity is a 'taught' religion; it is not passed on to babies through the genes. The child learns and imbibes the mother's values and attitudes. The mother is the most intimate teacher a child can have in the child's early years. This intensity of influence may change, as the child grows older. The mothers are reminded that in spite of other influences, which are often negative, they are still responsible for the training of the children. The target of such training is for the children to be children of heaven also. Surely, the services of induction into Women's Guild and Mothers' Union remind mothers of their roles in their homes and the society.

Central African Prayer Books

Titus Presler

Established in 1955, the Church of the Province of Central Africa (CPCA) includes Anglican churches in the nations of Botswana, Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. In view of the province's relatively recent formation, the history of the rendering and use of the Book of Common Prayer in the region concerns, first, the book's use and translation among the various ethno-linguistic groups of the region and, second, general usage in an ecclesiastical province of numerous national and linguistic cultures. Prayer Book diffusion in this region was prompted principally by not one but two missionary societies, the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG). Mission initiatives from South Africa as well as from England meant that Prayer Book traditions were influenced by practice in the Church of the Province of South Africa, established in 1870, as well as by the Church of England.

Indigenous African peoples have been the chief participants in Anglican worship in the region, so this treatment focuses on Prayer Book translation and diffusion among these groups. It must be noted, however, that Africans were introduced to the 1662 Book of Common Prayer because Prayer Book worship was a standard of Anglican practice and identity espoused by missionary and immigrant Anglicans of European origin, whether from England or South Africa. The majority of the region's white settlers were those who settled in Southern Rhodesia through the initiative of the British South Africa Company, beginning in 1891. Worship in the first settler congregation at Fort Salisbury, today's Harare, and the many settler congregations subsequently established was according to the 1662 Book of Common Prayer and later South African revisions.

The first Prayer Book publication for a Bantu linguistic group in the region was in Tswana, the majority language of Bechuanaland, which became a British protectorate in 1885 and the greater portion of which became the independent nation of Botswana in 1966. Work was begun at Thaba 'Nchu in the late 1860s by the Society of St Augustine, established by Bishop Edward Twells, the first bishop of Bloemfontein. The year 1875 saw the publication by the Mission Press at Thaba 'Nchu of Prayer Book portions, with Psalms 1 through 30 in Serolong, a dialect of Tswana, translated by George Mitchell of the SPG. This was used in the southern portion of Bechuanaland that ultimately became part of South Africa. A form for the admission of catechumens was included the next year and was the basis of the catechumenal rite published in 1880 by the diocese of Bloemfontein in their *Manual of Offices for Several Occasions*. Affirmed by missionary conferences of 1889 and 1892 in South Africa, the Bloemfontein rite, in turn, became the basis for the catechumenal rite in the South African Book of Common Prayer. Anglican work began within what is today's Botswana late in the century and had ready recourse to the existing Tswana translation. In 1888 the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) published a more complete Tswana Prayer Book, William Crisp of the SPG having revised and enlarged Mitchell's work, and others brought out a further revision in 1911. The 1927 version saw the inclusion of the South African form for the Holy Communion in the main text, as well as the 1662 rite later in the book.

Ecclesiastically, the Bechuanaland Protectorate belonged initially to the diocese of Mashonaland, which included all of today's Zimbabwe. On account of the linguistic and economic connections its peoples had with areas to the south, it was incorporated in 1915 into the diocese of Kimberly and Kuruman. Further complicating its worship tradition, in 1955 the area north of Mahalapye was placed in the diocese of Matabeleland and thus in the new Church of the Province of Central Africa, while the territory south of Mahalapye continued in the Church of the Province of South Africa's diocese of Kimberley and Kuruman. In 1966, Botswana as a whole was incorporated into the diocese of Matabeleland, and in 1972 the diocese of Botswana was inaugurated and has remained in the CPCA. As a result, the South African Prayer Book has more currency in the diocese of Botswana today than does the Central African Prayer Book.

The earliest Anglican work within what is now the Church of the Province of Central Africa was initiated by the Universities' Mission to Central Africa in Nyasaland, today's Malawi, independent since 1964. Newly consecrated by the Metropolitan of Cape Town, Bishop Charles MacKenzie began work among the Nyanja in the Shiré highlands of southeastern Malawi in 1861. Local people joined missionaries for daily Matins and Sunday Communion from the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, some of it in Nyanja, which the missionaries were learning. Anticipating the need for assistance in the language acquisition and translation essential to cross-cultural mission, MacKenzie included in the mission party three freed slaves, known as Charles, William, and Job. The UMCA withdrew to Zanzibar in 1863 on account of war, famine, and disease, and concerted local Prayer Book translation came with the mission's renewed work in Malawi in 1881.

In 1882, well before British colonial authority was established in 1891, portions of the Prayer Book were published in Yao, spoken in southeastern Malawi and northern Mozambique. The translation was by Edward Steere, the third UMCA bishop, who in Zanzibar had translated much of the Bible and Book of Common Prayer into Swahili, translations that were used, as well, in UMCA work among Swahili-speakers on the western shore of Lake Malawi (in the Malawi of today, whereas the eastern shore became German East Africa, today's Tanzania). In 1886, Cecil Majaliwa, the third indigenous priest in the diocese of Southwest Tanganyika, was able to write that he was offering much of the liturgy in Yao. Yohanna Abdallah, the son of a Yao chief and the first African ordained as priest in the diocese of Nyasaland, was responsible for the Yao translation of Prayer Book portions published in 1902 by the Universities' Mission Press on Likoma Island in Lake Malawi. He and two UMCA missionaries brought out a revised and enlarged edition in 1904, and another missionary, W. B. Suter, did likewise in 1910, all published on Likoma. An almost complete Book of Common Prayer in Yao was published by the UMCA in 1912. Illustrating the link that mission work in central Africa had with the 1662 Prayer Book of the Church of England, King George V sent specially bound copies of the Book of Common Prayer and the Bible for use in Likoma Cathedral on the occasion of its consecration in 1911.

The majority language of Malawi is Nyanja, of which Chewa is a major dialect. Although much UMCA work was carried out among Nyanja- and Chewa-speakers, the first Nyanja Prayer Book was not issued until 1897, by SPCK. Translated by UMCA missionaries A. G. B. Glossop and W. P. Johnson, it was an abridged version with lections but without psalms. A more complete version, revised by a committee of missionaries and nationals led by Johnson, was issued in 1909, and supplements followed in 1912 and 1926. Beginning at Easter 1921, the Eucharist was offered daily in Nyanja in Likoma Cathedral, whereas previously the daily celebrations, themselves a reflection of the UMCA's Anglo-Catholic orientation, were in English, except one day a week. During the twentieth century ordinary Anglicans in Malawi often did not own the more complete versions themselves, but separately printed Prayer Book portions and hymnals were found commonly among the people and in church pews. Prayer Book portions in Pangwa were published by the UMCA in 1912,

but the relatively small number of Pangwa-speakers militated against producing a full Prayer Book in that language.

In 1888–1889, Bishop George W. H. Knight-Bruce of Bloemfontein undertook mission journeys in Mashonaland, today's Zimbabwe, which issued in his opening work there in 1891 with SPG support. Highlighting the importance of indigenous agency, the first committee Knight-Bruce assembled to begin Bible and Prayer Book translation into Shona, the major language of the area, consisted of a Shona convert, a Mozambican catechist, a South African catechist, and two English clergy. Wrote the bishop at the time: 'We are all living in the mission-house, and sit at our work for about five hours a day. We believe Kapuiya speaks the purest Seshona. Every word in the grammar and its pronunciation has to be passed by him before it is allowed to exist.' The Mozambican catechist was Bernard Mizeki, a remarkable linguist, who became central Africa's first Anglican martyr in 1896 and whose festival today occasions the largest annual gathering of Anglicans in the world in a flourishing of indigenized Christian worship and proclamation. Shoniwa Kapuya himself later recalled the translation process:

> We said our prayer first, and then the Bishop would say something to Bernard in English. Bernard would say it in Shona to me, and I would correct some of the words. We worked until lunchtime. Then we would eat, and continue until it was dark. We did this for thirty days. We translated the Te Deum, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the catechism, and some of Our Lord's Parables.

In a striking instance of enculturation, the first version of the Lord's Prayer asked for daily sustenance using the word *sadza*, Shona for the cornmeal porridge that is the staple of peoples in eastern and southern Africa. This was later changed, however, to *chingwa*, Shona for bread made with flour and yeast.

In 1898 SPCK published a Shona translation of Morning and Evening Prayer, Mark 1–6, and some hymns, all translated by Douglas R. Pelley of the SPG with assistance from an unnamed indigenous preacher. An abridged Shona Book of Common Prayer with lections and some psalms, translated by E. H. Etheridge, was published by SPCK in 1903, with numerous subsequent editions. Initiating a practice continuing to the present, a Shona hymnal, consisting largely of translations of English hymns, was printed with the Prayer Book. Since Mashonaland was part of the Church of the Province of South Africa, the 1923 edition contained the South African alternative Communion rite. Having entered the country from Mozambique, Bishop Knight-Bruce established his first base in the east at Umtali, today's Mutare, in Manicaland, where St Augustine's Mission, Penhalonga, became the fountainhead of Zimbabwean Anglicanism. Translation work initiated and continued there gave all Shona Prayer Book translations a decidedly Manyika cast. As distinguished from other Shona dialects such as the Zezuru, Karanga, and Korekore, Ndau is an eastern Shona dialect sufficiently distinct that other mission churches produced an Ndau Bible, but Anglicans did not follow suit with an Ndau Book of Common Prayer.

As was the case elsewhere in Africa, the linguistic work required to produce church texts in this region involved discernment about relationships between languages, decisions about which dialects should receive focus, and the first commission of languages to written form. These activities initiated literary traditions in previously unwritten languages and thus helped to preserve them. They also stimulated a standardization process among dialects whereby some dialects became more central than others for common communication. Today Anglicans of various dialects in Zimbabwe are working to make liturgical Shona approximate what has come to be known as 'Standard Shona' in the educational system, in preference to what has been experienced as the Manyika bias of the Shona Book of Common Prayer.

The language of southwestern Zimbabwe's Ndebele people, who constitute about

twelve per cent of today's population, is sufficiently close to that of the Zulu, to whom they are related, that Zulu translations which had been developed in the Church of the Province of South Africa since the 1850s sufficed for the Anglican work in Matabeleland that commenced after the British South Africa Company defeated King Lobengula in 1893. Formation of the diocese of Matabeleland in 1953 strengthened Ndebele Anglican identity. The *Matabeleland Prayer Book*, published in 1976 by the bishop of Matabeleland through Mambo, the major Zimbabwean church press, is a Zulu-Shona diglot liturgy with Zulu hymns.

Anglican ministry commenced later in the areas north of the Zambezi, what became known as Northern Rhodesia, administered by the British South Africa Company until it became a British protectorate in 1924; independence as Zambia was achieved in 1964. The 1662 Book of Common Prayer was standard at an early settler congregation established at Chipata in 1906 in eastern Zambia, as an extension of the diocese of Nyasaland. The impetus for mission among indigenous people was the 1907 golden jubilee of David Livingstone's plea for central Africa, which had prompted the founding of the UMCA. Upon establishing the diocese of Northern Rhodesia in 1910, Bishop John Hine appointed Leonard Kamungu to initiate work at Msoro in the east among the Nsenga, whose language resembles Nyanja and Chewa. Translated by A. S. B. Ranger, who followed Kamungu at Msoro, portions of the Book of Common Prayer in Nsenga were published in 1916. Ranger followed up with a more extensive but still abridged version in 1921, which was reissued in 1927, the year of the diocese's first Synod.

Unlike the other countries in the Church of the Province of Central Africa, Zambia is a country of many languages. Although Anglican mission work was not as intensively and evenly distributed as in Malawi and Zimbabwe, historical records testify to lay and ordained ministers, both foreign and indigenous, working in a variety of languages among congregations in widely dispersed parts of the country. Portions of the Prayer Book in Bemba, the language spoken more widely than any other, were published by SPCK in 1929 and again in 1963. However, it is unclear that the Book of Common Prayer was published in other Zambian languages apart from Nsenga. For instance, Bishop Hine was involved in a translation of the New Testament into Chila in 1913, but there is no evidence of a printed Chila Book of Common Prayer. Reasonable inferences are that translations of major parts of the Prayer Book were made but not printed for smaller language groups and that among some such groups Bemba was usable.

At the formation of the Church of the Province of Central Africa in 1955, the Archbishop of Canterbury relinquished metropolitical jurisdiction over the dioceses of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, and the Archbishop of Cape Town relinquished jurisdiction over the dioceses of Mashonaland and Matabeleland. Reflecting the region's ties with South Africa, especially close in the numerically strong Southern Rhodesian dioceses, the new province took the Church of the Province of South Africa's newly revised Book of Common Prayer of 1954 as its own. Like the CPSA book, the CPCA book is titled not *The* Book of Common Prayer, but *A* Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites of the Church, etc., with the following notation: 'As formerly set forth by authority for use in the Church of the Province of South Africa/Adapted for Use in the Province of Central Africa'. The preface echoes the CPSA's statement that the forms are 'adaptations, abridgements and additions to the Book of Common Prayer (1662) required by the circumstances of the Province and consistent with the spirit and teaching of that Book' and notes that either the 1662 or the CPCA Book of Common Prayer may be used. Prayers for the royal family were retained, and the CPSA's references to the Governor-General of South Africa were replaced by 'the Governor-General of this land'. The Central Africa book is otherwise identical to that of South Africa. In Botswana, in fact, the English and Tswana versions of the CPSA book continue to be standard.

The CPCA Book of Common Prayer was translated in its entirely into Shona in a version published with the Shona hymnal in 1963, corrected in 1972 and reprinted many times since. In Zimbabwe it has long been customary for ordinary Anglicans to own their own Prayer Books. The book's value in Zimbabwe as an identity marker was heightened during the final years of the liberation struggle that brought majority rule in 1980, when many Anglicans had to conceal their Prayer Books and other church paraphernalia or face reprisals. In Zambia, by contrast, the number of languages and the endemic financial constraints have combined to prevent complete translations. Versions of the eucharistic rite according to the Southern Africa's *Anglican Prayer Book, 1989* are available in Bemba, Nsenga, Nyanja, and Tonga, while other rites continue to be available only in English. Moreover, even the eucharistic rite has not been translated officially into significant languages such as Lozi, Lunda, and Luvale, which are recognized as official tribal languages by the Zambian government. It is not uncommon, therefore, for various rites to be translated extemporaneously on the spot, with consequent wide variation in linguistic expression. Given that local culture in Zambia tends to be oral rather than written, church members are familiar with the order of services and with the prayers and congregational responses.

Prayer Book worship continues to be valued highly by the Church of the Province of Central Africa people and clergy alike as a shared tradition, even as local indigenous liturgical worship forms flourish around it. Locally composed hymns and choruses have long been common, accompanied for decades by drums and gourd rattles and often expressed in dancing, though particular drumbeats and dances associated with ancestral spirit veneration are avoided. Continuing debate about the relation of the Christian gospel to these rites has impeded such formal devising and publication of comparable rites as Roman Catholics have undertaken, but local liturgies which both fulfil and challenge functions of the traditional rites often take place. African concerns with spiritual ministration in illness are often expressed in group visitations of the sick, during which prayers from the Book of Common Prayer are used alongside spontaneous intercession and the laying-on of hands. An especially potent example of the vitality of Prayer Book forms amidst indigenous worship is the all-night vigil, or *pungwe*, movement in Zimbabwe, which has brought into the church a cultural form arising out of the pneumatological and communitarian emphases of Shona religious culture and the emancipatory impulse of the Liberation War. While the lay-led *pungwe* takes a variety of forms among mission-founded and African-initiated churches, Anglicans typically make frequent reference to Prayer Book worship while conducting a *pungwe*, whether through Evensong, the Great Litany, other prayers, lections, or psalms, or, if a priest is present, a closing Eucharist.

The Church of the Province of Central Africa and individual dioceses have authorized a number of additional liturgies for use in the province. For instance, *Pastoral Regulations* issued by the diocese of Mashonaland, now Harare, in 1978, listed the following as authorized for use: the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of the Province of Central Africa; the Church of England's Book of Common Prayer, 'Series 2', and 'Series 3'; and the Church of the Province of South Africa's *Liturgy 1975*. Later England's *Alternative Service Book* was similarly authorized, with portions translated into Shona. Very popular has been *Liturgy 1975*, which was translated into Shona through the initiative of clergy and missionaries associated with the diocese of Manicaland and published by Forward Movement in 1989. Individual and family worship has sometimes been encouraged through the translation and publication, at least in Malawi and Zimbabwe, of Anglo-Catholic devotional manuals, such as *Rwendo RwomuKristu* (*The Way of a Christian*), published by SPCK and Mambo in 1969. The approach of the province and its dioceses to new liturgical forms has thus been assimilative rather than innovative, with an eye to liturgies developed in England and South Africa. While commonly used in English-

speaking congregations, their popularity among the majority of church members has depended on whether translations were made in local languages. As dioceses in Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe consider forming their own respective national provinces, they have focused their attention on liturgical development within national cultures rather than on the province as a whole.

The Province of Southern Africa

Michael Nuttall

The title of this Prayer Book begins modestly. It is *'An' Anglican Prayer Book*, one member of the varied family that descends from the historic Book of Common Prayer, and one episode in the lively liturgical history of Southern Africa. Popularly known as the APB, it stands alongside the Book of Common Prayer of 1662, which is enshrined in the Constitution of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (CPSA), and also *A Book of Common Prayer–South Africa* of 1954. Both of these remain as authorized liturgies in the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, even if increasingly they are no longer used. The *Anglican Prayer Book* is their acknowledged sequel, a fully crafted Prayer Book retaining recognizable links with the past while taking advantage of developments in liturgical scholarship and seeking to meet the linguistic needs of contemporary people. Those responsible for its creation have sought to be like the householder in Matthew 13:52, bringing out of his treasure things new and old. In its turn, this particular Prayer Book will itself be revised and adapted in new ways in the future. This, too, is implied in the small pedestrian word *'An'* at the beginning of its title.

Moreover, the title includes a date, 1989. The year of publication for a book usually appears only in the customary small print alongside the publisher's name. Here it is to be found also in the title itself. It is a date pregnant with meaning, for in 1989 apartheid in South Africa was experiencing its death throes. *An Anglican Prayer Book* was officially launched in July of that year, at an open-air Eucharist celebrated during a Provincial Synod in the seaside city of Durban. That was the month when President P. W. Botha held a secret meeting in Cape Town with the world's most famous political prisoner, Nelson Mandela. Mandela had been pressing from prison for such a meeting for some time. As he says in his autobiography, *Long Walk to Freedom,* his encounter with Botha was a very private Rubicon moment in South Africa's history. Seven months later, on 11 February 1990, on the initiative of Botha's successor, President F. W. de Klerk, Mandela walked out of prison and the process of negotiation towards a new non-racial dispensation in South Africa began. This process culminated in the first democratic election of April 1994. Mandela became South Africa's President, leaving his mark as a much-admired figure of reconciliation and magnanimity.

Such is the contextual significance for the Church of the Province of Southern Africa of '1989' in the title of its new Prayer Book. All the nations of Southern Africa were deeply affected by the political changes in the Republic of South Africa. The long civil war in Mozambique came to an end and Namibia received its independence. These events had great importance for the CPSA, because within its ecclesiastical borders are Mozambique and Namibia, Lesotho and Swaziland, St Helena and South Africa. This province of the Anglican Communion, including within a single church structure members from this family of nations, played a vital role in a period of political turbulence and the pursuit of a just peace. Providentially it was presided over by the deeply pastoral, prayerful, and prophetic figure of Desmond Tutu, the Archbishop of Cape Town from 1986 to 1996. It was at the heart of this key decade, straddling the years of final political challenge and change, that the new Prayer Book came into use.

'Is liturgical revision an offensive luxury at such a time as this?' asks the General preface to the *Anglican Prayer Book*. 'The answer is an emphatic "no", because the Church's worship of God in prayer and sacrament is a priority in every circumstance, and very particularly in times of crisis and change. . . . This worship should, moreover, express itself in a language and form which meets the needs of contemporary people.' One of the features of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa that helped to sustain it in difficult and demanding times was unquestionably the quality of its worship. This did not, of course, depend entirely on liturgical forms of worship, but many experienced the liturgy as an anchor of the soul in a dark period of injustice and conflict, with its strenuous challenge to work for radical socio-political change. The new Prayer Book was an important ingredient and expression of this commitment to worship. It was a prophetic statement of a different kind, namely that love for God and love for neighbour belong inextricably together, that they are two sides of a single coin.

This conviction is set forth in some of the pool of Prayers and Thanksgivings for Various Occasions to be found in the *Anglican Prayer Book*. Here, for example, are two prayers of intercession that sprang in a heartfelt way from the times through which the people of Southern Africa were passing:

> God our refuge and strength
> you have bound us together in a common life:
> help us, in the midst of our conflicts
> to confront one another without hatred or bitterness
> to listen for your voice amid competing claims
> and to work together with mutual forbearance and respect;
> through Jesus Christ our Lord.
>
> Look with pity, heavenly Father
> on those who are threatened by
> hunger, injustice, terror, or death:
> help us to banish cruelty from our midst
> strengthen those who seek equality for all
> and grant that every one of us
> may receive a due share in the riches of this land;
> through Jesus Christ our Lord.

One of the criticisms that have been made of the *Anglican Prayer Book* is that it is too conservative in its revision; it has too many echoes of the old and familiar. Why was there not a more radical break from the past? Were the members of the Liturgical Committee, which did the key work over a period of nearly twenty years, and the Synod of Bishops, which had the responsibility to give the final approval, too cautious? Or was there instead an intuitive desire, in cataclysmic times, to lean also on the well-known and the well-tried? 'Lighten our darkness, Lord', the familiar words from the collect at the end of Evening Prayer, contained several layers of meaning, and in that darkness there was hope to be found in the defiant words of Mary in the *Magnificat:* 'He has cast down the mighty from their thrones, and has lifted up the lowly.' Here were ways of nurturing the gift of *stabilitas*, of fortitude, of what one of the bishops at that time called 'stickability', in a tense and unstable environment.

The decision to retain some conservative features was also influenced by the results of wide consultation within the province about the form the new Prayer Book should take. The *Anglican Prayer Book* had an experimental precursor, *Liturgy 1975,* consisting only of the Eucharist and the offices of Morning and Evening Prayer, and behind that lay an earlier and more provisional booklet of 1969. Between 1975 and 1989 rites for baptism and confirmation,

marriage and funerals were also published for experimental use and scrutiny. Many comments and suggestions on these various services were received by the Liturgical Committee, from both clergy and laity, and all were carefully considered. There were especially strong objections to transferring The Song of Mary (*Magnificat*) into the morning office while keeping The Song of Simeon (*Nunc dimittis*) in the evening office. The motive for this new arrangement in *Liturgy 1975* had been to simplify the daily offices by having only one required canticle in each of them, without sacrificing either of the well-loved canticles of Evening Prayer. Instead of helping, this proposed change was jarring and the bishops wisely decided to revert to the familiar. The *Anglican Prayer Book* therefore includes both The Song of Mary and The Song of Simeon in their traditional places within Evening Prayer – with optional permission to use a different canticle or a hymn instead. In addition, the familiar combination of The Song of Zechariah (*Benedictus*) and The Song of the Church (*Te Deum*) was reintroduced into Morning Prayer, with the same provision for optional flexibility.

A further conservative element is to be found in the provision of alternative Sunday collects. It was realized that for English-speaking worshippers liturgical revision was touching the hallowed language of 1662, which was encapsulated above all in Cranmer's collects. The decision was reached to offer two alternative collects for Sundays. Both are in 'modern' language, but the first is normally new while the second is a clearly recognizable adaptation of one of the collects from the old Prayer Book. This feature has the additional advantage of providing variation on ferial weekdays for those who used the daily offices. As an example, the following collects are provided for The Third Sunday of the Year:

> God our Father
> in Christ you make all things new:
> transform the poverty of our nature
> by the riches of your grace
> and reveal your glory
> in the renewal of our lives;
> through Jesus Christ our Lord.

> Lord of all power and might, the author and giver of all good things: graft in our hearts the love of your Name, increase in us true religion, nourish us with all goodness, and bring forth in us the fruit of good works; through Jesus Christ our Lord, who lives and reigns with you and the Holy Spirit, one God, for ever and ever.

The adoption of *An Anglican Prayer Book* in most congregations was remarkably swift. A few continued to use only the 1954 South African Prayer Book, and a number of others chose to alternate between the 1954 and 1989 books, so as to accommodate different preferences. Generally speaking, however, the *Anglican Prayer Book* quite quickly came to reign supreme in the worshipping life of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. One practical reason for this was a fine demonstration of generosity (and marketing skill) on the part of the publisher, Collins Liturgical Publications, who provided every bishop, priest, and deacon in the CPSA with a free, paperback 'not for sale' study edition of the *Anglican Prayer Book* in English so that the clergy, through workshops and their own private study, could be brought on board in the first instance. But another, deeper reason for the rapid acceptance of the new Prayer Book was no doubt the deliberate attempt to achieve within its pages a fine balance between what was resonant with past worship and what was entirely new. It is important to bear in mind that this work was touching the nerve-centre of the Anglican ethos, for unlike some other branches of the Christian church, the Anglican Communion has no single focus of authority or dogma, nor is its memory governed by the historical role of some key reformer. Its identity takes a more intangible form, which is deeply dependent upon the influence and binding effect of its liturgical worship. The Liturgical Committee

and the Synod of Bishops of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa were sensitive to such considerations.

The *Anglican Prayer Book* was composed initially in English (with one small but significant exception) and then translated into the other major languages used in the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. Various translation committees received material in English as soon as it was agreed to, and they were given the freedom to use either literal or dynamic translation. A classic example of the latter occurs in the isiZulu version of the Giving of the Peace during the Eucharist. The greeting is 'The peace of the Lord be with you always', to which the response in English is 'Peace be with you.' This response is rendered in isiZulu as 'Akwande', which means 'May it grow', a phrase derived from the traditional response to the greeting of 'Ukuthula makube nawe' ('Peace be with you') on the footpaths among the hills and valleys of KwaZulu-Natal. 'Akwande' is full of evocative meaning and also had a poignant resonance during the time of political violence and the struggle for justice and peace in South Africa. The work of liturgical translation was a painstaking and delicate one, and it had a crucial role in the production of the new Prayer Book in all its different linguistic faces. The first five language versions–Afrikaans, English, isiXhosa, isiZulu, and Sesotho–were simultaneously launched in July 1989. Other translations followed, and the *Anglican Prayer Book* now exists in eleven of the languages of Southern Africa, several having been reprinted more than once. In addition, there are partial translations–for example, of the Eucharist, Daily Office, and Psalms–in some of the other many languages spoken in the Church of the Province of Southern Africa.

The one item that was not composed in English is Form C of the prayers of intercession in the Eucharist, a litany form first written in isiXhosa. Evidence of this origin is to be found in the number of allusions to the socio-economic experience and religious aspiration of many black African people in Southern Africa. For example:

> Father, in your steadfast love you provide for your creation: grant good rains for our crops.
> Lord Jesus, . . . you were rich yet for our sake you became poor: move those who have wealth to share generously with those who are poor.
> You lived as an exile in Egypt: protect and comfort all refugees.
> You knew the love and care of an earthly home: be with migrant workers and protect their families.
> You open and none can shut: open the gates of your kingdom to those who have died without hearing your gospel.

With an eye on this last prayer a rubric was included that allows one or more of the petitions in this litany of intercession to be omitted. From a purely practical point of view, this provision made room for a shorter litany if time was limited. But theologically speaking, it honours the position of those who do not believe in praying for the dead, whether Christian or not. At the same time, including this petition acknowledges the vital importance in African tradition of the ancestors, known as the living dead, and of a desire for them to be included in the kingdom of God.

Many other attempts were made in the *Anglican Prayer Book* to accommodate different nuances of theological preference and conviction, often in response to representations made to the Liturgical Committee within its consultative process. Particular care was taken to meet evangelical concerns in a province that is historically 'high church' rather than 'low church' in its main emphasis. Theological breadth–catholic, evangelical, charismatic, and liberal–was aimed at in order to achieve balance and to accommodate these various convictions within the CPSA.

Partly with this aim in mind, no less than four eucharistic prayers for the consecration of the bread and wine are provided. Indeed, there is a fifth eucharistic prayer within what is

called an Alternative Order for the celebration of the Eucharist. This order allows free prayer, whether of praise, penitence, or intercession, to be used as long as a recognizable shape of the Eucharist is followed. The brief eucharistic prayer is the only required liturgical feature. The rubric states that this Alternative Order is available to be used 'on informal occasions when a freer form of service is desired'. The pull of the charismatic renewal in the church lay behind this provision. The freedom needed for a simple home-based Communion service was also being kept in mind.

A theologically liberal outlook, strongly represented during the early history of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa in the writings and utterances of the prophetic and controversial first bishop of Natal, John William Colenso, is neatly and intriguingly contained in the Word of God section of the Eucharist. In *Liturgy 1975,* the reader of a lesson preceding the gospel concludes by declaring, 'This is the word of the Lord'. In the *Anglican Prayer Book* this has been changed into an exhortation, 'Hear the word of the Lord', that implies a willingness on the part of the listener to weigh what has been read and a readiness to discern spiritual truth within it. The new wording thus allows for the belief that the Bible is the place where we may hear the word of God without holding that in every respect it is literally the word of God.

A notable catholic provision is to be found in the services for Holy Week and the Easter Vigil. Before the *Anglican Prayer Book* was published these services were available, in English only, in a separate booklet much loved in Anglo-Catholic parishes. In the *Anglican Prayer Book* they entered the mainstream, on the understanding that there was no obligation for them to be used. For those who do use them, they have become a moving liturgical pilgrimage through the last week of Jesus' life, especially on Palm Sunday, on Maundy Thursday, where provision is made for a Chrism Eucharist and Renewal of Ordination Vows as well as for a re-enactment of the foot washing, and on Good Friday, which contains enough material for it to form the substance of a Three Hours' Devotion. In addition, an Easter Vigil is included for use either on Holy Saturday night or very early on Easter Day. It contains the blessing of new fire and the lighting of the paschal candle, the Easter Proclamation (*Exultet*), a lengthy liturgy of the Word, and the liturgy of the Eucharist, which may include baptism and confirmation and/or a renewal for the whole congregation of their baptismal promises. This rich material is now available, through careful translation, in all the major languages into which the *Anglican Prayer Book* has been translated.

Evangelical concerns have been met in a number of specific provisions, not on the scale of the services for Holy Week and Easter, but with a proper seriousness nonetheless. Sacramental theology has in several places been broadened. For instance, in the rite for baptism the post-baptismal ceremony of the giving of a candle (which is optional anyway) contains the words: 'By baptism into Christ you pass from darkness to light.' The phrase 'into Christ', included in deference to a specific evangelical request, softens the more catholic belief that the sacrament itself is sufficient to accomplish this inner transformation. Another example is the prayer of thanksgiving at the end of the Eucharist. In *Liturgy 1975* God is thanked 'for keeping us by this sacrament in the Body of your Son'. By changing this to read 'for keeping us by your grace in the Body of your Son', the *Anglican Prayer Book* made it easier for Evangelicals to use this prayer. Similarly, at one point in the fourth eucharistic prayer there are two alternative wordings: 'Remembering, therefore, his death and resurrection, we *offer/bring before* you this bread and this cup'. The optional use of 'bring before' avoids any notion of the sacramental offering of Christ in the Eucharist and makes it easier for people of evangelical persuasion to use this eucharistic prayer.

The charismatic renewal, which made a fairly strongly impact on the church in Southern Africa, is reflected in a general rubric for the Eucharist that allows for 'acts of praise' as well as hymns to be 'introduced at appropriate places'. Many congregations that favour this form of worship will have a lengthy period of continuous singing of spiritual songs as a prelude to or substitute for the Praise section at the beginning of the service.

As was pointed out earlier, the socio-political circumstances in Southern Africa provided a crucial backdrop to the production of the new Prayer Book in 1989 and influenced to a considerable extent the shape and form that it took. At the same time, this work of revision was also a facet of worldwide liturgical renewal in the latter half of the twentieth century, both within the Anglican Communion and elsewhere, most notably the Roman Catholic Church as a result of decisions reached at its Second Vatican Council. The *Anglican Prayer Book* reflected this wider work in certain very specific ways. For example, its pool of five eucharistic prayers includes two taken from the Church of England and one, slightly adapted, borrowed with permission from the Roman Catholic canon. Another is based on the ancient consecration prayer attributed to Hippolytus (c. 170–c. 236), while pride of place is given in the First Eucharistic Prayer to an indigenous product. The decision to include a terse description of the essential content of each Sunday scripture reading for the Eucharist was derived from the 1978 *Australian Prayer Book,* and was intended to be a simple teaching aid. The ancient tradition of the Eastern Orthodox Church is drawn upon through the inclusion in the funeral service of the well-known *kontakion* for the departed as an optional part of the committal.

Other aspects of the *Anglican Prayer Book* are distinctive, such as the choice, already noted, between two Sunday collects. A notable feature is the inclusion of prefaces at the beginning of each major section of the book. The purpose of these is to set out, as a further teaching aid and as a devotional resource, the essential meaning and significance of that section. These prefaces are the fruit of a decision made by the Liturgical Committee to produce a theological rationale for every component, on the principle of *lex orandi lex credendi*: belief and prayer, properly understood, always feed each other. Thus, the preface for Funeral Services ends with a telling theological reflection:

> Many elements combine in the Christian liturgy for death. Always there should be held together the opposites of joy and sorrow, mercy and judgement, the reality of sin and the vision of heaven.

The preface to the ordination rites concludes with the following inclusive understanding of ministry and mission:

> Each order takes its place within the total ministry of the priestly people of God, called to offer praise and worship to his glory, to win the world for his kingdom, and to be a sign for all of his justice and love.

Another distinctive feature is the inclusion of local names in the calendar of saints. This was matched by the exclusion of some who are in the South African Prayer Book calendar, such as Aidan and Etheldreda, the aim being to create a better balance between saints in the European tradition and those of African origin. The balance is not yet even and further adjustments will no doubt be made, but a new trend is clear. Thus, for example, the young martyr Manche Masemola of Sekhukhuneland; James Mata Dwane, the founder of the Order of Ethiopia; Mother Cecile Isherwood, the founder of the Community of the Resurrection of Our Lord; and an all-embracing commemoration of the Missionaries and Martyrs of Africa are to be found in the calendar during February. This indigenous flavour has helped to root the worship and witness of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa in the soil and soul of Africa. A supplementary publication, *Saints and Seasons*, contains biographical sketches for every festival and commemoration.

Another decision reached during the work of revision was to opt for gender-inclusive language. This is an issue for languages such as English and Afrikaans, though not for African languages which do not have gender distinctions in their pronouns. Sometimes theological considerations arose alongside linguistic ones. For example, to alter 'you created

man in your own image' into 'you created us in your own image' produced a more cosy prayer that could be taken to mean fellow Christians rather than fellow human beings. The same danger threatened the decision to change 'in our fellow men' into 'in all your children', for to some worshippers God's children were confined to those who are 'in Christ' whereas for others the word embraced the whole of humanity. Certain risks had to be taken in the interests of a gender-inclusive principle. Unfortunately this principle was not applied to the Psalter, since the Collins version, as it was called, was not yet available in 1989 in an inclusive-language version. Any new revision of the *Anglican Prayer Book* will certainly include a remedy for this omission. In addition, the delicate subject of the language used for addressing God will need to be dealt with. Much more neutral terminology will need to be introduced alongside references to God as 'Father'. The principle for this already exists in terms such as 'Merciful God', 'God of grace and glory', and 'Eternal God'. Our linguistic resources are almost endless, where there is imagination and sensitivity, with a view to addressing God in ways that are wholesome, true to contemporary experience, especially of women, and faithful at the same time to scripture, reason, and tradition.

Other African Provinces: Burundi, Rwanda, and Congo

Anglicanism was first established in the French-speaking (Francophone) areas of both Burundi and Rwanda through the work of the Church Missionary Society during and after World War I. Arthur Stanley Smith and Leonard Sharp began an evangelical mission movement from Uganda to the eastern area of Gisaka in Rwanda during the years 1914 to 1916, and in 1926 the first converts were baptized at Gahini. L'Eglise Episcopale au Rwanda, the Episcopal Church of Rwanda, was formerly a constituent of the Province of Rwanda, Burundi, and Boga-Zaire inaugurated in 1976; in 1992, the new province was formed.

The Church Missionary Society also established an Anglican mission in Burundi during the 1930s, which grew rapidly as a result of the East African Revival (*see* LeMarquand, 'Kenya', p. 293. The former Rwanda Mission set up its first stations at Buhiga and Matana in 1935, and Buye in 1936; the first national bishop was consecrated in 1965. The Anglican Church of Burundi (formerly the Episcopal Church in Burundi) became a province of six dioceses in 1991.

Neither province has developed an indigenous Prayer Book. Instead, the church in Burundi uses a 1991 translation of the Church of England's *Alternative Service Book* in two languages, French and Kiruni. The church's Liturgy Commission is preparing a revision to add services, such as 'La Levée de Deuil Partielle ou Definitive'. The Anglican churches in Rwanda use a translation of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer into the Kinyarwanda language, entitled *Igitabo Cy'Amasengesho*. More than half of the book contains collects and lesson-texts for Sundays and festivals.

Congo

An Anglican presence was first established in the area around the Congo in the late nineteenth century by evangelists coming from Uganda, although evangelization did not greatly increase until after independence in 1960. During the 1970s the Anglican Church expanded to become part of the Province of Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, and Boga-Zaire. The new province was inaugurated in 1992 and changed its name in 1997.

In those areas where tribes straddled the borders of the country, many congregations benefited from Prayer Books that had been translated into the languages of neighbouring countries. In the diocese of Boga, for example, there were books from Uganda in Kihema (Kitoro), Alur, Lugbara, and Kakwa. All these books had substantial collections of hymns as the second half of the book.

In the east, Congo–Swahili is a regional language, and the first Prayer Book in this language was produced in 1973 and reprinted in 1979. It contained Morning and Evening Prayer, collects and readings (references only), Holy Communion, Holy Baptism for children and adults, the Catechism, and the service of Confirmation. The 1984 Prayer Book was far more comprehensive, with the addition of the Litany, the full text of the readings, marriage rites, burial services for both children and adults, a commissioning of ministers, and thanksgiv-

ings. The texts of the 1973 book were revised and the book itself was far better produced, with rubrics in italics and clearer typefaces. In liturgical style it was closest to the English 'Series 3' services, but with no dependence on the *Alternative Service Book 1980*.

The preparation of the 1998 Swahili Prayer Book was a major project that involved the circulation of drafts to each diocese and a two-week residential meeting in November 1997 to finalize the text and plan for its introduction and use. While drawing on and adapting material from Anglican Prayer Books from around the world, the aim was to tailor the liturgy to the realities and cultures of Anglicans in the Congo. Therefore the new book provides for a good deal of flexibility in worship.

The 1998 Prayer Book went beyond its predecessor, adding canticles (some with tunes in *sol-fa* notation), rites for ministry to the sick and at the time of death, a memorial service, ordination services, rites for the enthronement of a bishop, the induction of a new pastor, and the opening of a new church, and the Thirty-nine Articles. Here and there pages of appropriate teaching and coaching have been included so that the book can be its own guide.

In addition, the regional language for the north of Congo is Lingala, and in some areas a Lingala translation of the 1984 book is in use. The French translation of the 1979 American Book of Common Prayer is used in the national theological college and in some other places.

C. S.

RITES AND BOOKS IN THE PACIFIC

The Anglican Church of Australia

Charles Sherlock

ONE UNIQUE FEATURE OF *A Prayer Book for Australia* is that is was the first 're-revision' of a Prayer Book in the Anglican Communion. Its 1978 predecessor, *An Australian Prayer Book* (*AAPB*), was another Anglican pioneer, being the first book to use 'you' instead of 'thou' throughout in language about God.

The first Australian book brought a new cohesion to a fractured church. To appreciate its development, an understanding is needed of the historical situation of the Anglican tradition in Australia. The 'churchmanship' disputes of the late nineteenth century were particularly sharp in Australia due to the distinctive heritage of the 'mother' diocese, Sydney. The rites of the Church of England arrived in Sydney in 1788 with the First Fleet in the person of Richard Johnson, chaplain to the penal colony. A devout Evangelical, working tirelessly until worn out, Johnson was a Governor's appointment, tolerated as a cog in the workings of a penal colony but with little support. His chaplain successors thus developed an independence of mind and ecclesiology that continued long after the formation of the diocese of Australia in 1826.

By 1928 there were colonies in Newcastle, Brisbane, and Tasmania, the latter island becoming a separate diocese in 1810. Further colonies soon developed in Perth, Melbourne, and Adelaide. When these achieved some autonomy from the Church of England in 1847, four dioceses (in addition to Tasmania) were established from the diocese of Australia: Newcastle (most of the continent to the north of Sydney), Adelaide (most of the west), Melbourne (Victoria, in the southeast) and Sydney (the remainder). Of the new bishops, Adelaide and Newcastle were of Tractarian leanings; Melbourne was evangelical. A General Synod formed in 1862, but their diverse origins, together with the vast distances between the colonies, meant that the dioceses were largely uniform in their churchmanship. Until World War I, moreover, most clergy came from England and Ireland, following the theological ethos of the diocese in which they served.

The tensions which led to the failed revisions of the Book of Common Prayer in 1927 and 1928 in England (*see* Spinks, 'Crisis', pp. 293–43) were also found in Australia, though the experience of the Depression and World War II staved off visible conflict. Soon after, however, some laity of the diocese of Bathurst (neighbouring Sydney) took their bishop to court over his authorization of a revision of the 1928 English Deposited Book with 'Anglo-Catholic' additions (the 'Red Book'). The case continued for two years. The judge found in favour of the petitioners on the grounds of unlawful property usage, but awarded minimal damages: the 'Red Book' case was remembered for years afterwards, and stultified liturgical revision.

A National Church: Liturgical Revision

The Constitution for a national 'Church of England in Australia' was only agreed in 1962, after decades of debate. Unlike other provinces of the Anglican Communion, General Synod has permissive rather than deliberative power: its decisions take effect in a particular diocese only when the diocese itself accepts it. The first three sections of the Constitution–

'Fundamental Declarations'–enshrine the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, along with the Thirty-nine Articles and the Ordinal, as the standard of doctrine and worship. Votes on major matters require two-thirds majorities in each House (Laity, Clergy, Bishops) in successive Synods, between which a majority of dioceses and all metropolitan dioceses (Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Adelaide, Perth) must agree; alternatively, a three-quarters majority in each House will carry such a matter forthwith.

The first major decision of the 1962 General Synod was to set up a commission to consider whether revision of the Book of Common Prayer was needed. When the commission reported to the next Synod in 1966, it not only affirmed the need for revision, but also produced two forms for most services–one 'conservative', basically the Book of Common Prayer translated into modern English, and the other 'radical', drawing on the Liturgical Movement as well as the biblical and Reformation learning of Sydney scholars. Many congregations experimented with these services–whatever their formal standing–which led to a decade of 'wee bookies'. The 'radical' Sunday service followed Cranmer by integrating Morning Prayer, the Litany, and Holy Communion, but adopted a classical shape for the eucharistic prayer, influenced by the Liturgical Movement. Revisions in 1969 and 1973 led to Second Order Holy Communion in *An Australian Prayer Book* (1978), which was lightly revised for *A Prayer Book for Australia* (1995).

An Australian Prayer Book (1978)

An extended period of trial use was a major factor in this book's acceptance by General Synod with little debate. Full continuity with the Book of Common Prayer and 'churchmanship' issues were of primary concern: the book was not intended to replace the Prayer Book of 1662 but to exist alongside it.

The unexpectedly positive outcome–only one negative vote–owed much to two men from different geographical, spiritual, and theological places: Gilbert Sinden, s.s.m. (Adelaide) and Donald Robinson, vice-principal of Sydney's Moore College, consecrated bishop in 1973, becoming archbishop a decade later. Both men risked considerable misunderstanding, but their careful work, assisted by Evan Burge, a Melbourne priest-scholar who drafted Second Order Holy Communion, saw many suspicions set aside.

For Australian Anglicans, the new book was a breath of fresh air and was adopted quickly across the church. It has two orders for Holy Communion and Baptism (for both infants and adults), and two forms for most other services: the first are based on the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, the second are more contemporary. The Sunday lectionary (Sinden's work) adapted the 1969 three-year Roman Catholic lectionary, while daily Eucharist readings follow the Roman *Ordo* unchanged. Morning and Evening Prayer second forms are daily offices, a new and welcome experience for many Australian Anglicans. Outside Sydney, however, the more traditional forms for Morning and Evening Prayer were less in evidence on Sundays as culture moved from the 'radio' ethos of chanted psalms and listening to the minister, to the more participatory ethos reflected in Second Order Holy Communion. The two forms for marriage rites reflected both traditional (First) and progressive (Second) understandings of spousal relations. The four baptism rites continued to reflect the Book of Common Prayer's assumptions of a 'Christian' society, but in allowing the use of a candle, non-sacramental symbols were officially acknowledged for the first time.

One criticism voiced about the 1978 book was its seeming lack of distinctive Australian character, at a time when Australians were exploring their post-British identity. Apart from the wattle graphic design on the cover and title-page and some black-letter additions to the calendar, the book could have originated anywhere in the English-speaking world: indeed, *An Australian Prayer Book* is taken up in the 2004 Book of Common Prayer of the Church of Ireland. Another criticism was that the tremendous effort to forge agreement in doctrinally-sensitive areas–notably Holy Communion, confirmation, and marriage–had restricted time for other

A Prayer of Confession

O Christ,
in whose body was named
all the violence of the world,
and in whose memory is contained
our profoundest grief,
we lay open to you:
the violence done to us in time before memory;
the unremembered wounds that have misshaped our lives;
the injuries we cannot forget and have not forgiven.
The remembrance of them is grievous to us;
the burden of them is intolerable.

We lay open to you:
the violence done in our name in time before memory;
the unremembered wounds we have inflicted;
the injuries we cannot forget and for which we have not been forgiven.
The remembrance of them is grievous to us;
the burden of them is intolerable.

We lay open to you:
those who have pursued a violent knowledge
the world cannot forget;
those caught up in violence they have refused to name;
those who have enacted violence
which they have not repented.
The remembrance of them is grievous to us;
the burden of them is intolerable.

We lay open to you:
the victims of violence whose only memorial is our anger;
those whose suffering was sustained on our behalf;
those whose continued oppression provides
the ground we stand on.
The remembrance of them is grievous to us;
the burden of them is intolerable.

Hear what comfortable words our saviour Christ says
to all who truly turn to God:
Come to me, all you who labour and are heavy-laden,
and I will give you rest.
Take my yoke upon you, and learn from me,
for I am gentle and lowly in heart,
and you will find rest for your souls.
For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light.

Janet Morley

work: developments elsewhere in the Communion and ecumenically played minor roles in *AAPB*'s formation. The key issue was how a diverse national church could move beyond the 1662 Book of Common Prayer while remaining faithful to a Constitution that bound it more closely to 1662 than the 'mother' Church of England was bound.

Even so, *An Australian Prayer Book* was a strong factor in lowering barriers across the church. Both fussy ritual and 'low church' stiffness gave way to a more relaxed ethos as rigid adherence to text and rubrics lessened. Parishes experienced more lay participation in read-

ing scripture, leading intercessions, administering communion, and (increasingly) 'presiding' over the Ministry of the Word. And theological colleges soon faced the challenge of educating students who had experienced the Book of Common Prayer little if ever.

New Tensions in the Wake of An Australian Prayer Book

Meanwhile, changes across Australian society tested the churches over gender issues. Responding to the new Family Law Act, General Synod allowed the marriage of divorcees in 1973, though this was not adopted by all dioceses. Further, the 1977 General Synod resolved that 'the theological objections raised do not constitute a barrier to the ordination of women as deacons, priests and bishops', following a positive report from the national Doctrine Commission. A 'minority report' was added by David Broughton Knox, principal of Moore College from 1956 to 1981: he espoused 'headship' as central to gender relations, and led Sydney's unremitting opposition to women in leadership. Other evangelical members, however–notably Leon Morris, principal of Ridley College, Melbourne–supported the main report. General Synod authorized women to be ordained as deacons in 1986 (now adopted by all but two dioceses) and as priests in 1992 (now adopted by all but four).

The ordination of women became a touchstone issue for Sydney, strengthened by Knox's distinctive views of 'church' and divine revelation, which he argued is essentially propositional. During his extended time as principal, Moore College moved towards a 'Reformed' position, in which the 1552 Book of Common Prayer was determinative liturgically, words predominated over symbols, and the Puritan heritage was increasingly valued. Evangelical concern with sacramentalism gave way to radical questioning of the symbolic, in favour of verbal-focused ministry. Further, Vice-Principal Donald Robinson (one of the main architects of *AAPB*) taught that according to the New Testament, 'church' properly exists only in 'the heavenlies' (see Hebrews 12:22–23) and is visible only when believers 'assemble' (that is, are 'churched') for 'meeting'–a possible reading of Article XIX.

The outcome is an 'exclusive' congregationalism, in which any level of 'church' beyond the congregation is seen as merely administrative, as is the bishop's office. Services are understood to be 'meetings' for 'fellowship' (teaching and encouragement), leading to a widespread abandonment of Prayer Books, lectionary, and robes (trends resisted strongly by Archbishop Donald Robinson). 'Cultic' expressions of worship are rejected, including 'charismatic' as well as 'sacramentalist' and 'liturgical' approaches. 'Bible teaching', instruction in the content of the scriptures–a ministry from which women are excluded–characterizes this position. Pastoral ministries such as visiting, however, receive low priority. The removal of the historic holy table in Sydney's St Andrew's Cathedral, a movable one being wheeled in for the Lord's Supper, is a potent symbol of these shifts, along with growing support for 'lay administration' (or presidency) of the Holy Communion: contemporary practice at the cathedral is to have the congregation say the Prayer of Consecration, without manual acts.

Such tensions about the ordination of women, growing divergence in liturgical practice and music, alongside the increasing dissociation between the churches and Australian society, form the background to the request by General Synod 1989 that the Liturgical Commission consider revision of *An Australian Prayer Book*.

The Path to A Prayer Book for Australia *(1995)*

The 1989 Liturgical Commission included two drafters of the 1978 book, and four from the diocese of Sydney. In Melbourne, members of the International Anglican Liturgical Consultation had prepared an initiation rite integrating the baptism of infants and adults, confirmation, reception, and reaffirmation, in a eucharistic context. The new commission issued a revision of this in 1990, and its recommendation that full revision proceed was adopted by

General Synod 1992. Work commenced in earnest, with a series of 'trial use' booklets and consultations. The commission sought to reduce the 'First / Second' distinctions of the earlier book, in favour of consistency in shape, scholarship, literary merit, and doctrine across all services. Meanwhile, David Silk, a former member of the English Liturgical Commission, became bishop of Ballarat, and took up the concerns of traditional Anglo-Catholics, arguing for the English custom of employing language patient of varied doctrinal positions.

A draft of *A Prayer Book for Australia* was published in January 1995. The July General Synod meeting was in marked contrast to 1977, running over three days. Bishop Silk persuaded Synod to allow Archbishop Goodhew to work with him on a new eucharistic prayer: the outcome–not supported by the Commission–was voted into the book as the Third Thanksgiving prayer. Its inclusion led the Synod of the diocese of Sydney to deny formal acceptance to the 1995 book. The vast majority of the commission's work was accepted by General Synod, however, and *A Prayer Book for Australia* passed with majorities in each House of around ninety per cent–another surprising but welcome result. Two versions were issued: a full version and a shorter edition (Sunday services, Psalter, Daily Services, and Sunday collects) which went through three printings in six months. As a publishing venture, *A Prayer Book for Australia* was a huge success.

In Sydney, Robinson's successor, Archbishop Harry Goodhew, set up a local Liturgical Committee to consider how best to respond to the growing variety of practice. A Sydney Prayer Book was authorized in 2001 to stem the tide of liturgical fragmentation, but parishes using the Book of Common Prayer or rites authorized by General Synod are now in the minority, and Archbishop Peter Jensen (principal of Moore College following D. B. Knox) no longer authorizes the use of the 1995 book in the diocese of Sydney.

A Prayer Book for Australia*: Main Characteristics*

As the Communion's first 're-revision' of an existing Prayer Book, the key issue was not continuity with the Book of Common Prayer, but how 'common prayer' could best be sustained amid flexible and varied liturgical resources. The full name of the book is thus

A Prayer Book for Australia
for use with *The Book of Common Prayer* (1662) and *An Australian Prayer Book* (1978)
Liturgical Resources authorised by the General Synod.

The Commission affirmed 'common prayer' by adopting common texts from the English Language Liturgical Consultation (ELLC), except for the Apostles' Creed and *Gloria Patri*. It also adopted a fivefold schema for most services, which give participants a sense of 'flow' and 'direction' amid diversity–gathering / listening / praying / doing / going, following the shape of God's work in mission.

Where possible, only one form is provided for each service type. With a view to a more integrated practice of Christian initiation, this service brings together baptism (at any age), confirmation, reception, and reaffirmation in a eucharistic context, with separate printings (of the same text) for baptism in Morning or Evening Prayer, and for confirmation.

The number of forms for Sunday services was increased from two to three, however. First Orders are closer to the Book of Common Prayer than in the 1978 book, while Second and Third are contemporary in shape: third forms use direct language and offer few alternatives, in contrast to the many possibilities of second. Second Order Morning and Evening Prayer is a new service, offering substantial resources for a flexible Sunday 'Service of the Word'. Second Order Holy Communion (the most-used rite) is close to *An Australian Prayer Book* overall, but is much richer in seasonal provision, and distinctive aspects of Australian life are recognized, with thanksgiving prayers that draw on scriptural images which resonate with Australians:

When the fullness of time was come,
you sent your Son, to be born of Mary.
Bright image of your glory,
he learnt obedience to you in all things,
even to death on a cross,
breaking the power of evil,
freeing us from sin, and putting death to flight.
You raised him from death,
exalting him to glory,
and the new day dawned. . . .

Or again,

All glory and honour, thanks and praise,
be yours now and always,
Lord of every time and place,
God beyond our dreaming.
We give you thanks that from the beginning of time,
your Spirit has brooded over this ancient land.
In the fullness of time you revealed your Son,
our Saviour Jesus Christ,
who by the power of your Spirit was born of Mary
and lived as one of us.
By his death on the cross
and rising to new life,
he offered the one true sacrifice for sin,
and obtained an eternal deliverance for his people.
We give you thanks that in him
you have revealed to us your presence
in the vastness of this land,
your love in its fruitfulness, and
your purpose in its cycles of death and renewed life.
Therefore with angels and archangels. . . .

As in the 1978 book, contemporary English is used throughout, but with gender-inclusive language and a richer variety of biblical forms of address for God. The texts avoid bringing together metaphors for divine nature or action where doing so may distort the biblical witness: thus 'Almighty' and 'Father' occur, but not the phrase 'Almighty Father'. Four linguistic registers are employed: traditional Book of Common Prayer (with repetition of phrases, and the use of 'who' clauses in collects), contemporary English ('you' clauses in collects), 'direct' modern English (short sentences, few adjectives and adverbs), and a sparing use of intimate language (notably in Funeral for an Infant and Ministry with the Dying). The range of prayers alludes to the breadth of human experience, including Thanksgiving for a Child, business and civic life, indigenous insights, bushfire and flood, victims and perpetrators of sexual abuse, mission agencies, leisure, and thanksgivings.

The *Revised Common Lectionary* (1992) is the basis for the readings at the main Sunday service. The RCL calendar is also adopted, with an Epiphany season that lasts from the Baptism of the Lord to Transfiguration (Sunday before Lent, also kept on 6 August because of its Hiroshima associations). A 'supplementary' set provides readings for a second service, complementing the main service readings while being a coherent system in its own right. A scripture sentence is provided for each set of readings: care was taken to ensure that each

A Thanksgiving for Australia

God of holy dreaming, Great Creator Spirit,
from the dawn of creation you have given your children
the good things of Mother Earth.
You spoke and the gum tree grew.
In the vast desert and dense forest
and in cities at the water's edge,
creation sings your praise.
Your presence endures
as the rock at the heart of our Land.
When Jesus hung on the tree
you heard the cries of all your people
and became one with your wounded ones:
the convicts, the hunted, and the dispossessed.
The sunrise of your Son coloured the earth anew,
and bathed it in glorious hope.
In Jesus we have been reconciled to you,
to each other and to your whole creation.
Lead us on, Great Spirit,
as we gather from the four corners of the earth;
enable us to walk together in trust
from the hurts and shame of the past
into the full day which has dawned in Jesus Christ. **Amen.**

makes sense when read aloud by itself. Festival readings were also revised, with readings for lesser festivals significant to Australian Anglicans included: New Guinea Martyrs (2 September, commemorating the killing of many Christians by the Japanese in World War II); Coming of the Light (marking the arrival of a mission ship in the Torres Strait on 1 July 1871, fulfilling an indigenous tradition that the Light would come in this way); ANZAC Day (the most significant civil commemoration, marking the landing of Australian and New Zealand troops at Gallipoli on 25 April 1915, and the military disaster which ensued).

After an intense debate in the General Synod over the nature of spousal relationships, two forms are offered for marriage. The Commission accepted this because the forms use distinct liturgical shapes—office and eucharistic—yet each reflects mutual relationships between husband and wife: both man and woman promise to 'honour' the other, but in different places in each service. Second Order is new, with optional ring-giving, and uses fresh imagery (notably in the nuptial blessing), gentle but explicit sexual reference, and a moving prayer to be said together by the newly married couple:

God of tenderness and strength,
you have brought our paths together
and led us to this day;
go with us now as we travel through good times,
through trouble, and through change.
Bless our home, our partings and our meetings.
Make us worthy of one another's best,
and tender with one another's dreams. **Amen.**

In other pastoral offices, Ministry with the Sick and Ministry with the Dying break new ground and owe a good deal to English work: anointing, laying-on of hands, and commen-

dation at death are included. Reconciliation of a Penitent is also new: the need for such a form to protect clergy legally was a decisive factor in the acceptance of a carefully scriptural provision. There are three funeral services, differing in language: a full standard service, A Funeral Service for a Child, and a service for an infant who has died near the time of birth, which includes this prayer:

> Heavenly Father,
> your love for all children is strong and enduring.
> We were not able to know N as we hoped.
> Yet you knew *her/him* growing in *her/his mother's* womb.
> In the midst of our sadness,
> we thank you that N is with you now. **Amen**.

These funeral resources are much fuller than those in the 1978 book, with a 'warmer' tone about the faithful departed. They provide for reception of the body, placement of symbols on the coffin, opportunity for friends to speak about the deceased, committal during the service, Holy Communion, and a wide range of prayers in different styles, including 'prayers of struggle', such as after a suicide. As regards structure, the shape is that of a pilgrimage rather than that of an office or Eucharist, reflecting the journey motif of the service. Each version includes a short rite at the graveside, and the interment of ashes, as some ninety per cent of Australians are cremated after death.

The ordinal was thoroughly revised, and takes account of recent work on the diaconate ('ambassador' rather than 'servant' is the basic image), Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission's agreements on ordained ministry, and the work of the International Anglican Liturgical Consultation emphasizing a 'baptismal ecclesiology'. The exhortations for each order are designed to be inspiring more than didactic, while communicating essential elements from the tradition. All three services allow for men, women, or both to be ordained using them.

Finally, the supplementary resources contain Holy Communion: Outline Order; A Catechism (with an additional 'eschatological' question on sacraments); Notes on ELLC texts, the Sign of the Cross at Baptism, Posture for Prayer, and The Peace; the Athanasian Creed; the Articles of Religion; Acknowledgments; and an Index of Prayers.

In 2002 *A Prayer Book for Australia* was published electronically in the Labora *e-pray* computer program as the first project of Broughton Publications, General Synod's official publisher. Not only does *e-pray* offer new ways to sustain common prayer, through good service planning and liturgical formation, it also provides a new platform for authorized liturgical publication, such as the Lent, Holy Week, and Easter resources issued in 2004.

In conclusion, *A Prayer Book for Australia* is distinctive in several ways. It offers varied forms of 'common prayer' to sustain and inspire diverse Christian communities in a post-Christendom, 'secular' yet 'religious' culture. The book reflects unique aspects of the life of Australian Anglicans, not least the growing divide with Sydney, alongside use of the Anglican Communion's resources through the International Anglican Liturgical Consultation and growing ecumenical convergence. Above all, *A Prayer Book for Australia* represents a consistent, coherent pattern of 'traditional' worship in contemporary shape.

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The Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand, and Polynesia

Kenneth Booth

When the members of the Prayer Book Commission completed their work on the new Prayer Book ready for presentation to the General Synod in 1987, they knew they had produced something remarkable. They had taken some bold steps with considerable excitement. Above all in flexibility and language this book broke new ground. *A New Zealand Prayer Book / He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa* represents a significant response to the changing conditions the church faced in the period from 1964 to 1989.

The Road to a New Prayer Book

In 1964, the official Prayer Book of the Anglican Church in New Zealand was the Book of Common Prayer of 1662, with permitted use (as approved by General Synod in 1958) of many of the changes suggested in the proposed 1928 English revision. In Maori contexts the book used was a translation of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, known as *Te Rawiri*. The Maori book, produced in 1838, had achieved classic status as an expression of written Maori, along with the translation of the Bible. In a Maori context neither suffered from the sense of old-fashioned language that affected the English originals. This also meant that there was less pressure from Maori for a revision of the Prayer Book.

There was warm support for the proposal put to the General Synod in 1964 that a commission should be established 'to plan and prepare a revised Book of Common Prayer, either in stages or as a whole'. Revision by stages became important for the way the new Prayer Book developed. The first attempt at a revised service, a Eucharist, was published in 1966.

Between 1966 and 1984 a steady succession of services was produced by the commission. So used to these separate booklets did the church become that whether the material should be drawn together as a complete book had to be debated in the 1980s. General Synod in 1982 agreed in principle to publish a book and in 1986 adopted detailed provisions for the publication. Except for revisions and material adopted in the later stages, all revised services were published for trial use and feedback was encouraged. Consequently, the commission could truly say, 'this Prayer Book is a gift from the Church to itself'.

What Words Shall We Use?

An issue that dominated the work of the commission throughout its life was language. At the outset the commission took the then radical step of abandoning the formal 'thou, thee, thine' for language to and about God, in favour of conventional modern English. Inclusive language became a central concern. The commission sensed that English itself was moving in this direction and were determined that their work would not be out of date. The church was also debating the ordination of women to the priesthood at the same time. The first concern was inclusivity on the human level.

Two Collects

The first of these two collects in *A New Zealand Prayer Book* is appointed for Maundy Thursday; the second, for the Second Sunday after Pentecost. The word *whanau* means 'extended family'.

Infinite, intimate God;
this night you kneel before your friends
and wash our feet.
Bound together in your love,
trembling, we drink your cup
and watch.

Abba God, we call you Father,
and your care for us
is motherly as well.
Protect our power to love and be loved,
and make us glad to be called your children,
one whanau in Christ.

More was to come. The commission grasped the nettle of inclusive language in relation to God. This bold step forced the commission to explore a whole range of images for God. In the 1966 liturgy, God is almost exclusively addressed as 'Father' or 'almighty God'. In the Prayer Book, 'Father' and 'almighty God' are used far less often (once in the phrase 'father and mother of us all'), and expressions such as 'God of grace', 'everloving God', 'God of truth and beauty', 'Creator of all', 'everliving God', and 'merciful God' are common. Over one hundred different images are used. Some of this was driven by theological concerns to reflect a greater sense of God with us and for us. Likewise collects and prayers end not simply with 'through Jesus Christ our Lord'. Greater attention is paid to whether Christ should be seen as Lord, Redeemer, Saviour, or through some other aspect of his work.

This stance was also adopted for the Psalms. It was never the commission's intention to produce a new translation of the Psalms; they were 'providing Psalms suitable for Christian worship'. That also explains the omission of verses often not appointed for public reading in lectionaries. The basis for this collection remained the Coverdale version of the Book of Common Prayer, but checked against modern translations and commentaries, and rendered linguistically in such a way as 'to ensure that as far as possible all those using these Psalms for Worship may identify with the psalmist's expressions of prayer and praise'. That meant no 'man' remained unless the context required him. Other changes were also made, two of which proved controversial. Some references to Zion and Israel were modified to make them more appropriate as expressions in Christian worship. So, for example, 'Let Israel be glad in its maker: let the children of Zion rejoice in their king', becomes 'Let the people of God rejoice in their maker: and let the servants of the Most High exult in their king' (Psalm 149:2). Consistency with the rest of the book also meant no masculine pronouns for God. This was usually achieved by turning sentences about God in the third person into addresses to God in the second person (you). The same technique was used in the canticles for Morning and Evening Prayer and the Daily Office. This shift in language had the effect of making the Psalms and offices more obviously a conversation with God.

Influences from around the World

All this might suggest that the commission and the church in New Zealand were creating a very individual piece of work. It remains unique, but it also depends heavily on interna-

tional scholarship and other Anglican Prayer Books. The Anglican Church in New Zealand had no one who could be described as a professional scholar in liturgy. Nevertheless, the commission members did their best to keep abreast of current learning. They closely studied the productions and related studies of other Anglican provinces as they came to hand. The English experimental rites of the 1960s and 1970s and *The Alternative Service Book 1980*, the Book of Common Prayer (1979) and the additional liturgical materials of the Episcopal Church of the United States of America, and *An Australian Prayer Book* (1978) were always on the table at commission meetings. *The Book of Alternative Services of the Anglican Church of Canada* (1985) appeared too late to have a major impact on the New Zealand book, but some material was used with permission. For its eucharistic structure, the commission was strongly influenced by Bishop Leslie Brown's *Liturgy for Africa* and *The Book of Common Worship* of the Church of South India (1963), particularly in placing the penitential section of the liturgy at the beginning of the rite. Yet even when it borrowed, the commission adapted.

There were other significant influences. The International Consultation on English Texts published *Prayers We Have in Common* in 1970, and revised that in 1975; the whole work was taken further by the English Language Liturgical Consultation with *Praying Together* (1988). The Prayer Book Commission decided to adopt as far as possible the texts suggested by this international group. The agreed texts of *Praying Together* were not settled until after the commission had finalized its work, so there are some slight variations from the agreed texts. All this is reflected in the Nicene and Apostles' Creeds, the Lord's Prayer, the *Kyrie, Gloria in excelsis, Sanctus* and *Benedictus, Agnus Dei, Gloria Patri, Magnificat, Nunc dimittis, Benedictus,* and *Te Deum*.

The commission used the work of the English Franciscan Jim Cotter for Midday Prayer and Night Prayer. This material came to the commission's attention at a late stage, so it has not been fully assimilated and given a New Zealand flavour. This was the source of the optional paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer in those services: 'The hallowing of your name echo through the universe! The way of your justice be followed by the peoples of the world!' In these two services the commission did include some New Zealand poems.

A Resource for the Whole People of God

A New Zealand Prayer Book was designed not just for public prayer but as a resource for individuals. This means more than the provision of devotional material for private use. Congregational participation and a non-hierarchical approach to worship were fundamental to the commission's intentions. They wanted to produce a book for the whole people of God. Significant passages are given to the congregation to say in many services. There are sections called 'Concerning these Services' before each part of the book, offering teaching on the material that follows. Although not the work of the Prayer Book Commission, a Catechism was added to the book for publication. For personal devotional material, in addition to the Daily Office, there is a set of Daily Devotions, consisting of a very simple order of Gospel and Epistle Reflections (based on passages of scripture) with a few prayers, and all set within the frame of the petitions of the Lord's Prayer. It was for those 'whose time for prayer may be limited'.

Becoming Members of the Body

The Liturgy of Baptism and The Laying on of Hands for Confirmation and Renewal reflects the debate going on in the 1980s in New Zealand (and elsewhere) about the relationship between baptism, confirmation, and admission to communion. The church in New Zealand had begun in 1980 to permit admission to communion prior to confirmation. Some dioceses were more willing to accept the practice than others, and in Maori and Polynesian contexts

it was generally not accepted at all. The trend was towards acceptance of confirmation as essentially a pastoral rite and not the completion of baptism in any sense. In practice it was still tied to baptism as a personal renewal and owning of baptism.

The situation in 1987 is reflected in the structure of the two linked services of Baptism and Confirmation. The candidates for baptism, whether infants or adults, are presented; they and/or their sponsors declare their rejection of evil and adherence to Christ and are baptized. The candidates for the laying-on of hands – those adults just baptized and any others baptized previously – are then all presented to the bishop. All those baptized or presented for confirmation publicly affirm their faith with a Trinitarian formula after the congregation as a whole have renewed their own commitment. After that, any children baptized are commended to their parents' and the church's future care, and then those old enough to respond for themselves make their commitment to Christian service before the bishop and receive the laying-on of hands with appropriate words. To complete the rite the whole congregation recites the Apostles' Creed in interrogatory form.

The justification for in effect having two affirmations of faith is that the Trinitarian formula is said by the candidates (or sponsors in the case of children), and the Apostles' Creed is the affirmation of all the baptized. The truly unusual aspect of the rite is that the Trinitarian affirmations of faith all follow the baptism in water. This reflects the pattern of Christian nurture, namely that you grow into the faith in which you are baptized. Accordingly, baptism is an act of God's grace which is then expressed in a Trinitarian affirmation by the candidates and sponsors and in the words of the creed.

Around One Table

Structurally the eucharistic liturgies in the book follow a common modern pattern: a preparation that includes praise and confession, the ministry of the word, the prayers of the people, the Great Thanksgiving, communion, post communion, and dismissal. While there are individual expressions unique to the New Zealand book, the distinguishing features lie in the wording of the Great Thanksgivings. The commission was committed to the idea of giving each of the eucharistic liturgies a distinctive character. This was achieved partly by the way they were produced. The first liturgy is the final successor of several revisions of the 1966 liturgy. The other four Great Thanksgivings in English began as the work of single writers and were then revised by each author in the light of comments from the commission. Consequently, something of the original individual colour has been retained.

This individual character extended to the congregational responses in each of the four main Great Thanksgivings in English. This can be seen in the *Sanctus* or its equivalent. In two of the Great Thanksgivings the text is the international one: 'Holy, holy, holy Lord, God of power and might, heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest.' The other liturgies have: 'Holy, holy, holy: God of mercy, giver of life; earth and sea and sky and all that lives, declare your presence and your glory' and 'Holy God, holy and merciful, holy and just, glory and goodness come from you. Glory to you most high and gracious God.' This certainly reinforced the special style of each Great Thanksgiving. However, in combination with other marks of individuality there were two unforeseen side-effects: it is difficult to conduct any Eucharist without the congregation having their eyes on the book; and the singing of the liturgy (apart from hymns or songs) has almost vanished completely.

On the well-known debating points in the Great Thanksgivings relating to eucharistic theology the members of the commission were determined to produce a set of texts acceptable to the whole church. On one issue they were unanimous: the two aspects of the invocation of the Spirit, on the gifts and on the people, belong together after the memorial recitation of God's great saving acts in Christ. On the relationship of this recital to the bread and wine, the work of the Spirit, and what actually is offered to God, the language is more

opaque, reflecting the diversity of opinion in the church. One further Great Thanksgiving, devised as part of 'A Form for Ordering the Eucharist', has the following:

> Therefore, loving God,
> recalling now Christ's death and resurrection,
> we ask you to accept
> this our sacrifice of praise.
> Send your Holy Spirit upon us
> and our celebration,
> that we may be fed with the body and blood of your Son
> and be filled with your life and goodness.

To those aware of the intricacies of theology in eucharistic debates, the New Zealand rites demonstrate some unusual features, but most stem from a determination to find fresh ways of conveying meaning.

Hearing the Word

The eucharistic lectionary provided in the Prayer Book was based on a local format of Sunday themes, for which three readings were provided (Old Testament, epistle or Acts, gospel). These themes were given two sets of readings, so a reasonable amount of the Bible was read at the Eucharist in the course of two years. When the commission was readying the book for publication, the three-year cycle originating from the Roman Catholic liturgical revisions following Vatican II was already becoming important ecumenically and internationally. This is reflected in the book in the optional provision of the readings from that cycle. Since then, the three-year cycle in the form of the *Revised Common Lectionary* has become widely used in New Zealand and is now the dominant lectionary.

To Serve the Body

The Ordination Liturgies in the *New Zealand Prayer Book* are conventional in structure even where the words are different. Following modern custom, all rites are described as ordination services and are set within the Eucharist. The rationale of the particular order is outlined, the candidates are presented and examined, the Holy Spirit is invoked, and the laying-on of hands with prayer follows. The language is evocative, but the structure conventional. The ordination prayers for the three orders begin in identical fashion:

> Blessed are you,
> God our creator, God in history, God in revelation;
> throughout the ages your unchanging purpose
> has created a people to love and serve you. . . .
> Through the gift of the Holy Spirit,
> you have given life and order to your Church,
> that we may carry out the ministry of love.
> We thank you for calling this your servant
> to share this ministry as a *deacon/priest/bishop*.

The words at the laying-on of hands are also identical for each order:

> God of grace, through your Holy Spirit,
> gentle as a dove, living, burning as fire,
> empower your servant *N*
> for the office and work of a *deacon/priest/bishop* in the Church.

In the final section of the ordination prayer the particular gifts of each order are named. Signs of the particular order may then be handed over, and the Eucharist continues. The commission did not include a revision of the Great Litany used in Cranmer's liturgy, seeing it as inconsistent with the book's style.

Liturgies for Living

The Pastoral Liturgies of the book cover the common range of situations from birth to death. At the time of the publication of the Prayer Book anointing of the sick was restricted to priests or bishops. That has since been modified to any authorized minister, lay or ordained, using oil consecrated by a priest or bishop. A service of Thanksgiving for the Gift of a Child, suitable for use at a birth or adoption, is included. The women members of the commission were largely responsible for this service. Another mark of the broad range of the book is the service for The Blessing of a Home. This is a significant adaptation of the rite for this purpose in the *Book of Occasional Services* of the American Episcopal Church.

The marriage liturgies have some interest because there are three options. The first is a modernization of the 1662/1928 service, the second is a locally produced service, and the third arose out of the most popular of a range of options offered to students in a university context in the 1960s. The first and third of these services are the most commonly used. In New Zealand the public trend since the 1980s has been away from church weddings to secular events conducted by secular celebrants. Elements of the services from the new Prayer Book can often be recognized at such occasions.

Liturgies for Dying

A similar trend has emerged with funerals. Prayers and other texts from the book are frequently used in both ecumenical and even secular contexts. Apart from the use of local words and phrases, there is little that is unique in the structure of the funeral rites, except in the impact of Maori culture. Three characteristics of the liturgies at the time of death owe much to that. Maori customs at time of death have been a significant aspect of their own culture, but have also deeply influenced New Zealand life in general.

Within Maori culture there are two important ritual acts following a death. As part of the recognition of a return to ordinary living in a place that has been touched by death there is a rite of cleansing and re-hallowing of the home. God's peace and light are invoked on the house, and water may be used in all the rooms and on the people as a sign of cleansing. Appropriate prayers for those in mourning are said and God's blessing is affirmed. In the Prayer Book this became *Te Tikanga Karakia mo te Takahi Whare*–Prayers in a House after Death (*see* p. 272). One year after a death there is a ritual unveiling and dedication of the memorial stone on the grave. This is reflected in *Te Tikanga Karakia mo te Hura Kohatu me te Whakatapu Tohu Whakamaharatanga*–The Unveiling of a Memorial. These rites originated in Maori and were translated into English for the Prayer Book.

The third point at which Maori culture has distinctively shaped the funeral liturgy is in the commendation of the deceased to God's care. At a Maori *tangi* (funeral rites) it is customary for the deceased to be surrounded by family and friends between the time of death and the funeral. In this period, there are prayers and there is much conversation, often addressed to the deceased. This led to the custom among Maori of wording the commendation of the departed as an address to the deceased. This has won widespread acceptance and is reflected in the primary form of the commendation in the Prayer Book: 'God alone is holy and just and good. In that confidence, therefore, we commend you, *N*, to God's judgment and mercy, to God's forgiveness and love.' This is continued in the words of committal: 'Now therefore, *N*, we commit your body to be *buried / cremated*'. This also began as a Maori text and was translated into English.

Benedicite Aotearoa

The *Benedicite omnia opera* ('O all ye Works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord') has been one of the Morning Prayer canticles in the classical Book of Common Prayer since 1549. *A New Zealand Prayer Book* includes this adaptation, which calls on local 'works of the Lord'. There is also a shortened version in one of the eucharistic liturgies.

O give thanks to our God who is good:
whose love endures for ever.

You sun and moon, you stars of the southern sky:
give to our God your thanks and praise.

Sunrise and sunset, night and day:
give to our God your thanks and praise.

All mountains and valleys, grassland and scree,
glacier, avalanche, mist and snow:
give to our God your thanks and praise.

You kauri and pine, rata and kowhai, mosses and ferns:
give to our God your thanks and praise.

Dolphins and kahawai, sealion and crab,
coral, anemone, pipi and shrimp:
give to our God your thanks and praise.

Rabbits and cattle, moths and dogs,
kiwi and sparrow and tui and hawk:
give to our God your thanks and praise.

You Maori and Pakeha, women and men,
all who inhabit the long white cloud:
give to our God your thanks and praise.

All you saints and martyrs of the South Pacific
give to our God your thanks and praise.

All prophets and priests, all cleaners and clerks,
professors, shop workers, typists and teachers,
job-seekers, invalids, drivers and doctors:
give to our God your thanks and praise.

All sweepers and diplomants, writers and artists,
grocers, carpenters, students and stock-agents,
seafarers, farmers, bakers and mystics:
give to our God your thanks and praise.

All children and infants, all people who play:
give to our God your thanks and praise.

kauri: a tall, straight tree ***rata:*** a tree with large red flowers ***kowhai:*** a yellow-blossomed tree ***kahawai:*** a species of fish ***pipi:*** cockle, a shellfish ***kiwi:*** national bird of New Zealand ***tui:*** the parson bird ***Pakeha:*** non-Maori, Caucasian

Maori and English

The commission working on the Prayer Book included Maori members from the beginning, and they contributed to the Prayer Book along with everyone else. What that entailed was different when the book was produced to what they would expect now. At that time, their energies and their search for a distinctive voice did not include the provision of separate

liturgies in Maori for any and every occasion. Had they requested that the new book be produced fully in both Maori and English that would have been done without demur, but that is not what they were seeking.

Crucial parts of services, particularly key congregational responses and texts, were provided in both languages. The commission deliberately interwove Maori and English in some passages. Provision was also made for the eucharistic services in Fijian and Tongan for the diocese of Polynesia. Subsequently, not only eucharistic liturgies, but baptism, marriage, and funeral services have been published in Fijian, Tongan, Hindi, and Samoan. One eucharistic liturgy was printed fully in both English and Maori on facing pages to facilitate movement from one version to the other if desired. There was also one complete Eucharist in Maori only. Originally, there were to have been two such Eucharists, giving the book five main eucharistic liturgies–two in English, two in Maori, and one in both languages. One of the Maori Eucharists, however, raised theological problems among some Maori. They found its language too local and not sufficiently traditional, especially in its language for God. This service was not included in the published book.

The Maori contribution is also discernible in the calendar of the church. Many of the commemorations are traditional and common to most Anglican calendars, but the opportunity was taken of including in the New Zealand calendar specific figures who have shaped the Anglican Church here. These include a number of Maori figures: Rota Waitoa, the first Maori to be ordained; Frederick Bennett, the first Maori bishop; and Kereopa and Te Manihera, two Maori who in 1847 died while attempting to bring the gospel of reconciliation to their tribal enemies. Of the twenty-four commemorations unique to New Zealand, fifteen are Maori, and an additional one remembers both a Maori and a New Zealander of European origin. The calendar also includes a significant number of women, and aims to be representative of the worldwide church in its diversity through the centuries.

Recent Trends

The New Zealand scene has changed considerably since the production of the Prayer Book. A major shift was already beginning as the Prayer Book was being finalized. The Anglican Church in New Zealand in 1990 adopted a new Constitution that gave greater autonomy to Maori and to the diocese of Polynesia. While the Prayer Book remains important for them, they have also since developed liturgical material of their own for use in their own settings, but this is not reflected in the Prayer Book itself.

The commission completed its work in early 1987, and, with a slight twinkle in its eye, commented on its own work in a prayer:

> Dear God,
> as we who remain
> sharpen our jots
> and accentuate our tittles,
> we thank you that we were called
> to this task rather than to something else;
> grant that our work for these twenty years
> may be what the Church will be glad to have received.

General Synod accepted their work with only minor changes in May that year. General Synod in 1988 endorsed that decision and the work then 'lay on the table' pending any possible appeals on doctrinal grounds (there were none), and was published in November 1989. The church warmly embraced it. Even by that time it would have been rare to find a main Sunday service conducted according to any but one of the revised rites.

An important feature of the book as a whole is its flexibility. Options abound. While es-

From the Service of Night Prayer

Lord,
it is night.

The night is for stillness.
 Let us be still in the presence of God.

It is night after a long day.
 What has been done has been done;
 what has not been done has not been done;
 let it be.

The night is dark.
 Let our fears of the darkness of the world and of our own lives
 rest in you.

The night is quiet.
 Let the quietness of your peace enfold us,
  all dear to us,
  and all who have no peace.

The night heralds the dawn.
 Let us look expectantly to a new day,
  new joys,
  new possibilities.

In your name we pray.
Amen.

sential parts of services are clearly signalled, the instructions frequently state that the minister may use what is provided, or use some other words, not necessarily from the book itself. More significant for the period since the book was produced has been the tendency in many places to adopt a more local liturgical pattern for some aspects of services. There is a freedom inherent in the book itself, hinted at even in its title. The commission deliberately called it *A New Zealand Prayer Book*, not *The New Zealand Prayer Book*.

In addition, the impact of the charismatic movement and the current desire in many places to seek new words and expressions have led to considerable flexibility in liturgical practice. It is hard to generalize, but local adaptations and innovations are relatively common. *A New Zealand Prayer Book/He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa* is clearly the basis of Anglican worship in New Zealand, but it is often not simply done 'according to the book'. At its best this freedom keeps alive the intention of the commission to provide a book for the living worship of the church; at its worst it leads to a return to the clerical domination of liturgy the book wanted to avoid. All of which raises the question of further reform of the Prayer Book. Given the complexity of the situation it seems unlikely that another full Prayer Book will be produced by Anglicans in New Zealand in the near future, though in 2004 the General Synod adopted a motion to begin exploring the process necessary for such a revision.

A Visual Feast

One final feature of the published book is distinctively New Zealand: thirteen original art works were commissioned from noted local artists for inclusion in the book. The cover was done by the then Archbishop of New Zealand, Brian Davis. Four of the remainder were

done by Ross Hemara, including the half-title-page, which itself has become the logo for the Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand, and Polynesia.

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From *Te Rawiri* to the *New Zealand Prayer Book*

Jenny Te Paa

While the majority of Maori Anglicans now use the contemporary and universally loved *New Zealand Prayer Book* with great pride and easy confidence, this is in many instances a very recent occurrence. For many rural Maori Anglicans, particularly the elders, *the* iconic Anglican Prayer Book is a small volume that is always referred to as *Te Rawiri*. A brief look at our history provides the background for this reality.

Although simply described on the spine of the dustcover of the book as Maori Prayer & Hymns, the proper full name of this book is *Te Pukapuka Inoi me era atu Tikanga a Te Hahi o Ingarangi mo te Minitatanga o nga Hakarameta o era atu Ritenga hoki a Te Hahi me nga Waiata ano hoki a Rawiri me te Tikanga mo te Momotu I Te Pihopa, I Te Piriti, I Te Rikona*. Somewhat freely translated into English, the full title means, 'This is the book of prayers and all those guidelines of the Anglican Church which are deemed necessary for the conduct of the ministry of the Sacraments *and* for all other customary liturgies of the Church *and* it contains the Songs of David encapsulated in the Psalms *and* it also has the prayers and forms of service required for the ordination of Bishops, Priests and Deacons.' In short, the title means that this book is the Maori language version, first published in 1839, of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer.

The Psalms of David

The words *Te Rawiri*, when literally translated, are those of the name 'David'. The reverentially affectionate 'naming' of this book by Maori people can be directly attributed to their belief in the authority, or *mana,* of the Psalmist. As people of an oral tradition, nineteenth-century Maori determined the authenticity of someone's words according to the status or authority of the speaker. The greater the status of the speaker, the greater the respect they were accorded. Canon Dr Hone Kaa describes early Maori oral tradition thus:

> Maori believed that nothing was ever said or sung that could not be attributed to a living being, and acknowledgement of authorship gave you authority to use their words and keep them alive. The acknowledgement also gave the singers or orators direct connection to the person or being from whom the words are said to come. Their ability to compose, and capture moments in their life became moments in the lives of those who used their songs or uttered their words. The time in which they wrote mattered not, it was the events and the actions that were important and they became the actions and events of those repeating them.

For spoken words to have meaning, therefore, they had to be attributed to a person of authority. David is seen as *the* figure of authority, as *the* spokesperson of things of great meaning and therefore as a person, a leader of great power. Whatever contemporary scholarship had to say about the authorship of the Psalms, as far as Maori were concerned the author of *all* of the Psalms was David.

Because the Psalms were among the first biblical resources to be translated into Maori, their significant and enduring influence was assured. When translated, the Psalms as-

sumed a tremendous depth of meaning because the indigenous language of the time was so powerfully evocative of the imagery, symbolism, pain, and beauty inherent in their messages.

It was evocative also because many of those messages found their parallel in the remembered experiences of Maori from the time of their earliest contact with missionaries through the period when they were being systematically 'relieved' of land, language, and resources. It was also a time when diseases against which they had no immunity had begun to take their toll. As the full devastating impact of colonization began to be understood by Maori communities, the Psalms were a powerful solace for Maori suffering. They inspired, encouraged, and reassured Maori to remain faithful to God in spite of the hardships they faced. They also provided example after example of 'rules' for 'right living' in obedience to God. Favourite psalms recited by Maori from the earliest times include Psalms 95, 98, 100, 121, and 128.

They found solace in the rhythmic chanting of the words of the Psalms. For a people with an oral tradition the use of chant was a powerful medium for incarnating the Holy Spirit as helper, guardian, defender, protector, refuge, and advocate. The texts of Rawiri, or David, were contextually perfect, for here were found the petitions and pleas of God's people for help and relief from distress, including the physical and emotional experience of suffering and divine affliction (if this were necessary), or liberation and exodus from persecution.

In retrospect it is easy to see how the Psalms became such a source of comfort to an increasingly marginalized people. Because the Psalms provided extraordinarily beautiful and poignant hymns, prayers, laments, songs of thanksgiving, liturgies, and instructions for life, the entire Book of Common Prayer was in a sense unilaterally redefined in terms of its liturgical usefulness by and for Maori. The remainder of the Book of Common Prayer provided all of the necessary orders of service for the sacraments, ordination, and all other Anglican offices. There are forms of prayer and hymns for virtually every occasion. There are calendars, readings, and blessings. In composite then, *Te Rawiri* was and still is regarded by many Maori Anglicans as being utterly sufficient in itself. It contains the full range of liturgical resources required to respond in faith and with humility to the sufferings, the joys, and the day to day challenges experienced by all of God's people in their endeavours to live good lives and to endow those with meaning and purpose according to God's will.

A New Zealand Prayer Book

When the 1964 General Synod established a Prayer Book Commission, which carefully and lovingly guided the production of *A New Zealand Prayer Book,* Maori people expressed minimal interest. This was so partly because Maori representation at General Synod was negligible and partly because Maori liturgical expertise had never been enabled to flourish. Principally, however, it was simply that Maori Anglicans were content with *Te Rawiri*.

Urban Maori Anglican mission churches were the first to introduce *A New Zealand Prayer Book* to congregations. There was little resistance or objection to the changes being introduced because the option to use both *Te Rawiri* and the new Prayer Book at different times was encouraged and enabled. One of the features of the new Prayer Book which appealed greatly to urban Maori (many of whom were non-native-speaking but part of the growing urban renaissance movement committed to Maori language revival) was the extensive use of Maori language in many of the orders of service. One of the lesser known facts about the Maori language used in *A New Zealand Prayer Book* is that in most cases it is not a direct translation of the English language version. Rather, Maori translators did as their forebears responsible for *Te Rawiri* had done, employing the imagery, symbolism, rhetoric, and allegory so unique to traditional Maori oratory form.

The resulting translations are extraordinarily evocative of Maori understandings of God's indescribably immaculate creation and of relationships with the living and the dead; of Maori traditions which honour the inherent goodness of all God's people; of Maori ex-

pressions of adoration and thanksgiving for the gift of faith; and of Maori gratitude for God's never-ending promise of life everlasting. In some instances the parallel diglot sections are close approximations to one another, but in most cases they are not. To some non-Maori-speakers who incorrectly apply a literal one-way translation to individual Maori words the Maori text is regarded as theologically questionable or actually subversive. To Maori-speakers who delight in the richness of allusion, the profoundly organic nature of the theology being expressed, and the sheer beauty of the language form, the Maori text is most definitely regarded as delightfully subversive!

An example of the subtle *politics* of translation follows. The texts used here are quoted directly from *A New Zealand Prayer Book*. In the first example, the translation is more formal and liturgically correct. It is a close approximation of the Maori language version, but 'sanitized' for church worship.

Ko te Karaiti te Waiora, E horoi nei, e whakahou nei i nga mea katoa Ko Ia te Taro-o-te-Ora Hei Kai ma te hunga Matekai Hei Kaha mo te Manene, mo nga Kai-mahi.	Christ is the living water cleansing, refreshing, making all things new. Christ is the living bread; food for the hungry, strength for the pilgrim and the labourer.
No reira matou ka tapae ki a koe I a matou whakamoemiti. Mo Ranginui i runga nei, mo Papa-Tuanuku e takoto nei. Mo nga Maunga whakahii, mo nga Puke-korero Mo nga Tai-mihi-tangata, mo nga Moana e hora nei.	So now we offer our thanks for the beauty of these islands; for the wild places and the bush, for the mountains, the coast and the sea.
No runga nga homaitanga papai katoa Tukua mai–kia aio nga rangi i runga Kia tuku te puehu o Papa-Tuanuku e takoto nei.	We offer thanks and praise to God for this good land; for its trees and pastures, for its plentiful crops and the skills we have learned to grow them.
Kia whakapapa pounamu te moana Kia hora te marino ki Aotearoa-whanui.	Our thanks for marae and the cities we have built; for science and discoveries, in our life together, for Aotearoa, New Zealand.

The second example is a translation of the same piece, but also a more authentic rendering of the original Maori meaning in terms of its imagery and symbolism:

Cleansing and renewing all things.
He is the Bread of Life
Food for the hungry
Strength for the weak and for the labourer

Therefore we give you thanks
For Ranginui above and for Papa-Tuanuku reclining here below
For the prayer mountains, for the hills which bespeak our histories
For the tides ever whispering their salutations to humankind and the oceans stretching forth.

Let the good from above
Flow so there may be peace in the skies above
And that here below strife's dust may settle
That the seas be still
And that peace may be spread throughout Aotearoa.

Once the Prayer Book became more widely distributed, discussed, and experienced liturgically, most Maori Anglicans reacted extremely favourably and with deep gratitude for the very liberal use of Maori language as well as for its exceptional quality. By the mid-1980s Maori language revival programs had been established throughout the land, but the quality or standard of language used in many instances was very uneven. Often the quality was determined both geographically and demographically. Those areas of New Zealand where language loss was most severe tended to be the same areas where there were fewer first-language-speaking elders. As a result urban centres tended to be sites where mainly second-language learners were responsible for teaching and speaking a less traditional or 'classic' form of the indigenous Maori language.

Maori Anglicans welcomed the appropriate incorporation of Maori traditional practice into specific liturgical formats. They responded to the Maori artwork included in the book and noted with pleasure the substantial honouring of Maori who had made significant contributions to the shaping of the Anglican Church in New Zealand. *A New Zealand Prayer Book* arrived in the newly maturing, consciously diverse urban Anglican milieu at the perfect time.

For rural Maori congregations, however, the reception of the new Prayer Book has not been as easy. For reasons of economics and of theological literacy, there were problems. First, rural Maori congregations tend to be predominantly elderly and far less wealthy. The costs of the Prayer Book for many parishes, let alone for individuals, proved prohibitive. Second, there arose a tension between those senior rural Maori clergy for whom *Te Rawiri* was singularly authoritative and the younger urban generation of clergy, many of whom had been exposed to modern theological scholarship and therefore appreciated and valued the inclusion of contemporary liturgical forms in ways that their elders did not. The end result was that for a short period some rural parishes refused to use *A New Zealand Prayer Book,* preferring instead to remain with *Te Rawiri*. The tension has not, however, proven insurmountable because of significant mobility between rural and urban Maori communities. On many occasions, when urban-based Maori priests return home to their rural family bases, they will tend to use *A New Zealand Prayer Book*. There is now little evidence of resistance to or resentment about such practices: both Prayer Books are well-loved and well-used by both rural and urban Maori congregations.

As the Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand, and Polynesia continues to come of age as a post-colonial church committed to honouring ethnic diversity, *A New Zealand Prayer Book* offers in its deep structure a globally unique and influential liturgical template. The liberal and extensive use of indigenous language (Maori) and the inclusion of regional languages (Maori, English, Fijian, Tongan, Samoan) is unprecedented around the Anglican Communion. The intentional use of inclusive language is greatly appreciated by women throughout the Anglican world; the contemporizing of a number of the key communal prayers (the Lord's Prayer) and the creeds, and the powerfully contextualized theology of the whole appeals to Anglicans everywhere. The large demand for reprint editions of *A New Zealand Prayer Book* is testimony to that.

New Zealand Anglicans are richly blessed by having both the Book of Common Prayer in English and *Te Rawiri* in Maori. Together these two precious books preserve and honour the traditions of the church to which all New Zealand Anglicans adhere. *Te Rawiri*

poignantly reminds us simultaneously of the Maori story of becoming Christian through the experience of colonial injustice and of God's powerful and constant redemptive presence in history–past, present, and future.

A New Zealand Prayer Book, appropriately named *'A'* Prayer Book rather than *'The'* Prayer Book, tenderly upholds the traditions of old. It celebrates and honours bold, creative, and just contemporary liturgy. It looks beyond the limitations of the present to a vision of diverse worshipping communities characterized by the loving human qualities of service, mutuality, and interdependence.

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The Church of Melanesia

Terry Brown

From 1848, when George Augustus Selwyn, first bishop of New Zealand, inaugurated mission work in Melanesia, and more especially from the arrival of John Coleridge Patteson in 1855 (consecrated bishop of Melanesia in 1861, martyred in 1871), comprehending, learning, and documenting the myriad languages of Melanesia was a priority. Eventually, the Melanesian Mission came to extend from New Zealand to Norfolk Island to New Caledonia to the New Hebrides (now Vanuatu) to the Solomon Islands to New Britain (now part of Papua New Guinea), although in the end the Mission concentrated on the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands. Patteson and his missionary associates, many of whom were gifted linguists, learned the Melanesian languages largely from the young scholars they brought first to New Zealand and then to Norfolk Island to train and send back as local catechists to evangelize their home villages. As the missionaries learned the languages, they imparted literacy to their young students.

The first publications of the Melanesian Mission Press included simple dictionaries, grammars, and primers; portions of the Prayer Book (beginning with 'The Lord's Prayer, Creed and General Confession' in Guadalcanal and Makira languages in 1857); portions of scripture and catechisms; and simplified church histories. All of this early linguistic effort had one goal: the translation and publication of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer in the languages of Melanesia. At the same time, the missionaries immersed the scholars in daily Prayer Book worship with the aim that they take back that worship to the small village churches of the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands. Eventually, the aim succeeded.

Because of Patteson's strong theology of a Melanesian church, little effort was made to teach the scholars English or to produce simplified English versions of the Bible or Book of Common Prayer. Instead, the missionaries chose the language of Mota, a small island in the Banks group, as the official language of the Mission. Located in what became the northern New Hebrides, geographically it was in the middle of the Mission and surprisingly easy for both Melanesians and missionaries to learn; eventually, it spread throughout the Solomons and the rest of the New Hebrides as the language of prayer and teaching of the diocese of Melanesia. The first full Mota Prayer Book was published in 1897 and frequently reprinted. However, other Melanesian languages were not forgotten. Usually portions were first published, then a short form of the Prayer Book, then finally the full Prayer Book. Prayer Books (or portions) were published in the languages of Ysabel, Makira, Reefs, Ulawa, Gela, Malaita, and Guadalcanal in the Solomons and Mota, Pentecost, and Ambae in the New Hebrides from 1857 through the first half of the twentieth century (and continuing). But the 1897 Mota Book of Common Prayer was the standard and when a diocesan conference in 1921 discussed liturgical revision in light of changes taking place in England, it was revision of the Mota Prayer Book that was discussed.

Prayer Book worship spread through the establishment of church schools throughout the Mission. Bishop H. H. Montgomery of Tasmania, visiting the Mission at the end of the nineteenth century, wrote:

> I may mention here that one of the most regular signs of Christian life, and one of the most delightful to contemplate, is the daily gathering of the whole community for their morning and evening prayer in their church. At about seven a.m. the church is filled; each man and woman kneels on entering; nor during the service is such a thing so much as heard of that any one should sit at prayer. A hymn is sung, together with one of the canticles; one of the daily lessons is read, and a shortened form of daily prayer is said by the clergyman or teacher in charge. The same obtains at about seven o'clock every evening. Such a custom is universal among all the hundreds of schools in Melanesia, carrying out the Church's rule of daily prayer in a manner which would astonish many of our own church people who have never known such a rule for themselves. (Montgomery, 56–57)

This pattern was eventually carried from the church schools to the villages and plantations and persists today.

By early in the twentieth century, the ethos of the diocese of Melanesia was Anglo-Catholic, but with an awareness of the need to be adaptive rather than excessively rigorous. Bishop John Manwaring Steward (bishop of Melanesia from 1919 to 1928) put forward these views clearly in a booklet he published in 1926, *A Melanesian Use: Together with Notes on Ceremonial, etc*. His emphasis was not on revision of the Prayer Book to fit the local situation, but rather on developing a local use and ceremonial to fit Melanesia on the principle of 'dignified but simple'. Following the tradition of Bishop Patteson, Steward eschewed imposing complicated European ceremonial upon Melanesian Christians:

> We must be very careful that we do not try to enforce our European fads and fancies on our people; and above all must we avoid saying 'This or that is what appeals, or does not appeal, to the native', when if we were to speak the truth we should say, 'This or that is what appeals to me, or what I am used to at home, and it's what the native ought to like, and what I am going to do.' (Steward, 5–6)

In his recommended ceremonial Steward raised the Feast of the Epiphany to the level of Easter and Christmas and extended its white liturgical colour to all the Sundays after Epiphany until Septuagesima, as a sign of the missionary vocation of the diocese. Bishop Steward's strong advocacy of adaptation of the Book of Common Prayer to local circumstances prepared the way for actual changes in the liturgy in this direction that would come later.

As English emerged to greater prominence with the establishment of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate and the Anglo-French New Hebrides Condominium and the establishment of small English-speaking expatriate settlements in the two colonies, Mota became a less viable common medium for the Mission. In 1930 the diocese adopted English as its official language. (The missionaries regarded Solomon Islands *pidgin* and New Hebrides *bislama*, brought back by Melanesian indentured labourers returning from Queensland and Fiji, as too corrupt and profane for liturgical usage, nor were they at that point written languages.) This decision resulted in the diocese's first English Prayer Book, *A Book of Common Prayer for Use in the Diocese of Melanesia*, published by the Melanesian Mission Press on Guadalcanal in 1938 (reprinted in 1944, 1947, and 1950).

The 1938 *A Book of Common Prayer* reflects the diocese's commitment both to its catholic tradition and to simplicity. The fifteen services begin with 'Prime, an early morning service', and continue with 'A Shortened form of Morning Prayer', the Litany, 'A Devotion before Holy Communion', The Holy Communion, 'A Shortened form of Evening Prayer', full Evening Prayer and 'Compline, a late evening service'. It continues with a selection of forty-six psalms, followed by a collection of prayers and thanksgivings, the Chaplet (the Joyful, Sad, and Glorious Mysteries) and three special litanies (Litanies of the Passion, Missions to

From the Litany for Missions to the Heathen

Throughout the Church of Melanesia, 'heathen' is the ordinary, descriptive word for anyone who has never been a Christian, especially followers of traditional religions. While this litany for mission begins and ends as Anglican litanies have traditionally done, it includes the following petitions. To each the response is 'We pray you to hear us, good Lord.'

We sinners ask you to hear us that it may please you to bless your Holy Church which you bought with your dear blood.

We pray you to bless all missionary Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Brothers and Catechists.

We pray you to send your Spirit on the church in our islands, that all here may know your saving power.

We pray you to bless the Brothers and their Companions, to give them wisdom and understanding and keep them safe in all dangers.

We pray you to move the hearts of those whom you are calling to join them that they may offer themselves for this work.

We pray you to give them fruit from the seeds they sow that the heathen may be converted to you.

We pray you to bless all who learn and write and print the languages of the people to whom they go, that all may hear in their own language of your saving power.

We pray you to bless the work of your Church in New Guinea, to call men and women to work there, and to bless the Bishops and all whom they shall send out among the heathen of that island.

We pray you to bless the work of your church among the people of Polynesia in Fiji, Tonga, Samoa and the many islands of the sea, and among the people of India and China who have made their home there.

We pray you to bless the native people of Australia and the Torres Straits Islands that they may know your saving power.

We pray you to bless the Missions to the peoples of Indonesia, Malaysia and South East Asia and all who work and pray for them.

We pray you to bless the people of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma and to lead them from the teaching of Buddha and Mahomet to the clearer light of the teaching of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

We pray you to bless the people of China, Korea and Japan, to shield and strengthen your Church in those lands and bring them all to the worship of you the true God.

We pray you to bless the people of Egypt and the countries of North Africa that they may turn again to the Christian faith.

We pray you to bless all those who have not known you in South America, and bring them to you.

We pray you to bless the work of the Church in Africa, their leaders and all whom they send out, and to bring the many peoples there to find peace and friendship for one another through knowing you as their Saviour.

We pray you to strengthen the weak, bring back the sinners, hold steady those who are tempted, and deepen the faith of those who stand firm, in those places, where many are Christians in name only.

We pray you to forgive your people for turning from you, their Saviour, and to bring them to know and love you and to put their trust in you.

the Heathen, and Embertide). The Prayer Book concludes with a Rogation Procession service and (as an Appendix) 'A Form of Preparation which may be said by the Priest and his Assistants before the Celebration of the Holy Communion'. It contains no service of Holy Baptism: most baptisms continued to take place in the vernacular.

'The Holy Communion [Sometimes called the Lord's Supper, the Holy Eucharist, or the Mass]' (its full title) generally follows the 1931 'Interim Rite' of the Book of Common Prayer. Special collects include a post-communion prayer for Bishop Patteson's Day. Throughout the 1938 Prayer Book, the language remains Elizabethan. The shortened forms of Morning and Evening Prayer include a short alternative to the Apostles' Creed. While Melanesian

language Prayer Books continued to be used in villages, the Melanesian English Prayer Book was widely used in church schools and institutions and in urban settings where the congregations came from mixed language backgrounds. The church continued to suppress *pidjin* and *bislama* as liturgical languages, even for preaching.

The 1938 Prayer Book was revised and reprinted in 1953 (and further reprinted in 1958 and 1961). The 1953 revision added the Order of Confirmation (placing emphasis on confirmation as the renewal of baptismal promises) and moved the Preparation for Holy Communion from the Appendix to just before the Holy Communion. However, this revision may have been prompted primarily by the need to change the name of the monarch in the state prayers.

By the 1960s awareness of the Liturgical Movement within the Anglican Communion began to reach the diocese from New Zealand, of which the diocese was still a part ecclesiastically. Charles E. Fox, senior missionary of the diocese, went to work on producing a Melanesian Prayer Book in simple (non-Elizabethan) English, including the offices, the Psalter, and the Lord's Prayer. The result was *A Book of Common Prayer in Simple English*, published by the Melanesian Mission Press at Taroaniara in 1965. The authors provided a short explanation on the title-page: 'Though the English of this book cannot compare with that of the English Prayer Book, yet it may be better understood by Melanesian schoolboys and others whose knowledge of English is not yet very good'. However, the Holy Communion service remained untouched by revision: 'By direction of the Bishop the Holy Communion has not been altered'.

Charles Fox's Psalter (retained until today in the Melanesian English Prayer Book) is noteworthy for its very direct and simple English (very few words are more than two syllables) and the inclusion of some Melanesian English features such as crocodiles, sand flies, ukuleles, and the translation 'heathen' for Gentiles. But perhaps more noteworthy is his simple English translation of the Lord's Prayer:

> Our Father in heaven, holy be your Name, your rule come, your will be done, in the world as it is in heaven. Give us this day our food for today. Forgive us what we do wrong as we forgive those who do wrong to us. Bring us not into trouble to try us, but save us from evil. For yours is the rule and the power and the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

At the time the prayer was written, bread was relatively rare in Melanesian villages, hence the substitution of 'food' for it in the prayer. Likewise, the translation 'rule' rather than 'kingdom' avoided excessively narrow monarchical terminology. Bishop John A. T. Robinson, who heard it used among Church of Melanesia theological students in Fiji, declared it one of the most felicitous translations of the prayer that he had ever heard. This version of the Lord's Prayer continues in use in the Church of Melanesia today and whether the English Language Liturgical Consultation text will replace it remains a point of debate.

With the arrival of Bishop John Wallace Chisholm as bishop of Melanesia in 1967, liturgical revision took a major step forward. The 1966 experimental New Zealand liturgy was tested at the theological college at Siota and found to be too great a change. Bishop Chisholm then formed a Liturgical Committee, which included himself, Charles Fox, Archdeacon (later Bishop) Derek Rawcliffe, Fr Brian Macdonald Milne, and others to work on a simple English text for the Eucharist.

Attention fixed particularly on trying to convey the meaning of *anamnesis* and Real Presence in the eucharistic canon. One proposal read, 'Take, eat, this is my Body which is given for you, do this to bring Me to you . . . do this, as often as you drink it, to bring Me to you.' This option was rejected in favour of wording taken from the 1969 Canadian diocese of Qu'Appelle liturgy, 'Take, eat, this is my Body which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me *and know that I am with you* . . . do this, as often as you drink it, in

remembrance of me *and know that I am with you.'* These words remained a part of the *Melanesian English Prayer Book* canon until the 1989 Provincial Synod removed them as an unnecessary addition to the words of institution.

The results of this liturgical revision of the Eucharist came forward in the third (revised) edition of the *Book of Common Prayer in Simple English* in 1971, reprinted in 1973 as a *Melanesian English Prayer Book* ('Translation by C. E. Fox'). This Prayer Book, which by now included collects, the Baptism of a Baby, a Catechism, marriage, Giving Thanks after Childbirth, and Burial (all added in the 1967 revised edition of the *Book of Common Prayer in Simple English*) is basically the current *Melanesian English Prayer Book* (to which a collection of hymns has also been attached), many reprintings later. The ordinal was published separately in 1974. Melanesian Prayers Books have never included a lectionary; instead all rely on an annual lectionary (daily readings for the Eucharist and Morning and Evening Prayer, following the standard ecumenical lectionaries, as well as various liturgical notes) published by the church press. When the diocese of Melanesia gained provincial autonomy and became the Church of the Province of Melanesia in 1975 with four (in 2004, eight) dioceses, it already had its own liturgy.

The process of retranslating the liturgy into Melanesian languages has been slow and some communities have preferred to use their old vernacular Prayer Books. However, all English language services employ the *Melanesian English Prayer Book* and it remains the standard, despite subsequent liturgical revision. In 1975 Bishop Derek Rawcliffe and others published a New Hebrides (Vanuatu) *bislama* (*pidjin*) abridged translation of the new Prayer Book, *Preabuk long Bislama*. It included a Preparation, Mass, Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, and Canticles. Staff and students at the provincial theological college, Bishop Patteson Theological College, have produced trial versions of the daily offices and Holy Communion in Solomon Islands *pidjin,* but the language's short vocabulary and long syntax makes for a very long service. They are now attempting a more colloquial *pidjin* version.

The liturgy in the *Melanesian English Prayer Book* has had some use beyond the Church of Melanesia. It has been included as the Second Order in the *Anglican Prayer Book* of Papua New Guinea, probably because of the influence of Melanesian Brotherhood households working there. (The Melanesian Brothers are an indigenous religious community of the Church of Melanesia, with some four hundred members working in the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, and beyond.) Church of Melanesia students in Fiji and New Zealand also use it on community occasions.

Since the early 1990s, liturgical revision has been ongoing. Work has been undertaken, for example, on the development of a Second Order of the eucharistic liturgy: offertory prayers have been added, the confession and absolution have been moved to the beginning of the service, and a greater variety of eucharistic canons has been provided, including one with a Melanesian environmental theme. The revised *Pastoral and Occasional Services* includes a service of reconciliation for communities; a book of *Lent and Holy Week Services* has been compiled, as well as a new *Episcopal Services* book that includes the ordinal and Dedication and Consecration of a Church Building. The new *Revised Order of Service for Holy Baptism* does not separate the baptism of children and adults and makes it clear that baptism alone ensures full membership in the body of Christ. The province is working towards a new Prayer Book that will include both orders of the Eucharist.

Inculturation of the Melanesian Book of Common Prayer is not found so much in its texts as in how it is used: particularly on great festivals and saints' days, it is the custom for traditional dancing to take place around the altar at the *Kyrie, Gloria,* and *Sanctus.* There are frequently elaborate gospel and offertory processions involving traditional dancers, dramatic proclamations of the gospel, and traditional Melanesian music. Both the setting of the Eucharist and hymns are often done to traditional tunes and chants, and those officiating are often barefoot. The traditional Melanesian musical settings for the Eucharist date from the 1970s and were spread around the country through broadcasts on the national radio station,

Bishop Patteson Theological College, and the Melanesian Brotherhood. New settings continue to emerge. The heavy involvement of the laity in all this activity around the altar with dance, song, panpipes, drumming, offering bowls of incense, servers, and choirs makes it clear that liturgy in Melanesia truly belongs to the people and their culture and not just to the priest.

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The Anglican Church of Papua New Guinea

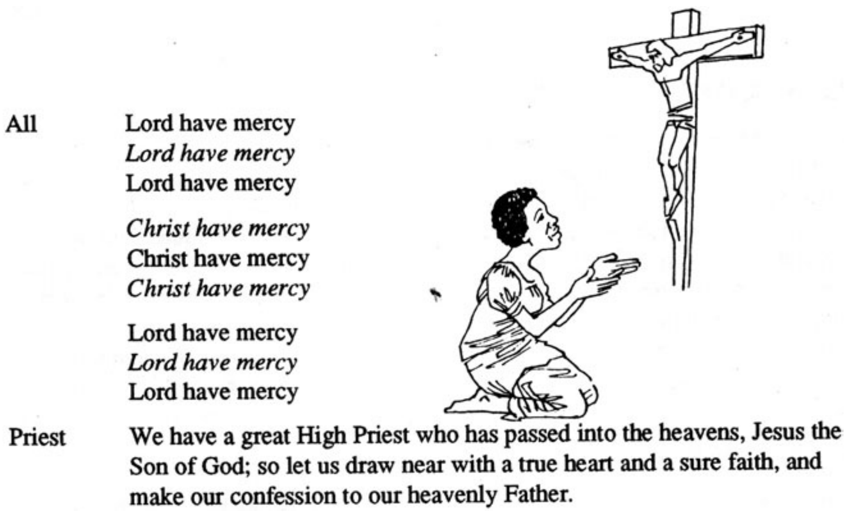
Justus VanHouten, S.S.F.

Papua New Guinea is a Melanesian country that is blessed with hundreds of unrelated languages and diverse cultures. The rugged topography and isolation made it difficult for the different tribes and clans to interact with each other and develop a common tongue; it was not until the coming of the Europeans that this kind of uniformity was imposed. Today there are three official languages: English, Tok Pisin *(pidjin),* and Motu, although many people still find it easiest to communicate in their local languages. In some villages the local language is the only one known by women and children.

Historian David Wetherell accurately referred to the Anglican New Guinea Mission as the 'Reluctant Mission'. It wasn't until St Laurence Day (10 August) 1891 that Copland King and Albert Maclaren were sent from Australia and landed at Wedau village near Dogura to begin the Anglican Mission, about fifty years after Bishop Selwyn inaugurated evangelistic work in the neighbouring Solomon Islands. The first bishop of New Guinea, Montagu John Stone-Wigg, was appointed in 1897 and the New Guinea Mission continued to be part of the North Queensland (Brisbane) diocese until it became an independent province of the Anglican Communion in 1977. The Anglican Church of Papua New Guinea's *Anglican Prayer Book* was not compiled until 1991 when five thousand copies were printed as a gift from the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK). It is sometimes referred to as the 'Centenary Prayer Book' since it marked the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the New Guinea Mission.

At first, since English was a foreign language for most worshippers, services from the 1662 Book of Common Prayer were often translated or paraphrased into simple English. As the Bible was translated into local languages, liturgies (the Eucharist, Morning Prayer, and Evening Prayer) were also translated and printed in small quantities for local use. This work of translation has not yet been completed, so many Anglicans and other Christians do not have liturgical or worship materials available in their own language. Consequently, the Tok Pisin and English liturgical books are often the only resources available to them. Many of the eucharistic service booklets had pictures to illustrate what was happening in the liturgy, something that is helpful in places with high rates of illiteracy. The publication of the *Anglican Prayer Book* has established the norm for these pictures and there is now an increasing uniformity of pictures and their placement in the text (*see* Illustrations 29 and 30).

The nascent Anglican Church in Papua New Guinea was marked by missionaries and bishops from the English (Australian) high church tradition and indigenous evangelists. From the earliest days of the Anglican Mission, the indigenous people were encouraged to practice their traditional ways except when they were in conflict with the gospel. For example, Bishop Stone-Wigg refused to follow the lead of the London Missionary Society in condemning Motuan dancing. The current Prayer Book reflects this dual heritage, which is wonderfully illustrated in the service of Christian marriage, based on the rite of 1662. The rubrics provide for the use of drums and for the man and woman to be given to each other by a father or uncle, respecting the Melanesian custom of extended families. The liturgy



All	Lord have mercy *Lord have mercy* Lord have mercy
	Christ have mercy Christ have mercy *Christ have mercy*
	Lord have mercy *Lord have mercy* Lord have mercy
Priest	We have a great High Priest who has passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God; so let us draw near with a true heart and a sure faith, and make our confession to our heavenly Father.

29. The *Anglican Prayer Book:* Illustration at the *Kyrie*
Pictures that illustrate participation in the Prayer Book services were first adopted in booklets that contained the eucharistic rite used in Papua New Guinea. The practice proved to be helpful, and has been continued in the 'Centenary Prayer Book' of 1991, where this picture of a worshipper kneeling before a crucifix appropriately accompanies the text of the *Kyrie,* 'Lord have mercy', and the invitation to confession.

also allows for other local traditions, as in the rubric: 'The custom of Provinces may be followed. In one Province [the bride's father or uncle] leads her onto a mat that has been given by the man's family and he may put on her the ornaments of a married woman.'

Although it has merely 259 pages and is only available in English, the *Anglican Prayer Book* fulfils three functions: a standard for parish liturgies; services for ordinations and other occasional rites; and a resource for the devotional life of individuals. Its brown plastic cover is very practical in this tropical country where humidity and rain tend to quickly ruin



30. The *Anglican Prayer Book:* Illustration at the *Gloria*
Like the previous illustration, this drawing of a joyful worshipper playing a *kundu,* a wooden drum with a lizard-skin head, has been widely adopted in Prayer Books and booklets used in the Anglican Church of Papua New Guinea. Its usual and very suitable place is just after the text of the *Gloria in excelsis.* In the English 'Centenary' book, the picture appears at the top of a page, preceding the salutation and collect for the day; in the Tok Pisin service book it is on the same page as the *Gloria* itself.

books and mildew leather. In addition to the daily offices (Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, and Compline) and the sacraments (baptism, eucharist, confirmation, marriage, ordination, anointing of the sick, and penance), it provides rites for the burial of the dead and commissioning of lay workers, as well as the celebration of new ministries for priests and bishops.

The section of seasonal material includes liturgies for the major festivals of the Christian year. The service of lessons and carols for Christmas Eve contains nine lessons and suggested hymns. The Ash Wednesday liturgy provides for the blessing and imposition of ashes at the beginning of the Eucharist. Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Easter liturgies are fairly standard and reflect the high church tradition. The exceptions to this general statement are that the Good Friday liturgy provides intercessory prayers that are less elaborate than the traditional Solemn Collects but which are more in keeping with the church's usual forms of intercession, and the Good Friday liturgy also includes a foreshadowing of Easter that is marked by the reading of Luke 24:13–26. The rubrics explain how the various rites can be adapted when a priest is not available to preside. They also indicate the prayers and blessings that are restricted to priests or deacons.

As a resource of personal devotion the *Anglican Prayer Book* contains prayers of the New Testament, a Short Guide to the duties of Church Membership, and devotions for individual use, including the *Angelus* or memorial of the incarnation. Of particular note are the Stations of the Cross written by James M. FitzPatrick, O.M.I. and illustrated by Sister Phyllis Nicoll, O.S.B. While traditionally the Stations (or Way) of the Cross are a series of fourteen devotions beginning with Jesus being condemned by Pilate and ending with his burial, these fourteen stations, called 'No Greater Love', start with the Last Supper and end with the resurrection. This devotion is prefaced by suggestions on how it can be used by individuals or congregations in different settings so as to make its use more conducive to comprehending Christ's passion.

This Prayer Book was not designed to stand by itself, but to be used in conjunction with other books. Partly to save costs, and partly because the *Good News Bible* (*TEV*) was the only Bible translation generally available at the time of its printing, the *Anglican Prayer Book* does not have a Psalter of its own. Rather, people read the psalms from their Bibles. All the scriptural quotations in the Prayer Book are also from this translation.

While it provides a lectionary for Sunday and feast day Eucharists which is adapted from *An Australian Prayer Book*, the Papua New Guinea Prayer Book lacks scripture readings for daily use. Consequently the church produces an annual 'Lectionary and Calender' which serves several purposes. In addition to providing two lessons each for Morning and Evening Prayer, two or three lessons for the Eucharist, and psalms for all three daily services, it serves as a standardized calendar so that everyone observes feasts and commemorations on the appropriate days. It also provides propers (lessons and prayers) for changes made to the church's calendar since the Prayer Book was published and notes that are helpful to those who are planning and leading services. Since the Lectionary is used every day, many people also use it as a personal diary or appointment calendar to note upcoming events and meetings.

In addition, either an English or Tok Pisin Roman Catholic Missal is sometimes used to provide some of the optional sentences and prayers that the *Anglican Prayer Book* only provides in English for Sundays and major feats.

Since the Centenary Prayer Book was compiled in the midst of liturgical renewal and revision by other Anglican churches and communions, it is able to draw on some of this work. The Thanksgiving for the Gift of a Child has been adapted from the *New Zealand Prayer Book*. In addition to the Papua New Guinea rite for the Eucharist, the Prayer Book has a second rite: the Melanesian rite, which is the form used in the Church of Melanesia (the Solomon Islands and neighbouring archipelagoes) at the time the Papua New Guinea Prayer Book was compiled. The admission of catechumens, or those preparing for baptism, with its

accompanying note that the consent of the bishop must be obtained before an adult is baptized, reflects the understanding that the baptism of adults is the result of a long process of evangelism and instruction.

The simple and straightforward English is refreshing. One of the petitions from the Litany is a good example:

> That it may please you to shine in the hearts of all Bishops, Priests and Deacons,
> that they may truly know and understand your Word, and in their preaching
> and living may make it clear;
> *We pray you to hear us, good Lord.*

Another example is the proper preface or special thanksgiving used during the eucharistic prayer during Holy Week:

> For our salvation he was obedient even to death on the cross. The cross which killed him is the cross of his glory: his life was lost there, but our life was given back there.

The need for and use of simple English also means that there are no remnants of the Elizabethan English that mark some Prayer Books in other parts of the Anglican Communion. It also accounts for the reliance on the *Good News Bible* rather than texts from the International Consultation on English Texts (ICET) for the canticles and other scripture quotations. The use of gender-neutral language is not an issue since what many English-speakers tend to regard as strictly masculine pronouns are often used generically in Papua New Guinea. This may be due to the influence of Tok Pisin, which uses '*em*' and '*i*' (him and he) indiscriminately for male and female, singular and plural.

One much-appreciated feature of this Prayer Book, which has appeared elsewhere in the Anglican Communion, is a version of the Ten Commandments that complements each of the commandments with a quotation from the New Testament. The second commandment, 'You shall not make for yourself any idol', has the response 'God is spirit, and those who worship Him must worship in spirit and in truth' (*see* p. 462).

Although Morning and Evening Prayer are virtually identical except for the canticles and collects (prayers), the *Anglican Prayer Book* does provide a fair amount of optional embellishments to the Daily Office. Twelve canticles are provided for use at Morning and Evening Prayer after the second reading. All of these canticles, except for A Song of Salvation (*Salvator Mundi*), are from the *Good News Bible.* There is also a plan for using different psalms in place of the *Venite* (Psalm 95) during the Preparation. Evening Prayer provides metrical versions of the *Magnificat* and *Nunc dimittis* as well as the texts from the *Good News Bible.*

There are various forms of intercession provided as options for use at the Eucharist and other times. Frequently the person leading the prayers selects some of the petitions. Other times the leader offers extempore prayer based on some of the petitions of the standard form. Sometimes various local languages are used during the prayers of the people and people respond to these petitions, making these individual supplications the common prayer of the congregation.

In short, the Centenary Prayer Book provides a standard for liturgical worship that fits the needs of the Anglican Church of Papua New Guinea. It provides standard texts for most of the liturgical needs of the church in basic English. In places where worshippers cannot read English or do not have a Prayer Book available, the basic responses and canticles can be learned by rote or be translated into a more familiar language. Yet there is also provision to enrich the liturgies for those who desire variety in their worship, such as the optional canticles for Morning and Evening Prayer or the rubric allowing for the use of 'any other approved post communion prayer'. The *Anglican Prayer Book* is a resource for personal and

A Prayer of Thankgiving

Papua New Guinea ***Anglican Prayer Book*, 1991**	**The 'General Thanksgiving'** **Book of Common Prayer, 1662**
Almighty God, our loving Father, we have not been good servants but we most humbly and truly thank you for all your goodness and kindness to us and to all people (and we thank you most of all for . . .).	Almighty God, Father of all mercies, we thine unworthy servants do give thee most humble and hearty thanks for all thy goodness and loving-kindness to us and to all men; [*particularly to those who desire now to offer up their praises and thanksgivings for thy late mercies vouchsafed unto them*.]
We bless you for giving us life and keeping us alive and for all the blessings of this life, but most of all for your love, which is more than we can understand, in saving the world by our Lord Jesus Christ, for the gifts of power and for the hope of glory.	We bless thee for our creation, preservation, and all the blessings of this life, but above all for thine inestimable love in the redemption of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ, for the means of grace, and for the hope of glory.
And we pray you that we may feel in our hearts all your kindness, and praise you not only with our lips but in our lives,	And we beseech thee, give us that due sense of all thy mercies, that our hearts may be unfeignedly thankful, and that we show forth thy praise, not only with our lips, but in our lives;
by giving up ourselves to work for you, and by living holy and good lives all our days,	by giving up ourselves to thy service, and by walking before thee in holiness and righteousness all our days;
through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom with you and the Holy Spirit we give all honour and glory for ever and ever.	through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

family devotion as well as corporate worship. It recognizes that the priest is the normal presider but that this is not always possible, and so provides instructions on what to do in the absence of a priest. It allows for a blending of Anglican and Melanesian customs and traditions. As the then Archbishop Bevan Meredith wrote in its preface, it provides a frame for ordered worship on which to base our private worship.

Hawaii

Anglicanism came to the Sandwich Islands, as Captain James Cook had named them, at the invitation of King Kamehameha IV. It was not the first such request. Kamehameha the Great, who united the islands into one kingdom, had favoured attempts at having an Anglican clergyman sent, and his son Kamehameha II travelled to England (where he died) with the same end in view. Later the Episcopal Church in the United States was approached also, and at the instance of two American bishops a committee was formed and plans for a joint Anglican mission, English and American, began to take shape. Kamehameha IV, whose consort Queen Emma was a lifelong Anglican, wrote in his own hand to Queen Victoria to enlist her assistance as governor of the Church of England.

In any event, it was decided that the mission should be headed up by a bishop, and Thomas Nettleship Staley was consecrated in London as the first bishop of Honolulu. When he arrived in Hawaii in 1862 he found that the king had already begun to translate the Book of Common Prayer. As soon as Morning and Evening Prayer were finished they were printed on their own, and in November of that year public Morning Prayer was first conducted in Hawaiian. When the whole Prayer Book, *Buke Hoomana,* appeared the following year, it had a preface of seven pages, 'He Olelo Hoakaka', 'The Teaching Explained', which the king himself had written and then translated into English. This was shown to Bishop Staley when it had been set in type, but he wanted nothing changed, preferring to have the preface published as 'the unprompted and untouched work of the king'. It explains on biblical grounds the excellence of a set liturgy, discusses the origin and authority of the church, and goes on to recall how the king's royal predecessor Kamehameha II 'went to a distant land and a powerful country to hasten the advent of that which our eyes now see and the spirit within us acknowledges, the very Church, here planted in Hawaii – but how long we had waited!'

The kingdom of the Hawaiian Islands came to an end in 1893 when American troops helped to overthrow Queen Lili'uokalani and a short-lived republic was set up. In 1898 the United States Congress formally annexed the islands, much to the disgust of the second Anglican bishop, who had befriended the Queen and supported Hawaiian self-government. He denounced the annexation as illegal and declared that it would make no difference to his church, which remained subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury and would go on using the Church of England Prayer Book, in English or Hawaiian – though he allowed that if Americans should choose to start a new parish that preferred the American liturgy, he would entertain the notion of their belonging to the diocese. In 1902, however, Hawaii was included within a missionary district of the Episcopal Church, together with Guam, Okinawa, Taiwan, and Kwajalein, and since then its bishops have been Americans. The present diocese, formed in 1969, has the same boundaries as the state of Hawaii. Many of its congregations are predominantly ethnic: Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, and Korean as well as Hawaiian. The eucharistic rite of the 1979 American Book of Common Prayer in Hawaiian is in regular use, and every year on 28 November the diocese observes a commemoration unique to that book – Kamehameha and Emma, King and Queen of Hawaii, the 'Feast of the Holy Sovereigns'.

C. H.

The Episcopal Church in the U.S.A.

Lesley A. Northup

Although a 2003 survey by the Episcopal Church's Standing Commission on Liturgy and Music (SCLM) affirmed that 'use of the BCP 1979 is almost universal' in America, many Episcopalians still consider the 1979 revision a radical departure from Anglican tradition. They are both right and wrong: the book is both conservative and progressive. While most of the book is couched in contemporary language, which gives it a modern ambiance, in some key respects the revision actually represents a dramatic return to traditions much older than 1928.

Building on rapidly advancing liturgical scholarship, the revisers crafted a Prayer Book that both revisits ancient Christian liturgical sources and accommodates the changing self-understanding of the church. In this regard, it is very much a product of the twentieth-century Liturgical Movement, which resulted in the liturgical reforms of Vatican II; the groundbreaking Liturgy of the Church of South India; new worship manuals for American Lutherans, Presbyterians, Methodists, and others; and ecumenical texts for English-language prayers and creeds.

To many at mid-century, the notion of revising a book only some thirty years old seemed anathema, although liturgists recognized that the two previous revisions in 1892 and 1928 had been so conservative as to fail to keep pace with rapid change in other areas of the church's life. Thus, the SCLM's predecessor organization, the Standing Liturgical Commission (SLC), put forth in *Prayer Book Studies* 15 a rationale for revision, summarized as a response to evolving features of Christian life in the mid-twentieth century: cultural change, the insights and impact of the Liturgical Movement, ecumenical advances, new biblical theology, and the needs of developing world Episcopalians. The 1979 Prayer Book thus both reflected these concerns and advanced understanding of the worship of early Christians.

Redesigning the Process

Perhaps the most innovative feature of the 1979 book was how it came into being. Revising a Prayer Book has always been a tortuous process, fraught with pitfalls. The first revision of the American book, in 1892, did not achieve wholesale changes in its contents, but did establish, first, that the book was indeed revisable and not carved in stone, and second, that using General Convention as the revising agent was impractical and counterproductive. The 1928 book, adopted only thirty years later and more ambitious, resulted from the work of a commission that reported recommended changes to four successive Conventions. As essentially a continuation of the work begun in 1880, it encountered relatively little resistance but also did little to examine the underlying principles and problems with the Prayer Book.

Church leaders and scholars such as William Palmer Ladd recognized even then that the process had not dealt effectively with major structural and cultural issues demanding more comprehensive revision. With the publication in 1945 of Anglican Benedictine Gregory Dix's *The Shape of the Liturgy,* which outlined the pattern of early Christian worship and argued successfully for its reintroduction, it was clear that nothing short of a thorough rethinking of foundational principles could produce a historically, theologically, and ritually felicitous Prayer Book.

With this in mind, the SLC undertook the production of a series of *Prayer Book Studies* examining each of the church's rites and arguing for a system of trial use – a method proposed and generally rejected in earlier revisions, and requiring a change to the church's Constitution – to test suggested changes. Although this process was being used by other Anglican churches, it had to be presented to four General Conventions before being approved in 1961. Once in place, it resulted in the production of several trial versions, commonly called the 'Green Book', the 'Zebra Book', and the 'Blue Book', which were vetted in congregational use and subject to considerable feedback before the final, almost unanimous, adoption of a new book in 1979. This innovative process invited church members into the conversation in line with the new emphasis on the 'priesthood of the people' and produced a Prayer Book whose final form was very different indeed from the early trial versions.

Reshaping the Liturgy

Like key revisions in other parts of the Anglican Communion, the 1979 American book relied heavily on the work of Dix and other liturgical researchers in considering, first, the overall structure of the eucharistic service. In doing so, it re-established a classic 'shape' for the liturgy that not only restored earlier forms, but also produced an effective dramatic sequence. The new rites, based on the practice of the early Christians, clearly delineate a service of the Word, open to all who would hear and reflect on God's word, then respond in supplication and affirmation; and a service of the Table, at which initiates shared the Holy Communion. These were bridged, as in frequent early rites, by the confession of faith and the peace, resulting in five 'movements': gathering, proclaiming, praying, communion, and commissioning.

The result was a eucharistic service that moves the worshipper through a logically ordered ritual experience. Congregants hear the word in scripture, then explore its meaning in the sermon; they respond with an expression of faith, reciting the creed. The faithful acceptance of God's will and Christ's loving self-giving gives rise to prayerful intercession and an awareness of sinfulness and the need for confession. The affirmation of forgiveness elicits the grateful sharing of God's peace. The climax is not the sermon, as Protestants had insisted, nor, given a more Catholic view, the presbyteral Prayer of Consecration, but the common meal through which partakers become one body with Christ and one another. Thus, the service not only restores the historical distinction between the Mass of the Catechumens and the Mass of the Faithful but produces dramatic movement, clarity, and coherence.

As the Eucharist was restored to its natural and logical structure, the overall pattern of worship was similarly revisioned. The common use of Morning Prayer as the main Sunday service had faced continuing challenge since the rise of the ritualist controversies a century earlier and the investigations of the Liturgical Movement. Along with the reconstruction of the Eucharist came a succinct statement in the opening section 'Concerning the Service of the Church' in the 1979 Prayer Book establishing the rite as 'the principal act of Christian worship' on Sundays. Though not a rubrical mandate, this statement also clearly restored Morning and Evening Prayer to their appropriate status as diurnal services. The 2003 SCLM survey established that this significant adjustment had firmly taken root, noting that 'when the Episcopal Church gathers, it gathers for Eucharist' and 'most Episcopalians no longer have a regular, corporate experience of Morning Prayer as the principal act of Sunday worship'. Again, this represents a return to the practice of the early believers.

Renewing the Language

The reshaped liturgy has had profound consequences for Episcopal Church worship, but when traditionalists complain about the 'new' liturgy, it is usually not this that bothers

them. More often, it is the use of contemporary language that most chafes; Episcopalians have grown accustomed to worshipping in the cadences of Cranmer and the King James Version of the Bible. Knowing this led the revisers to create alternative versions, one in traditional language (Rite One) and one in contemporary idiom (Rite Two), for the daily offices and the eucharistic and burial services.

Excepted from this format were sacramental rites demanding deep personal and lifelong commitment, such as baptism, marriage, and ordination; these are couched in today's language so that participants can clearly articulate and understand what they are undertaking. 'This is my solemn vow', for example, is more likely to elicit strong commitment in today's bride or groom than the archaic 'Thereto I plight thee my troth'. Likewise, pastoral offices for use with penitents or the sick use modern phraseology to maximize their effectiveness.

Employing poets as well as liturgists in the production of modern texts resulted in sonorous and well-crafted rituals that have gained in popularity since the book was first adopted. The Rite One eucharistic prayer, taken directly from the 1928 book, remained in widespread use for most Sunday worship through the 1980s, but of late is largely confined to the early service at 7:00 or 8:00 A.M., as the SCLM survey noted. The effort expended to produce aesthetically excellent texts extended beyond the language of the rites themselves, as the revisers also undertook a new translation of the Psalms, retaining as their base the sixteenth-century Coverdale version traditionally included as part of the Prayer Book.

The carefully crafted language of the 1979 Book of Common Prayer did not ignore the problem of the pervasive use of 'man' as a synonym for 'people' and masculine pronouns applied to all persons, but at the same time it did not address exclusive language aggressively. In keeping with the general principles underlying production of the revision, however, biblical references were more accurately translated, often resulting in non-masculine language in closer accord with the inclusivity of the original texts. For example, the *Gloria* now reads 'and peace to his people on earth' rather than 'on earth peace, good will towards men'.

Moreover, the revisers moved to 'eliminate ambiguity' in generic references to human beings. For example, the problem of the gendered pronoun referring to a candidate for baptism is avoided by using plural pronouns throughout the order for baptism, italicized to indicate that the celebrant can insert the appropriate singular in each case. Some obvious instances were altered to be more inclusive, partly in dialogue with other denominations through the International Consultation on English Texts (ICET) (later the International Consultation on English in the Liturgy); thus, 'for us men and for our salvation' in the Nicene Creed became 'for us and for our salvation'. In the ordination services, 'Reverend Father in God' as a form of address for the bishop has been changed to '*Name*, Bishop in the Church of God'. Interestingly, this change was presciently and pragmatically effected before there were any women bishops.

Despite these timid repairs, however, the 1979 book could hardly be thought to have embraced non-sexist language. It was left for a later generation of the SLC to propose more sweeping linguistic changes. In 1984, SLC Occasional Paper #5 addressed the growing demand for liturgies that took into account the power of language to shape reality, even broaching the sacrosanct subject of language used for God. Three years later, the Commission issued *Liturgical Texts for Evaluation*, a compilation of alternative inclusive texts for trial use in a few guarded locations. In 1991, the SCLM explained in *Supplemental Liturgical Materials* that it had found it desirable to avoid the term 'inclusive language', opting instead for 'balanced language' or, preferably, 'balanced imagery'. The supplement essentially declared that the problem of gendered language was solvable only by adopting a new hermeneutic that would open up the metaphorical depths of liturgical language. It was not until the 1997 issuance of *Enriching Our Worship*, a col-

lection of optional liturgies, that the church officially authorized the use of specifically inclusive texts.

Rethinking Uniformity

While the genius of Anglicanism has in large part been credited to its adherence to 'common prayer', calls for more flexibility in worship have been a consistent feature of American Prayer Book revision. The 1979 book is the first American version to respond substantively to that demand, incorporating countless choices throughout. *Prayer Book Studies* 29 offers as the SLC's rationale for allowing multiple options 'because life in the United States has become increasingly complex and the membership of this Church has become increasingly diverse'. In addition to the Rite One and Rite Two versions of frequently used services, the principle of flexibility has been incorporated throughout the Prayer Book so that differing congregations can shape worship to their own needs. This is broadly evidenced in several areas, including the following:

- alternative selections of canticles, opening sentences, antiphons, readings, and other scriptural materials;
- a variety of authorized biblical translations;
- multiple choices among prayers and litanies;
- traditional and contemporary eucharistic collects;
- outline 'orders' for the Eucharist and the prayers of the people, an evening service, marriage, and burial that allow liturgical leaders to construct a service virtually *de novo;*
- six different versions of the Prayer of Consecration, including a traditional-language, abbreviated version of the 1928 prayer;
- new rites for optional observances;
- rubrics that allow extensive structural and procedural options;
- broadened roles for non-presbyteral liturgical leadership; and
- permission for worshippers to adopt different postures, gestures, and practices.

The Song of the Redeemed
(Magna et mirabilia)

Like many other contemporary Anglican Prayer Books, the 1979 Book of Common Prayer provides a number of alternative canticles for use at the daily offices, among them this one, which is drawn from Revelation 15:3–4.

O ruler of the universe, Lord God,
great deeds are they that you have done, *
    surpassing human understanding.
Your ways are ways of righteousness and truth, *
    O King of all the ages.

Who can fail to do you homage, Lord,
and sing the praises of your Name? *
    for you only are the Holy One.
All nations will draw near and fall down before you, *
    because your just and holy works have been revealed.

Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit: *
    as it was in the beginning, is now, and will be for ever. Amen.

A Eucharistic Preface in Dialogue

One of the four 'contemporary' eucharistic prayers in the 1979 Book of Common Prayer begins as usual with the *Sursum corda,* but continues the dialogue between celebrant and people in the following preface, which leads to the *Sanctus.*

God of all power, Ruler of the Universe, you are worthy of glory and praise.
Glory to you for ever and ever.

At your command all things came to be: the vast expanse of interstellar space, galaxies, suns, the planets in their courses, and this fragile earth, our island home.
By your will they were created and have their being.

From the primal elements you brought forth the human race, and blessed us with memory, reason, and skill. You made us the rulers of creation. But we turned against you, and betrayed your trust; and we turned against one another.
Have mercy, Lord, for we are sinners in your sight.

Again and again, you called us to return. Through prophets and sages you revealed your righteous Law. And in the fullness of time you sent your only Son, born of a woman, to fulfill your Law, to open for us the way of freedom and peace.
By his blood, he reconciled us.
By his wounds, we are healed.

And therefore we praise you, joining with the heavenly chorus, with prophets, apostles, and martyrs, and with all those in every generation who have looked to you in hope, to proclaim with them your glory, in their unending hymn. . . .

This multiplicity of options not only accommodates local and ethnic customs, but enables ongoing use of and feedback on Prayer Book materials. For example, repeated use of the eucharistic prayers has resulted in a growing consensus that Prayer C, the most innovative of the four and originally quite popular, with its responsory form and references to outer space, now sounds somewhat dated (*see* 'A Eucharistic Preface in Dialogue'). Other elements of the book have, with use and time, proven either remarkably successful or good candidates for future revision or deletion, while some trial forms have commended themselves for retention.

Both the size of the 1979 and the commitment to flexibility led to the issuance of two separate texts for worship: *The Book of Occasional Services* in 1979 and *Lesser Feasts and Fasts* in 1980. The former outlines worship for such rites as Advent lessons and carols, Tenebrae, the vigils of various feasts, house blessings, and others traditionally celebrated in some parts of Anglicanism. The latter provides propers for the weekdays of Lent and Easter and the celebration of various saints' days and anniversary observances.

The pervasive flexibility of the book has contributed to dispelling what William Reed Huntington, the force behind the 1892 revision, once called 'the fetich [*sic*] of uniformity'. No longer does the idea of common prayer denote universal sameness, nor does the experience of the last quarter-century commend it. Indeed, taking an even larger step forward, an SCLM task force reported to the 2003 General Convention a recommendation to invite the church 'to move beyond worship that is primarily shaped and bound by text into worship that is intentionally open to the renewing power of God transforming the world' – a clear call to rethinking even the bedrock notion of a 'book of common prayer'.

Rethinking Theology

For good or ill, Anglicans remain bound to the idea that 'worship shapes believing' – that the Prayer Book is a manual not only of ritual but also of theology. Since Anglican churches are neither confessional nor dogmatic, their characteristic theological principles are represented

in the books that govern corporate worship. Consequently, Anglican liturgics is generally understood as theological articulation, and Anglican practice is conflated with Anglican belief. This can, and has been, problematic on several counts; for one thing, it implies that liturgical revisers are also liturgical theologians, conflating two quite different types of experts into one – which may or may not reflect reality. For another, it means that any revision has a potentially profound effect on what worshippers believe. The implicit theological changes in the 1979 book are substantive, provocative, and continually being evaluated.

To begin with, the realignment of the various services restored early practice in a way that discomfited many Episcopalians. Not only was Morning Prayer replaced by the Eucharist as the principal Sunday rite, *de facto* if not *de jure,* but the Eucharist was also restored to its older place as the proper context for baptisms, weddings, and funerals. Establishing the pre-eminence of the Eucharist as the church's normative rite seemingly capped the long-term efforts of the 'high church' wing to move the church in a more Catholic direction. This was reiterated by the removal of the term 'Protestant' from the name of the church on the book's title-page, an action tantamount to an official rejection of the term 'Protestant Episcopal Church'.

Another major structural alteration was the diminution of the rite of confirmation in light of scholarly evidence that it was a late accretion in Christian development. Only concerted opposition in the 1970s from the church's suffragan bishops, who perform the bulk of Episcopal Church confirmations, and from some catholics interested in retaining all seven sacraments (as in Roman Catholicism) kept the revisers from doing away with it altogether. With continued use of the new book, confirmation's usefulness as the point of entry into communion has proven less and less salutary; in the future, it will likely be reincorporated into baptism, as it was in the early church.

The rehabilitation of baptism from a private ceremony celebrating childbirth to a rite in which the church welcomes new members, begun in the 1979 book, will probably continue. Baptisms now regularly take place in the context of the Sunday Eucharist, and increasingly they are performed by immersion or in some form of running water, and with adult converts. The text of the baptism service now clearly emphasizes Christian commitment and entry into the body of Christ. The problematic term 'regeneration' – a theological point so fraught with contention that its use effectively spawned the Reformed Episcopal Church schism – is here omitted, allowing a theological interpretation that embraces both spiritual rebirth and the washing away of sin. The focus is on the renewal of our commitment to participate in a covenantal relationship with God and on the connection between baptism and the paschal mystery.

Likewise, funerals are increasingly understood as thanksgivings for the lives of the deceased, highlighting the corporate act of eucharistic thanksgiving rather than interment in the ground (or, more frequently now, a columbarium). Conducting weddings in a eucharistic context has proven somewhat more difficult, since intermarriage often means that the majority of the attendees will not understand the rite or wish to receive communion. In any case, these structural changes represent serious and deliberate theological shifts.

So, too, do changes in familiar prayers and texts. Working with other churches using English texts, the crafters of the 1979 book recognized that some of the classic translations were theologically infelicitous as well as simply poor translations. For example, what could it mean to ask God to 'lead us not into temptation' in the Lord's Prayer? The text seems to imply that God deliberately misleads those who seek guidance. ICET changed this to 'save us from the time of trial' – a less euphonious phrase, perhaps, but a more accurate translation. It is worth noting, however, that the traditional sixteenth-century form, beloved of so many, was retained as an alternative in Rite Two.

Likewise, the Prayer of Humble Access, with its abject disavowal of the people's worthiness to receive Holy Communion ('we are not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy Table'), was eliminated altogether from Rite Two as a direct contradiction of the

logic, sequence, and theology of the Eucharist, in which sinners are first shriven and then proclaimed 'worthy to stand before' God. Charles Price, the author of *Prayer Book Studies* 29, notes that the theological theme of sin and repentance was reemphasized in the Proposed Book after complaints that it had been too severely curtailed in the earlier trial version. This is one of many ways in which the 1979 book was more conservative than the early trial versions, especially the 'Green Book', *Services for Trial Use*. However, despite his apologetic and minor adjustments in the final text, there can be little question that, overall, the 1979 book substantially and intentionally reduces the deeply penitential tone of its 1928 predecessor. The pervasive language of unworthiness that characterized the earlier succession of American books reflected the Reformation-oriented flavour of American religion from its beginnings, but clashed loudly with contemporary values and emerging images of God's relationship with the faithful, increasingly understood to be a cooperative partnership rather than an authoritarian hegemony.

The revisers toyed with the idea of altering the theology of procession in the Nicene Creed that still separates eastern and western Christianity–does the Spirit proceed from the Father *and* the Son, or from the Father alone?–but left the older western version. Nonetheless, current theological thought in Anglicanism on the issue of the *filioque* tends to affirm the eastern view that the words 'and the Son' should be eliminated from the text, so this phrase may be a candidate for future omission in the United States.

Prayer Book Studies 29 outlined several broad theological themes that the revisers stressed as they compiled the 1979 book. The first was *creation*, which had been 'obscured' in modern Prayer Books, according to the SLC. The relation between God and the universe was reemphasized in the addition of several canticles stressing this theme, the wording of the prayers of the people, a number of new occasional prayers, recognition of ecological concerns in various texts, and acknowledgement of creation in the eucharistic prayers. This last reflects scholarship establishing the development of the *anaphora* from Jewish *berakoth,* which begin, 'Blessed are you, O God, King of the universe', a form now echoed in the Great Thanksgiving.

A second overarching theological concern was the theme of *redemption,* asserted more overtly especially in the eucharistic prayers, which now use a rich language of sacrifice, oblation, satisfaction, reconciliation, victory, atonement, and deliverance to describe Christ's saving action of love. Despite the deliberate development of this theological motif in the 1979 book and its current popularity in Evangelicalism and other Christian circles, it appears to be less a focus in more liberal twenty-first century theology, and may not retain in future revisions the heavy emphasis it now enjoys.

A third accent in 1979 was *community,* over against individual sanctity or a personal relationship with God–the prevalent attitude of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century churchgoer. Perhaps the most obvious expression of this theme, beyond the reinstatement of the Eucharist as the principal act of Christian worship, is the passing of the peace, which in many congregations has become a joyous celebration of communality. The importance of community is also evident in the focus on full participation in the liturgy of all members of the assembly, with the recognition of the laity as an 'order' alongside the episcopate, presbyterate, and diaconate. The increasingly common practice of concelebration, rather than elevating the clerical function, represents a sharing of eucharistic sacramentality that more fully represents the assembly as a whole.

Overall, the 1979 Book of Common Prayer presents a substantially broadened image set for both God and the people. The language of God as stern father and unconquerable ruler, heavily stressed in earlier books, has been supplemented with representations of God as nurturer, companion, merciful governor, loving creator, and sustainer. Christians are depicted not only as the people of God but also as the priesthood of believers, the living body of Christ, the rulers of creation, and those who look to God in hope. This expanded im-

A Prayer for Mission

Unless the service of Evening Prayer is to be followed by the Eucharist or a form of general intercession, a prayer for mission is to be said as the last of the collects that follow the Lord's Prayer. The following prayer is one of three alternatives provided.

Keep watch, dear Lord, with those who work, or watch, or weep this night, and give your angels charge over those who sleep. Tend the sick, Lord Christ; give rest to the weary, bless the dying, soothe the suffering, pity the afflicted, shield the joyous; and all for your love's sake. *Amen*.

agery demonstrates the deliberate attempt to balance the poetry of the Prayer Book by embracing previously underrepresented biblical ascriptions.

Conclusion

One of the unintended but instructional consequences of the revision of 1979 resulted from the unwieldiness of the book and its innumerable options. As the 2003 survey noted, 'in almost every case, [worshippers] use a leaflet' containing both words and music at services. As individual congregations have developed a familiar pattern of worship, and as groups experiment with new possibilities, they have found it considerably easier to run copies of the day's liturgy than to direct participants to pages scattered throughout the Prayer Book to access the many alternative possibilities. In other words, worshippers are infrequently using and handling the book itself.

This interesting development has serious implications for the complex position of authority that has long characterized Anglican Prayer Books. No longer are Episcopalians, no less Anglicans around the world, picking up the same book each Sunday as they fall to their knees in prayer. (In fact, many no longer fall to their knees at all, finding standing more congenial to the theology of the new rites.) The multiplicity of service leaflets has accustomed church members to variation both within their own congregations and as they travel and worship elsewhere, and has begun to divorce them from personal use of and familiarity with the Prayer Book.

It is possible to infer that this plurality of text and praxis has contributed to the wide theological divergence that now characterizes the Episcopal Church, but it seems even more likely that the 1979 book has embraced a natural diversity already extant in the church. Indeed, most liturgists and scholars consider the versatility of the book to be one of its chief successes, and have pressed for even greater liberty in permitting alternative forms, especially to accommodate ethnic groups with large Episcopal constituencies.

Thus the 1979 revision has not only challenged the long-cherished idea of uniformity, but has led to suggestions that it be finally laid to rest, at least in its particular applications. The multiplicity of options for creating and using texts written by the users themselves have presented exciting new possibilities for believers anxious to expand not only the texts but the scope of the liturgy. This creative impulse is a genie not likely to be stoppered back in its bottle, and one that may well be expanded as the liturgy further develops.

The 1979 Prayer Book was a decisive departure from its predecessors in process, appearance, format, language, theology, and liturgiology. Especially if, indeed, *lex orandi lex credendi* holds true, these alterations have substantive implications for both orthodoxy and orthopraxis in the Episcopal Church. They have also challenged long-held assumptions about uniformity of worship and foundational Protestant principles. They have contributed

to changes in the church's self-understanding while at the same time reflecting it—a dynamic symbiosis that promises an ongoing process of future revision.

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Native American Translations

A Mohawk chief and a Church of England missionary collaborated on what was perhaps the earliest translation of a Book of Common Prayer into an American Indian language. Joseph Brant, whose Indian name was Thayendanegea, 'He Places Two Bets', was educated at a charity school in Connecticut and became an interpreter for John Stuart, with whom he translated the gospel of Mark and the Prayer Book of 1662. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel paid for publication in London in 1787 (*see* Illustration 24, p. 161). After the American Episcopal Church had been formed, the Domestic Committee of its Board of Missions requested the preparation of a Prayer Book in the language of the Six Nations, a confederation of upper New York state tribes comprised of the Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, Oneidas, and Tuscaroras. Printed in 1837, it contained the Litany, the Catechism, and 'some Collects compiled from various translations'.

As white Americans began to control and exploit the vast areas west of the Mississippi River in the 1840s, Christian missionaries began to evangelize native peoples throughout the upper Midwest. One of the best known Episcopal evangelists, James Lloyd Breck, began his work among the Ojibwe Indians in Minnesota beginning in 1850 and held formal Anglo-Catholic worship services using a Book of Common Prayer translated into the Ojibwe language. In 1862 the missionary to the Dakota Indians, Samuel Dutton Hinman, learned the Dakota language and also began to prepare a Dakota translation of the Book of Common Prayer, which he published in 1865.

An English and Dakota service book containing selections from the American Prayer Book was translated by a committee appointed by William H. Hare, missionary bishop of Niobrara, in the 1870s. Printed with English and Dakota on facing pages, it contained the services of Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, and Holy Communion along with collects, thanksgivings, and a selection from the psalms.

The Niobrara Service Book, or *Niobrara Wocekiye Wowapi,* was published in 1962. These selections were again in the Dakota dialect, in which the earliest missions were conducted and which was also used for translations of the Bible and such volumes as *Wakan Cekiye Odowan,* containing Dakota sacred hymns and chants. This service book was followed in 1991 by the Niobrara Prayer Book chapbook, a 'wee bookie' in the more prevalent Lakota dialect. It contained no collects and no burial service, and has not been widely used in indigenous communities.

Today translation continues on an ad hoc basis. Most American Indian Episcopal communities have translated the relevant portions of the Book of Common Prayer into service booklets, chapbooks, or loose-leaf inserts for the pew editions. For example, the Lord's Prayer is usually printed on an insert or service bulletin and recited in the local indigenous language. A number of local communities have also translated and created service bulletins for the offices and rites their communities favour, based on other earlier editions of the American Prayer Book, such as that of 1928.

C. S.

The Anglican Church of Canada

John W. B. Hill

The introduction of a new Canadian Prayer Book in 1985 closely followed the publication of the American Episcopal Church's 1979 Book of Common Prayer, and was substantially based upon it. Like that book, it uses contemporary language and reflects the major insights of the Liturgical Movement. However, it was the decision of the General Synod 1980 that this work would stand alongside the existing Canadian Book of Common Prayer (1962) as a book of alternative services. This permitted the Doctrine and Worship Committee of General Synod to continue its work on particular services and prepare a collection that lacked the full range of provisions that had come to be expected of a Prayer Book. This decision also mitigated some of the anxiety and potential strife that would have accompanied a new edition of the Prayer Book. Nevertheless, *The Book of Alternative Services* (*BAS*) has all the elements needed to make it a true 'Book of Common Prayer', in spite of its title, and it introduced some new and highly significant elements.

Given the lengthy and cautious work in Canada of revising the 1662 Prayer Book, a process that spanned more than fifty years (*see* Blott, 'Canada', pp. 186–93), this radically new book was perceived by some in the church as a startling innovation. Yet it was the outcome of an initiative launched by General Synod in 1971 – a mere nine years after the publication of the 1962 Book of Common Prayer. Clearly there were changes afoot in the church that the old model of revision could not address. By the mid 1970s, when the Doctrine and Worship Committee began producing the Canadian Anglican Liturgical Series, there had already been widespread experimentation with new forms of service (particularly the Eucharist) in various parts of the country, as authorized by the General Synods of 1965 and 1968. Hence, publication of the *BAS* was met with both welcome and resistance. Twenty years later, however, its use is largely taken for granted in most parts of the church, even though the 1962 Canadian Prayer Book still holds its own.

The most notable characteristics of the *BAS* are (1) the flexibility, variety, and greater richness it provides; (2) more participatory forms of worship; (3) fully developed services for Holy Week; (4) the relative clarity it brings to the pattern of initiation; and (5) the recognition of the post-Christendom character of the contemporary church, so that we pray not for the upholding of the present order but for the coming of God's kingdom. Additionally, the *BAS* owes much to the influence of the American Prayer Book of 1979. These similarities bear witness to the clear-eyed liturgical work of the Episcopal Church in bringing to ritual expression the sacramental and eschatological calling of the church in a post-Christendom world.

Perhaps the most innovative feature of the *BAS* is to be found not in the services themselves, however, but in the superb essays introducing the work as a whole and each of its services. The essays provide historical, theological, liturgical, and pastoral insights, drawing attention not only to the shape of the services but also its implications. This feature may be the most valuable contribution of the book to the Prayer Book tradition. It is also worth noting what is missing from the book: the Catechism, which reflects the changing practice of the ministry of formation, and the service of Institution and Induction (what the 1979

From the Introduction

Liturgical change is sometimes treated as a phenomenon unique to the twentieth century, a counter-current in the flow of Anglican piety. The truth is that the distinctive ethos of Anglicanism emerged in a period of reformation that was characterized by even greater liturgical change than our own. This comparison of the present day with the Reformation era is important for an understanding of the contemporary liturgical scene. The spirit of reformation is neither anarchic nor destructive, but is rooted in the conviction that in times of great insecurity and change the centre cannot be held by a blind preservation of the forms in which tradition has been received, but only through diligent and passionate search for fresh expressions and evocations of the tradition. The wonder is not that so many twentieth-century Christians are open to change but that the experiments of the Reformation era appeared to be treated as definitive for nearly four centuries. The gospel always has a reforming, reinterpreting edge to it, and the gospel is always the proper subject of the liturgy.

American Book of Common Prayer calls Celebration of a New Ministry) because of the implicit clericalism of most current forms of this service. The *BAS* also omits such historical documents as the Thirty-nine Articles, since they are still available to the church so long as the 1962 Book of Common Prayer is authorized.

The organization of the *BAS* is largely traditional, but significant developments are found within this traditional order. Like the 1979 American Book of Common Prayer (and unlike the 1962 Canadian book), Holy Baptism is no longer among the pastoral offices, but occupies a place of its own before the Holy Eucharist – an indication that baptism is no longer to be understood as a sacrament of the 'life cycle' but as the sacramental beginning of a new life that will be sustained in the sacrament of the Eucharist. Unlike the 1979 Prayer Book, the Reconciliation of a Penitent is no longer to be found in the pastoral offices but stands between Holy Baptism and the Holy Eucharist. By grouping together baptism and reconciliation, the *BAS* implies the normative relation of all three services: baptism is initiation into the sacramental life sustained through communion at the Lord's Table, and reconciliation is restoration to that communion for those who seek it.

One of the major contrasts between the 1979 American Prayer Book and the *BAS* is that the latter includes only one form of service in Elizabethan English: The Holy Eucharist – A Form in the Language of the Book of Common Prayer 1962. (By contrast, the 1979 Book of Common Prayer includes Rite One forms of the Daily Office, the collects, the Holy Eucharist, and the Burial of the Dead.) In this may be seen the waning force of the affection for the old tongue (or what the American book calls 'traditional' language). Nor does the *BAS* provide any equivalent to the American 'Rite Three' or outline forms of service (An Order for Celebrating the Eucharist / Marriage / Burial); the greater flexibility provided through the rubrics has made this unnecessary.

A concern for gender-inclusive language was just beginning to make an impact on liturgical forms as the 1979 Book of Common Prayer and the *BAS* were both in preparation. Neither book goes much beyond making references to the people gender-inclusive, although the *BAS* goes so far as to revise references to 'men' in the Elizabethan-language texts. 'Father' is still the preferred expression of intimacy in addressing God, although one of the eucharistic prayers in the *BAS* avoids it. The Psalter is now the most 'gender-exclusive' text in the book. (English is the only language used in the *BAS,* although French texts of the services for baptism, Eucharist, marriages, and funerals, based on the *BAS* services, have been published and authorized by the General Synod of 2001.)

The Calendar

Many new additions have been made to the calendar of the 1962 Book of Common Prayer, including a number of Canadians, and the feasts of St Thomas, St Stephen, St John, and the

Holy Innocents can be transferred from the Christmas season to other, more convenient times of year. Relatively few holy days now take precedence over the weekly celebration of the Lord's Day. Feasts are distinguished as major or minor, while minor feasts are distinguished as memorials or commemorations.

The Divine Office

These services, though still based upon the monastic model of daily prayer, are presented in a way that encourages maximum flexibility, variety, and richness. In fact, the presentation of the Divine Office, which begins with a skeletal form of each office, followed by a large selection of canticles (many of them new to the Prayer Book tradition), a set of introductory responses, a set of responsories, and a collection of litanies, thanksgivings, and collects (office collects, rather than eucharistic collects), has resulted in the use of this form primarily for daily (rather than Sunday morning) prayer. No doubt the primary reason is the widespread recovery of the Eucharist as the principal gathering of the Lord's people on the Lord's Day, but the impossibility of simply 'reading the office' from this book is a factor as well. Each of the elements of the office must be chosen and announced. Some have seen this as a weakness, others as a strength; it depends upon the use to which it is put. One consequence of this presentation is that the Divine Office can easily be shaped as a cathedral office instead of being confined to a monastic form, and for this purpose a Short Table of Psalms and Readings is provided.

The Divine Office also includes a Vigil of the Resurrection (for Saturday evenings) which exemplifies the cathedral form: rich in praise and ceremonial, and unvarying in psalmody and canticles.

Baptism and Reconciliation

The service of Holy Baptism (nearly identical to that in the 1979 American Book of Common Prayer) departs from the 1962 Prayer Book pattern of separate forms for infants and adults, and abandons the expectation that infants will be baptized as soon as possible after birth. It proposes instead a few appropriate days in the Christian year (Easter, Pentecost, All Saints, the Baptism of the Lord). The final rubric implies that the celebration of the Eucharist will follow immediately: full initiation, in other words, is by baptism and communion. There are two forms of thanksgiving over the water; the first provides congregational acclamations throughout. Most significantly, the baptismal covenant (which in the 1979 American Book of Common Prayer preceded the thanksgiving) immediately precedes the administration of water, restoring the ancient unity of profession of faith and baptismal action. The signing with the cross (and optional anointing) follows immediately the action with water, suggesting that it is to be understood as an explanatory action (rather than as a separate sacramental moment–possibly equivalent to confirmation–as the 1979 book seems to imply). The words accompanying the signing point to the new Christian's identification with Christ, rather than suggest the moment of bestowal of the Spirit. Also, a ceremonial gift of light has been introduced (*see* 'The Giving of the Light').

The service may also include confirmation, reception, or reaffirmation if there are candidates, since these ceremonies 'are various modes of response to baptism', but there is nothing to suggest that any of the newly baptized would be included. (*See* further comments under Episcopal Offices, pp. 375–76.) These three forms of response to one's baptism are identical in ceremonial, the bishop laying hands on a candidate in the same manner for each.

Rites for the catechumenate were briefly considered while the *BAS* was in development, but the Doctrine and Worship Committee was unable to agree on the need for them. Thus an opportunity to provide for communal celebration of the progressive incorporation of new members into the Christian community was lost.

The Giving of the Light

In the *BAS* service of Holy Baptism, this (optional) ceremony follows the immersion and precedes the passing of the peace.

One of the ministers may then give to each of the newly baptized a lighted candle, saying,
Receive the light of Christ,
to show that you have passed from darkness to light.

When all of the newly baptized have received candles, the people say,

Let your light so shine before others
that they may see your good works
and glorify your Father in heaven.

Celebrant Let us welcome the newly baptized.
People **We receive you into the household of God.**
Confess the faith of Christ crucified,
proclaim his resurrection,
and share with us in his eternal priesthood.

The Reconciliation of a Penitent, now standing between the baptismal and eucharistic rites, is offered in two forms, one rich in psalmody, and the other more succinct. But the wording of the confession omits the medieval form of absolution ('I absolve you . . . ').

The Holy Eucharist

This service, as noted above, is presented in two forms and closely follows the 1979 American Book of Common Prayer. For the first time, major subtitles are used in the text ('The Gathering of the Community', 'The Proclamation of the Word', 'The Celebration of the Eucharist', and 'The Dismissal') to reveal the essential movement of the service. In the contemporary-language form of service, the Apostles' Creed is offered as an alternative to the Nicene Creed. It includes seasonal versicles and responses at the Breaking of the Bread, a congregational doxology following the Prayer after Communion, and a Penitential Order almost identical to that in the 1979 Book of Common Prayer—but with the rubrical suggestion that its use is appropriate during the season of Lent.

The eucharistic prayers in contemporary language are a significant development. Two of them employ a repeated, unvarying acclamation, enhancing the possibility of singing the prayers in their entirety; one of these was composed with families and young children in mind. The use of proper prefaces has been restricted to one prayer; all rubrics directing manual acts for the presider have been omitted; and change of posture during the Great Thanksgiving (kneeling after the *Sanctus*) is discouraged. Most significantly, all six of the prayers follow an Antiochene pattern.

This development of the Great Thanksgiving continues the work begun in the 1962 Book of Common Prayer, which reunited the fractured eucharistic prayer of 1662 for the first time for the Canadian church.

The Proper of the Church Year

Whereas the section of the 1962 Canadian Prayer Book called the Christian Year consisted of collects, epistles, and gospels (printed in full) for Sundays and festivals, in the *BAS* the Proper of the Church Year consists of three prayers (Collect, Prayer over the Gifts, and Prayer after

Prayer before the Dismissal

The Book of Alternative Services provides a proper Prayer after Communion for each Sunday and Holy Day, to be followed by a doxology. The following prayer may be said instead.

Celebrant All your works praise you, O Lord.
All **And your faithful servants bless you.**

Gracious God
we thank you for feeding us
with the body and blood of your Son
Jesus Christ.
May we, who share his body,
live his risen life;
we, who drink his cup,
bring life to others;
we, whom the Spirit lights,
give light to the world.
Keep us firm in the hope you have set before us,
so that we and all your children shall be free,
and the whole earth live to praise your name,
through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Communion) and the list of readings for each day. Scripture readings follow the *Revised Common Lectionary* in the most recent printings of the book, but with only the semi-continuous Old Testament readings for Sundays after Pentecost. Services for Ash Wednesday, the Sunday of the Passion, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and the Great Vigil of Easter are also located here. (By contrast, the 1962 Prayer Book provided only A Penitential Service for use on Ash Wednesday, and a special anthem for Easter Day.) To these services, borrowed from the 1979 American Book of Common Prayer, the *BAS* has added richer texts for Maundy Thursday, an adapted form of the Reproaches for Good Friday, plus the option of sharing communion from the sacrament consecrated the night before. The elements of the Great Vigil have been more tightly integrated.

This section of the book also includes the Daily Office Lectionary, adopted from the 1979 Book of Common Prayer, and a Weekday Eucharist Lectionary closely based on the Roman Catholic lectionary.

Pastoral Offices

The Celebration and Blessing of a Marriage, though based upon the wedding rite in the 1979 American Prayer Book, differs in important ways. The opening exhortation is a new composition: the comparison of marriage to the relation of Christ and his church is presented more dynamically, and the larger social significance of marriage is more clearly acknowledged.

The declaration of consent immediately precedes the exchange of vows and includes an opportunity for the families of the couple to give their blessing to the marriage – a fitting replacement of the now absent 'giving away of the bride' that was still a feature of the 1962 Book of Common Prayer.

The section including the exchange of vows is now subtitled 'The Wedding', encouraging greater clarity of distinction between 'wedding' and 'marriage'. Given that the act of 'getting married' is a civil and legal event, this form of the service anticipates a time when

the church can begin to recognize its role as simply 'celebrating and blessing' marriages rather than conducting the business of the civil authorities.

Two forms of the service are included in full, one with and one without the Eucharist. This stands in contrast to the editorial policy employed elsewhere in the book in Holy Baptism, Holy Week services, and the ordination rites, where the worshipper must move to another part of the book to continue with the Eucharist. With this helpful change of format, the editors have made it easier for relatives and visitors unfamiliar with the book to follow the service.

As noted earlier, the primary innovation in the Ministry to the Sick within the Canadian context is that sacramental reconciliation, which the 1962 Prayer Book included in the Ministry to the Sick, now stands as a separate service between Holy Baptism and the Holy Eucharist. Also noteworthy is a rubric specifying that ministers of anointing may be either clergy or 'those lay persons who have received authorization by the diocesan bishop'.

The material for Ministry at the Time of Death is distinctive in at least two respects: the prayers are designed to be said 'slowly, phrase by phrase, with a dying person, or in his/her name'; and opportunity is provided for family members and friends to lay their hands upon the dying person in prayer.

The Funeral Liturgy provides two complete forms: Form I is clearly intended as the normative one, and is in three parts: Prayers in the Home or Elsewhere, Funeral Liturgy for Use in Church (which includes the Eucharist), and The Committal. Form II (which has a greater resemblance to the older Burial of the Dead) is 'for use in a church or a chapel or other suitable place'. There is also a form for the interment of ashes. As in the marriage rite, these forms of service are printed in full for the sake of worshippers who are not familiar with the complexities of the book.

Thanksgiving for the Gift of a Child includes forms of prayer that can be recited both by the parent(s) and by the congregation. In effect, it replaces the older tradition still present in the 1962 Book of Common Prayer, commonly known as the Churching of Women, whose focus was the mother's thanksgiving for surviving the perils of childbirth.

Episcopal Offices

A service for the Blessing of Oil begins this section, since the *BAS* requires both oil of chrism and oil for anointing the sick to be blessed by the bishop in an annual celebration. The oils are blessed together with the bread and wine of the Eucharist, with suitable wording inserted into the eucharistic prayer.

Confirmation, as well as being appended to the service of Holy Baptism, is also included with the episcopal offices rather than with the pastoral offices (the Canadian House of Bishops is unwilling to permit any delegation of this act) for occasions when there are no candidates for baptism. But there is no suggestion that those baptized as adults must also be confirmed, nor is confirmation required for those baptized as infants. In other words, this Prayer Book no longer presents confirmation in a way that compromises the meaning of baptism. No longer is it attached automatically to baptism as a normal sequel (as in the 1962 Book of Common Prayer), or assumed as part of the Christian life cycle. The only occasions when the baptized are expected to explicitly reaffirm the covenant of their baptism are at the Great Vigil of Easter and at each celebration of Holy Baptism. In this, the *BAS* is unique among Anglican Prayer Books.

Services for the Ordination of a Bishop, of a Priest, and of a Deacon are based directly upon the forms in the 1979 American Book of Common Prayer, but with two major alterations. First, the prayers of consecration are based on the models in the *Alternative Service Book 1980* of the Church of England rather than on the 1979 Episcopal book, and exhibit a clearer sense of ecclesiology and the distinctive contribution of each order to the character of the church. The structure of the services has also changed: the presentation has moved

Psalm Prayers

Psalm 6 ('Lord, do not rebuke me in your anger')
God of mercy and tenderness, giver of life and conqueror of death, look upon our weakness and grief, and restore us to health, that we may sing a new song to your praise; through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Psalm 23 ('The Lord is my shepherd')
Glory to you, Jesus Christ, our good shepherd. In the waters of baptism you give us new birth, at your table you nourish us with heavenly food, and in your goodness and mercy, you guide us beyond the terrors of evil and death to your Father's home to dwell in eternal light. Glory to you for ever.

Psalm 45 ('My heart is stirring with a noble song')
Gracious God, your love unites heaven and earth in a new festival of gladness. Lift our spirits to learn the way of joy that leads us to your banquet hall, where all is golden with praise. We ask this through Jesus Christ the Lord.

Psalm 110 ('The Lord said to my lord')
Jesus Christ, King of kings and Lord of lords, born as a man, exalted now on high, priest of the new covenant, judge who will come at the end of time, glory to you for ever and ever.

Psalm 137 ('By the waters of Babylon')
God of courage and compassion, comfort the exiled and oppressed, strengthen the faith of your people, and bring us all to our true home, the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Psalm 139 ('Lord, you have searched me out')
God of mystery and power, even our minds and hearts are the veils and signs of your presence. We come in silent wonder to learn the way of simplicity, the eternal road that leads to love for you and for your whole creation. We come as your Son Jesus Christ taught us, and in his name.

from the gathering rite to a place following the proclamation of the word. (This has precipitated further changes in that the Litany for Ordinations now follows the examination, making it unclear whether the congregation is to kneel or stand during the consecration.) Reforming Anglican ordination services continues to be a challenge; they are still much too ponderous and disproportionately grandiose, especially when compared to the primary celebration of vocation that is Holy Baptism.

Parish Thanksgiving and Prayers

The new element in this section is a celebration of Thanksgiving on the Anniversary of a Parish, which is shaped by a procession with prayers of thanksgiving to be said at various stations around the church building in order to mark the principal focuses of the place of worship.

The Psalter

This edition of the Psalms has been borrowed from the 1979 American Book of Common Prayer, but it is notable for the addition of Psalm Prayers through which a Christological reading of the Psalms is modelled.

Music

The *BAS* ends with a selection of musical settings for the voice of the congregation such as are not usually provided in 'mass settings'. As the introduction to the *BAS* observes, this book 'assumes, but does not demand, the use of music'.

Companion Volumes

Occasional Celebrations, published in 1992 in loose-leaf format (some new material has subsequently been added), includes forms of service such as Advent, Christmas, and Easter services of Readings and Music (Lessons and Carols); liturgies relating to marriage (including the Blessing of a Civil Marriage and a service to mark the ending of a marriage); revised forms for Installation and Commissioning (including what used to be called 'Induction'), and a collection of services of blessing – of church buildings, homes, farms, businesses – and prayers for the environment.

For All the Saints, published in 1994, provides proper prayers and readings for all the saints' days and holy days fixed by the calendar (Christmas Day is included, for example, but not Easter Day). It provides brief biographical notices for reading within the service, and also a substantial appendix with selections from the writings of the saints (newly translated).

As in the *BAS,* the introductory essays are a valuable feature of both books. The essay on 'Blessing' in *Occasional Celebrations,* for example, is a significant contribution to the understanding of our inheritance from Judaism and also relates to contemporary controversies about blessing.

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Indigenous Canadian Translations

The first translator of Anglican services into an aboriginal Canadian language seems to have been Thomas Wood, a former surgeon who became a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He learned the language of the Miqmaq people of Nova Scotia so well that he wrote a Miqmaq grammar as he was translating the Prayer Book, which was ready to be used for 'reading prayers' in 1767. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, to which the Church of England in Canada was formally committed (*see* Blott, 'Canada', p. 186), was translated into many indigenous languages, including Blackfoot, Chipewyan, Cree, Dakota, Inuktitut (Eskimo), Mohawk, Nisga'a, Ojibwa, and Saulteux. Some of these editions now exist only in very old and valuable printings, such as a 1780 edition of the Book of Common Prayer printed in Québec. In many cases these texts are not complete, but contain only the sections that were most likely to be used. Printing can be in roman script or syllabics.

Today indigenous people make up four per cent of the Anglican population of Canada, but more than a third of it in five of the thirty Canadian dioceses: The Arctic, Caledonia, Keewatin, Moosonee, and Saskatchewan. Contemporary liturgical materials have been reproduced (often by mimeography) in Cree, Inuktitut, Nisga'a, and Ojibwa, among other languages. Almost all of these are translations of the 1962 Canadian Book of Common Prayer, and often only selected parts of it. Two examples are a Cree language translation of the service of Holy Communion and an Ojibwa order for Morning Prayer that includes one hymn and three psalms. In addition, a Cree language version of a Church of England alternative liturgy for Confirmation and Holy Communion was approved for use by the Anglican bishop of Keewatin. Portions of the 1985 *Book of Alternative Services*, such as the Eucharist and the services for funerals and ordinations, have been translated into Moose Cree and Swampy Cree.

There is an increasing interest in and demand for liturgical materials in aboriginal languages. Cree and Inuktitut are the two largest native language groups. Translation work is now well organized and is going on at the diocesan level. A growing number of indigenous rites are also in development, such as the Nisga'a Eucharist in northern British Columbia, which are not translations but inculturations in English. These are being used in some local indigenous communities, but the church's General Synod has not given them authorized status.

C. S.

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The Province of the West Indies

Charles Hefling

The 1662 Book of Common Prayer observes in its preface that the service of baptism for 'such as are of Riper Years' could prove to be useful 'for the baptizing of Natives in our Plantations'. No specific 'plantations' are mentioned, but Jamaica and Barbados might well have been. English planters had begun to settle there early in the seventeenth century, bringing with them the English system of parochial church organization and the English Prayer Book. By 1637 the minister of St Michael's, Barbados, could write to Archbishop Laud that 'Our people within these five or six years last past have built six churches besides some chappels, [and] the care of the parishes is committed to some of the principal men in each several parish who are called to the Vestry.' There is no record, however, of any immediate concern for sharing Christianity with natives or with the many slaves who had been brought from West Africa to work the sugar fields. The first notable effort in that direction came from Christopher Codrington, soldier, poet, and briefly colonial administrator in the Leeward Islands, who at his death in 1710 left two estates for the establishment of a college of 'physic' (medicine) and divinity in Barbados, which was to provide missionaries and teachers for the slave population.

Anglicanism likewise came to be the established religion in the other Caribbean territories that Britain acquired in the course of the eighteenth century. In the Bahamas, for example, establishment coincided with the arrival of the first royal governor in 1729, although it would be several years before the parish of Christ Church, covering the entire Bahamas, was founded. As in British colonies elsewhere, the bishop of London was at least nominally the ordinary. Clergy were mostly supplied by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), although occasionally planters' sons sailed back to England to be ordained. In 1824 bishoprics were set up in Jamaica and Barbados. Both of the new bishops set out to end discriminatory practices in the ministry to whites and blacks in their dioceses, and at the time of the Emancipation in 1833 the British government's Negro Education Grant of £30,000 was largely administered through the Anglican churches for the benefit of freed slaves. Parishes and chaplaincies multiplied throughout the region, and new dioceses were organized: Antigua and Guyana in 1842, Nassau and the Bahamas in 1861, Trinidad and Tobago in 1872, the Windward Islands in 1878, and Belize, as the diocese is now known, in 1891.

Meanwhile, by 1870 the establishment of the Church of England had come to an end everywhere except in Barbados, where it lasted for another hundred years. Anglicans in the Caribbean dioceses recognized that they could achieve more by uniting than by relying on independent effort, and at length the Province of the West Indies was created in 1883. At first the Provincial Synod consisted of the bishops only. Owing to the difficulties of Caribbean travel, Synod meetings were usually held in England or the United States. For a time the provincial office was in London. Disestablishment notwithstanding, the church in the West Indies remained in effect a mission field of the Church of England, with close ties to the SPG, until well into the twentieth century. Not until 1945 was the first black West Indian bishop consecrated.

From the outset, the Prayer Book in use throughout the province – and in some dioceses,

formally incorporated into the diocesan constitution–was the English version of 1662. Over time, however, Anglicanism in the West Indies shifted in a markedly Anglo-Catholic direction, liturgical practice included. It became customary to take liberties in the celebration of Holy Communion, by embellishing the Prayer Book rite or rearranging its prayers, or even by substituting the *English Missal,* as was done in many parishes. Partly for the sake of recovering a measure of liturgical unity, and partly in keeping with the impetus for change that was being felt everywhere in the Anglican Communion, the Provincial Synod established a committee to propose a new eucharistic rite. In 1959 the resulting proposal was approved as a permissible alternative to the Book of Common Prayer during the next three years.

The 'shape' of this liturgy, as might be expected, follows the order of Holy Communion in the first, 1549 Prayer Book rather than the 1662. The content has been described as 'lying between 1549 and Rome'. Its eucharistic prayer includes an explicit *epiclesis* and a very explicit oblation of 'this holy Bread of eternal life and this Cup of everlasting salvation'; the Lord's Prayer precedes the fraction and the *Agnus Dei* follows it. The new rite was widely adopted throughout the province, replacing both 1662 and local variations, and its initial three-year authorization was extended. In 1972 a fairly traditional revision was proposed, only to be rejected. By then the winds of liturgical change were blowing strongly, bringing in the use of modern diction in worship and replacing 'antique' verb forms and pronouns such as 'thou' and 'thee'. The International Consultation on English Texts (ICET) had brought out its recommendations, which a new provincial Liturgical Commission incorporated in a more thoroughly revised eucharistic liturgy. With certain additions, this rite was approved in 1978 and printed two years later in *Revised Services for the Church of the Province of the West Indies.* As with other Anglican Prayer Books that were beginning to appear at the same time, the 1980 services embrace the principle of providing alternative ways to fulfil the same liturgical function. There are seven set forms of intercession in the eucharistic rite, for example, all but one of them litanies. Congregational responses are also included at the greeting of peace and the presentation of the offering, and as acclamations in each of the two eucharistic prayers.

Revised Services was destined to be only a step in the direction of a complete Book of Common Prayer for the province. When this appeared in 1995, Orland Lindsay, bishop of Antigua and Archbishop of the West Indies, acknowledged in its preface that the new book drew on many sources. Its closest cousins in the Prayer Book family are the 1979 Book of Common Prayer of the Episcopal Church in the United States and the Church of England's *Alternative Service Book 1980* (*ASB*). One notable difference from both is that there are no 'traditional language' services, like the Rite One liturgies in the 1979 American Prayer Book or Rite B in the *ASB*. By 1995, it seems, there was no longer thought to be a need for these links with the past. The entire Psalter, including its introduction, comes from the American book, while on the other hand the invitatory canticles, *Venite* and *Jubilate,* match those in the *ASB,* so that there are two somewhat different versions of Psalms 95 and 100. The American church's Catechism has been borrowed too, but in the section on ministry the West Indies book adds a long answer on the duties of all Christians, and there is a new group of questions on stewardship and another on fasting.

In the order of its contents, the 1995 West Indian Prayer Book stands in recognizable continuity with the Prayer Book tradition that began in the sixteenth century. It provides for daily offices, followed by prayers for various occasions and the Great Litany. The Holy Eucharist is next, enriched with liturgies for particular days leading up to Easter. Then come initiation services and the other standard 'occasional' services–Thanksgiving for the Birth of a Child and rites for the reconciliation of penitents, marriage, ministry to the sick, and burial–and finally the Catechism, the ordinal, the Psalter, and lectionaries.

The contents of the book, on the whole, are fairly conservative. There is no provision, as in some recent Prayer Books, for Compline or for mid-day prayers. The daily offices are the

traditional two, Morning and Evening Prayer, which follow the traditional Anglican pattern: invitatory, psalmody, two lessons, each followed by a canticle, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, suffrages, and collects. The canticles, however, may be chosen from a range of alternatives. Two of the gospel canticles, *Benedictus* and *Magnificat,* are given in adapted versions such that instead of being statements *about* God they are statements addressed *to* God–and consequently make no use of (masculine) third-person pronouns. Thus the *Magnificat* begins: 'My soul proclaims the greatness of the Lord, my spirit rejoices in you, O God my Saviour, for you have looked with favour on your lowly servant.'

The eucharistic rite is largely carried over from the previous West Indian revisions mentioned already. A prayer that had replaced the Collect for Purity is eliminated, and a modernized version of the traditional collect restored. Either the Apostles' or the Nicene Creed may be recited. An 'act of penitence' follows one of several alternative forms of intercession. Among the proper prefaces are one for Our Lady and another for Harvest Festival. There are five eucharistic prayers. One of these illustrates the interdependence of recent Anglican liturgical revisions. It is a prayer that appears in the American 1979 Book of Common Prayer (Prayer B), as expanded and improved upon in the Canadian church's 1985 *Book of Alternative Services* (Prayer 3), with further small changes in the West Indian version. Another of the eucharistic prayers transposes into modern English the provincial form that was published in 1959, and thus includes several phrases that go back to Cranmer's first Prayer Book. After the communion of the people there are three alternative prayers of thanksgiving, and seasonal variations for the blessing are provided. A hymn, notices, and the publication of marriage banns may precede the dismissal.

The collects for the church year duplicate the contemporary-language set in the American book, with a very few omissions (Independence Day and one of the Christmas Day collects) and additions (All Souls Day and a third Ascension Day collect). There are special eucharistic liturgies for Ash Wednesday, with an optional imposition of ashes; the Sunday of the Passion, with the blessing of palms and procession; Maundy Thursday, with footwashing and provision for a watch to be kept before the reserved sacrament; Good Friday, with 'Meditation on the Cross of Jesus'; and the Vigil of Easter beginning on Holy Saturday.

Initiation services in the West Indian Prayer Book reflect the ongoing reconsideration of the nature of Christian initiation in the Anglican Communion. Holy Baptism by itself is explicitly intended for infants. The address to parents and godparents, and the questions the minister puts to them, make it clear that confirmation by a bishop is to follow later, when the child is older, and that first reception of the Eucharist depends on being confirmed. Accordingly a distinct rite of confirmation is provided, and there is also a separate service, entitled 'Admission of Persons Baptized and Confirmed in Other Communions into the Communicant Membership of the Church in the Province of the West Indies', which is to be performed, normally, in the context of a confirmation service. The baptism of adults is combined with their confirmation in a service of 'Adult Initiation', at which the bishop presides, and which may include the examination and confirmation of other, previously baptized candidates. In both baptism services, the congregation joins in the profession of faith–the Apostles' Creed–but not in the promises and renunciations made by adult candidates or by parents and godparents. For the renewal of these vows, there is a service of reaffirmation, which according to the rubrics is not to take place at any of the initiation services.

Two of the rites in the section entitled 'Episcopal Services' have noteworthy features. The first of these is a 'Liturgy for the Renewal of Vows and the Blessing of Oils' to be celebrated on Maundy Thursday, the traditional day for a 'chrism Mass'. It begins with the bishop's invitation, first to the clergy, then to other licensed or commissioned ministers, to reaffirm the promises they made when they were ordained or appointed. The bishop then makes a similar affirmation, and asks for the prayers of the people. This part of the service may take place on other occasions. On Maundy Thursday the Eucharist follows, with a special clause inserted into the eucharistic prayer immediately after the *epiclesis*: 'Send your

Holy Spirit on these oils, that those who in faith and repentance receive this holy unction may be made whole (and that those who are sealed with this chrism may share in the royal priesthood of Jesus Christ).' Two of the occasions on which the use of chrism is called for are also among the episcopal services. One is the consecration and ordination of priests, at which the new priests' hands may be anointed. In the other, the consecration and ordination of a bishop, the anointing of the new bishop's head is not optional; it is the first of several ceremonies appointed to follow the giving of the Bible, which include the delivery of a pectoral cross, a bishop's ring, a mitre, and a pastoral staff.

The Book of Common Prayer in Spanish

Juan M. C. Oliver

Throughout much of its history, the Book of Common Prayer has been available in Spanish. The quality of the many translations has been uneven, and only late in the nineteenth century did the idea emerge that Spanish-speaking Anglicans should have a Prayer Book of their own. At present, however, only translations of English originals are generally in use.

Early Spanish-language Prayer Books

Shortly after the Hampton Court conference of 1604, the fourth, 'Jacobean' Book of Common Prayer was translated from a Latin version into Spanish by Fernando (also known as John) de Texada, a former Dominican. He would later be made a prebendary of Hereford Cathedral, and wrote treatises against Roman Catholic teaching, as well as a biography of Thomas Carrascón, to whom Texada's translation of the Prayer Book has sometimes been attributed. Texada was a protégé of John Williams, Archbishop of York, who underwrote the translation, probably in connection with the proposed marriage of Prince Charles to the Infanta Maria of Spain. The exact date of publication for *Liturgia inglesa: o libro del rezado publico* is uncertain; it may have been any time between 1612 and 1623. The numerals on its title-page can be deciphered in different ways. The 'Spanish match' was not proposed until 1617 and was dropped the next year, but the calendar in Texada's version begins at 1615, and the names of the royal family that are mentioned and omitted suggest an even earlier date.

Almost a hundred years passed before another translation appeared in 1707. *La lyturgia ynglesa o el libro de oración común* translates the 1662 Prayer Book, including the state services and the Articles of Religion, but not the ordinal. The translator was Don Felix Anthony de Alvarado, minister to a congregation of Spanish merchants in London. In general, he revised and enlarged the older translation, noting in his preface that it contained many printing errors and that it had been published 'on the occasion of a journey taken by the most serene Prince of Wales to Spain'. A second edition with the same title was published in 1715, with the ordinal (in Latin). This edition was put on the *Index Expurgatorius* by Roman officials in 1790, along with the previous edition and other works by Alvarado, probably because of his preface, 'Exhortación a todos los fieles de la nación Española', calling on Spaniards to feed on the word of God in the vernacular.

Alvarado's translation was reprinted in 1839, but meanwhile a new translation of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, complete with Psalter, had appeared in 1821 with the title *Liturgia anglicana ó libro de oración común*. The translator was 'Joseph Blanco White', a former Roman Catholic whose real name was José María Blanco de Crespo. Ordained in 1800, he had escaped from Spain in 1812, and in 1841 died a Unitarian in Liverpool. This edition includes scriptural translations from P. Scio's Spanish Bible of 1807. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) also issued a translation, together with the Bible, in 1837. The Prayer Book portion was translated by Félix Torres Amat. This version, reissued in 1839, was used in Gibraltar churches founded by Lorenzo Lucena. Formerly a student at San

Pelagio College in the University of Seville, and later its professor of theology and interim president, Lucena had become an Anglican by 1837 and was appointed by the SPCK and licensed by the bishop of London to minister to the Protestant congregations of Spaniards in Gibraltar.

A new translation by Juan Calderón, a former Franciscan and preacher to Spanish refugees in Somers Town, London, was published in 1852 and reissued as *El orden de la oración común* in 1859. At least eight further impressions appeared in England before Calderón's edition was transferred to Oxford University Press in 1898.

As recently as 1973, furthermore, an abridged translation of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, including the ordinal but without lections or psalms, was published in Chile. This Prayer Book, entitled *El Libro de oración común . . . y manual al uso de la iglesia anglicana,* was intended for use in the Province of the Southern Cone of South America.

The Spanish Prayer Book of 1881

All the Prayer Books in Spanish mentioned so far aimed at an accurate translation of the English original. The differences between them reflect only the different judgements and decisions of their translators. The Spanish Prayer Book of 1881, however, was an enterprise of another kind.

In 1871 a congregation began to meet in the secularized church of San Basilio at Seville, under the leadership of Francisco Palomares, who had been a Roman Catholic priest. Among those who joined them was another ex-priest, Juan Cabrera, who had been a Presbyterian minister. In 1878 nine congregations in Spain and Portugal presented a Memorial to Lambeth Conference seeking an episcopate for their church. The bishops were sympathetic, but Archbishop Tait only requested that the new bishop of Mexico, Henry Chauncey Riley, should be invited to ordain and confirm. At the first General Synod of the Spanish Reformed Episcopal Church, under Bishop Riley's presidency, Cabrera was chosen bishop-elect, the Thirty-nine Articles (somewhat modified) were adopted, and a liturgy was proposed. Published in 1881 as *Oficios divinos . . . en la iglesia española,* it was a Spanish translation of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, combined with elements from the Mozarabic liturgy, the early medieval liturgy used in Spain before it was replaced by the Roman rite. Cabrera was instrumental in its creation and promulgation. It appears to be the first attempt by Spanish-speaking Anglicans to include their own historic, national tradition of liturgical worship within an Anglican Prayer Book. A second edition was issued in 1889, and a revision in 1975. The book includes texts from the Mozarabic rite within a general structure taken from the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. Thus, for example, the Liturgy of the Word in the Holy Eucharist begins with a Mozarabic penitential rite, including the Lord's Prayer, and proceeds to give several introits for the seasons of the liturgical year. The Mozarabic *Lauda* is also an option following the reading of the gospel, but the offertory sentences are from the 1662 book and the rite proceeds with the (optional) Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church.

In short, the Mozarabic Prayer Books of the Spanish Reformed Episcopal Church were an attempt to combine Anglican structure with an indigenous prayer tradition. As of this writing, the liturgical commission of the Reformed Episcopal Church of Spain is working on a new, completely Mozarabic book. (*See also* Rowthorn, 'Europe', pp. 439–40.)

The Mexican Prayer Book of 1894

Bishop Riley, who presided at the Spanish Reformed Episcopal Church's Synod in 1881, was born in Santiago, Chile, graduated from Columbia College in New York, and studied theology in England. About 1868, when he was minister to the Church of Santiago in New York, a group organized as the Mexican Missionary Society sent him to Mexico. There, in 1874, an evangelical group joined with La Sociedad Católica Mexicana, which had been formed in

1857 by former Roman Catholic clergy, to found La Iglesia de Jesús. The clergy of the new church asked the American Episcopal Church for a bishop, and wanted a Mexican. The House of Bishops sent Alfred Lee, bishop of Delaware, who ordained seven priests. Eventually, in 1879, Riley was consecrated as bishop of Mexico. Five years later, the House of Bishops asked for his resignation, for reasons that are still unclear, and Henry Forrester was elected bishop of the Valley of Mexico in the Iglesia de Jesús.

As early as 1876 the *Church Review* reported that a liturgy for Mexico was to be developed but without imposing American formularies. Rather, it should be 'formed by the deliberate and mature action of the church which is to use it', a church 'whose members are of Spanish, not Anglo-Saxon race and education'. The article drew a comparison between the Anglican reformers, who appealed not only to the primitive church but also and especially to early British and Anglo-Saxon traditions, and 'those who are laboring for reform in the Church of Mexico', who 'appeal to the doctrines and practices of the early Spanish church and intend making the Mozarabic liturgy the main source from which their own is to be taken'. A few years later Charles R. Hale, who would later be bishop of Springfield, Illinois, published *Mozarabic Collects*. There he notes that he had studied the Mozarabic liturgy revived by the Spanish cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros in the sixteenth century and reissued in the eighteenth in Mexico and Spain, with the intention of introducing this rite in Mexico. While the idea that Mexico should have a Mozarabic liturgy might now be considered naïve, it is remarkable that even at this early date American church leaders recognized that straightforward translations of an English-language Prayer Book might not meet the liturgical needs of Spaniards and Mexicans.

In 1894, the Iglesia de Jesús put out an edition of portions of the American Prayer Book in Spanish, *Oficios provisionales de la iglesia Episcopal anglicana ó iglesia de Jesús*. The book includes selected psalms, but no lections. Mozarabic influence appears in the daily offices and in the Eucharist. A bilingual form appeared in 1895, in the hope that English-speaking congregations in Mexico would use it. This Mexican Prayer Book was drafted by Hale and his collaborator John Peters of New York, and then translated into Spanish, probably by Bishop Forrester. The language is simpler and more direct than earlier translations of the Prayer Book into Spanish, and suggests that a native speaker was involved. The Mexican edition was reissued in 1901, again with part of the Psalter but without lections.

The American Book of Common Prayer in Spanish

The late nineteenth century saw some interest in translating the American Prayer Book. Francis Lester Hawks, a priest in New York City, had done work on Morning and Evening Prayer, and in 1959 the New York Bible and Prayer Book Society authorized Arthur John Rich to complete the translation and published it in 1860 as *Libro de oración común*. In the meantime, Theodore Dwight had finished a different translation, under the auspices of a committee of the General Convention. This was published as the *1863 Libro de oración común*, again by the New York Bible and Prayer Book Society, and it became the translation used throughout Latin America, with the exception of Mexico.

The Episcopal Church's 1892 Book of Common Prayer was issued in 1905, in a Spanish translation made by Arthur Lowndes and approved by a committee of the General Convention for use in recently acquired United States possessions – Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. It found little support among the people it was meant to serve, owing to the literalness of the translation. Four members of the House of Bishops were constituted as a committee to work with translators to correct its faults, but the project seems to have been set aside in favour of translating the 'new' Prayer Book of 1928, which appeared in Spanish in 1930. An edition of the 1928 text in translation was put out in 1962 with various title-pages: *La Iglesia Episcopal Mexicana*, *La Iglesia Protestante Episcopal*, *La Iglesia Episcopal en las Américas*, and *El Concilio Nacional*.

The most recent Prayer Book of the Episcopal Church, authorized in 1979, was translated and published in Spanish in 1982. Bishops Anselmo Carral, Sergio Carranza, and Onell Soto were all involved in the translation. The Rite One, traditional-language versions of the daily offices and the Eucharist are not included. An earlier attempt at translating the 1979 Book of Common Prayer had been published by Province Nine of the Episcopal Church. The result is much more felicitous, especially in the Eucharist, but these better translations were not adopted in the official publication of 1982, the Custodian of the Standard Book of Common Prayer having determined that the translation had to be literal. Towards the end of the 1980s requests were made for a new edition that would include the Rite One Eucharist, and this amplified version was published in 1989.

Local editions of the 1979 Book of Common Prayer have been issued here and there, in different forms. In 1989, for example, St John's Episcopal Church, San Salvador, published *La Iglesia Ora y Canta,* 'The Church Prays and Sings', and the cathedral in Havana published the Cuban Episcopal Church's *10 ritos para celebrar la Santa Misa,* which contains different combinations of rites, from sources that range from 1662 through 1979. In the United States, the Episcopal Church published a bilingual edition of the rites for baptism, the Holy Eucharist (Rite Two), and confirmation in 1990, while more recently a bilingual edition of portions of the 1979 Prayer Book–the daily offices (both rites), Compline, baptism, Eucharist (Rite Two), marriage, reconciliation, ministry to the sick, burial, selected psalms, prayers and thanksgivings–has been issued by the Convocation of American Churches in Europe.

In 1983, however, the Puerto Rican Episcopal Church (then an extra-provincial diocese directly in communion with Canterbury), looking forward to the creation of a Province of the Caribbean, published *Servicios autorizados para la Iglesia Episcopal Puertorriqueña. . . .* It included the Eucharist, Morning and Evening Prayer, the Rites of Christian Initiation, the collects, and the Psalter. The book was an attempt to develop a liturgy from the Caribbean Anglican Hispanic experience and context, and may have been fuelled by disappointment with the 1982 translation of the 1979 Book of Common Prayer. However, the book was in use only briefly. Now that the diocese of Puerto Rico is part of the Episcopal Church in the United States, the book in use is the Spanish translation of the 1979 Prayer Book.

Conclusion

With the notable exceptions of the Spanish Prayer Book of 1881 and the Mexican Prayer Book of 1894, the history of the Book of Common Prayer in Spanish has been of more or less slavish translations of English originals. The insights of Charles Hale and the Spanish and Mexican authors have yet to bear fruit. In 1971 the liturgical scholar Louis Weil, then ministering in Puerto Rico, said in an address to a Eucharistic Congress: 'The translation into Spanish that I must use week by week is very badly done; it is not idiomatic, and employs a vocabulary unknown to the people.' Translation, he continued, even in its best forms, is only a transitional phase in the process of liturgical adaptation. No translated liturgy can become the authentic liturgy of a culture. 'The times require that each part of the world enjoy the freedom to experiment with all the available forms–language, gesture, music–in which they respond to God.'

Progress has been slow. In the Episcopal Church, the work of translation committees has been impeded by the mandate to translate literally. As any professional translator knows, *literal* translations are never *accurate* translations. As for the future of the Prayer Book in Spanish, it would seem important to develop local communities where, with adequate supervision, the cultural riches present in the assembly may find expression, generating texts, gestures, objects, and spaces that make the liturgy truly the 'work of the people'–this particular people. A truly Hispanic or Latin American Prayer Book developed in this way would exhibit an Anglican structure but also delve deep into the mother lode of Hispanic images of God, creation, and redemption, and Hispanic rhetorical religious traditions. Its ceremonial

would be more flexible and open to local traditions and 'usages', and even encourage them. For 'Hispanic', like 'Anglo', covers a wide variety of cultures and traditions. Thus Anglican provinces might be able to authorize Prayer Books in Spanish that keep an Anglican structure and ethos, but are nevertheless real expressions of the soul of the people, so that they may be edified–as Cranmer himself hoped.

The Episcopal Church in the Philippines

Tomas S. Maddela

The Book of Common Prayer of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines is of recent origin (1999). When the church was granted autonomy by the Episcopal Church in the United States in May 1990, producing a Book of Common Prayer and a Philippine hymnal were two of the conditions called for in the new covenant agreement between the two churches. Before this, the 1979 American Book of Common Prayer was used in almost all congregations except for those few who still preferred the 1928. Sections of the 1979 book appeared in different vernacular translations throughout the dioceses of the Philippine Episcopal Church.

The preparation and review of draft proposed rites began ten years prior to the granting of autonomy. It was largely undertaken by the National Commission on Liturgics and Church Architecture, later the Commission on Liturgy and Christian Education, which included one bishop, four clergy, and five lay people representing all dioceses. In March 1987 the Commission published the *Liturgy of the Holy Mass* as the first of a series of services licensed for trial use and, in January 1990, *The Holy Baptism* and *The Celebration and Blessing of Marriage*. These were printed back to back in pamphlet form.

After the inauguration of the new Anglican province, its Executive Council decided that further publication of rites for trial use should wait because of spiralling costs. Instead, the Commission was tasked to complete all the draft proposed rites to be published in a single volume, and, if necessary, be licensed for trial use for a limited time prior to its eventual ratification. The Pastoral Offices, Rites of Ordination, Proper Liturgies for Special Days, Prayers and Thanksgiving for Various Occasions and Intentions, and Propers for the Christian Year and Special Occasions were all completed by the time that Synod met in May of 1999 for final review and amendments of all the rites. At that time the Commission decided to adopt the entire Psalter, Outline of the Faith, or Catechism, and Historical Documents exactly as they are found in the 1979 Book of Common Prayer of the Episcopal Church, and to include the lectionaries for the Eucharist and Daily Office as an appendix.

Guiding Principles of the Book of Common Prayer

The Commission responsible for the Philippine Book of Common Prayer never intended to create a new Prayer Book from scratch, and so the work began with a thorough review of materials already found in the 1979 Book of Common Prayer of the Episcopal Church. At the same time, the Commission exercised considerable freedom in the selection, edition, enrichment, and rearrangement of materials that were relevant the pastoral situation of the Philippine churches. The work of the Episcopal Church is no longer limited to the areas formerly occupied by the fierce tribes in the predominantly agricultural northern and southern parts of the archipelago. The first bishop, Charles Henry Brent, believed that the church should not 'spread a thin coat of Episcopalianism in the country nor attempt to build an altar against another altar'. Today, due to the ever-growing migration of members, the Episcopal Church exists in small congregations in many of the industrialized and urban centres

of the country, even in areas where the population is overwhelmingly Roman Catholic or Muslim.

To this end, the Commission envisioned a Book of Common Prayer that would reflect a strong ecumenical outlook. This was accomplished through liberal borrowings from the Roman Catholic Sacramentary and the Lima Liturgy as well as removing materials that waxed polemical against other religious bodies, especially in the intercessory prayers and the Great Litany.

Lay ministry is extremely important for remote congregations not easily reached by ordained ministers with multiple cures. Thus there is an increasing demand for services that can be led by licensed lay readers in place of the normative Sunday Mass–services centred on the proclamation of the word and communion from the reserved sacrament. Therefore the divine offices of Morning and Evening Prayer are designed to be led by lay ministers, while the Liturgy of the Word in the Eucharist has the appearance of an independent office that can serve as an alternative Sunday celebration where no priests are available.

The language of the Philippine Book of Common Prayer is also thoroughly inclusive, since the church ordains women both to the diaconate and the priesthood. Although as of this writing no woman has been ordained to the episcopate, there is no formal impediment. Therefore all references to gender are placed in italics for utmost flexibility.

In the Philippines, Roman Catholicism is an essential part of the life of the people. In addition, the Philippine Episcopal Church has entered into a Concordat of Full Communion with the Iglesia Filipina Independiente (Philippine Independent Church), a source of many Roman Catholic rites and popular devotions. Consequently it is important for the Anglican Church, one of the smallest Christian denominations in the country, to stress the distinctiveness of Anglican liturgy. In order to give the Prayer Book a richer Anglican character, therefore, the Commission adopted materials from other Anglican sources, including the *Alternative Service Book 1980* of the Church of England, the Australian Prayer Book, and the *Book of Common Worship* of the Church of South India.

It should be pointed out that these were not merely random borrowings, however. Only those materials were chosen that could be easily adapted to the pastoral situation of members belonging to one of the indigenous tribes of the country, and that reflected contemporary scholarship while remaining faithful to the Anglican ethos of spirituality through common prayer.

Although Philippine Anglicans are at home in the English language, the members of the Commission realized that the more frequently held celebrations (Eucharist, baptism, marriage, burial) will eventually be translated into the vernacular by the different dioceses. Therefore they were careful to avoid foreign idioms in the prayers. Since church membership also represents thoroughly diverse cultural backgrounds, various options in terms of texts and rituals were provided to suit differing cultural tastes as far as possible.

The Commission also decided early on in its work to drop altogether the 1979 Book of Common Prayer's Rite One services, since both church members and the majority of the clergy are more attuned to the contemporary English of the Rite Two services.

Finally, true to the spirit of common prayer, the Commission also ensured that the rites would encourage full participation by every member of the congregation. Thus it assigned to lay persons specific acclamations, responses, anthems, and ministerial roles such as lector, acolyte, and ministers of the cup at Holy Communion. Lay people may also officiate at the office of Morning and Evening Prayer. The Prayer Book also gives priority to congregational singing over the use of a choir.

The Holy Eucharist

This service follows a simple four-part structure: an introductory rite, the Liturgy of the Word, the Liturgy of the Eucharist, and a concluding rite. Aside from the regular introductory rite,

which begins with a salutation, it features two alternative introductory rites: the asperges and a Penitential Order. In the former the water is blessed and then sprinkled on the people, which is reminiscent of a similar rite found in the Great Easter Vigil and has a very strong baptismal character. Members of the Philippine church who belong to indigenous tribes accustomed to ritual ablutions feel at home with this rite. The Penitential Order is recommended for use on Sundays and Fridays, except during Christmas, Easter, and feast days.

The Liturgy of the Word features three readings based on the ecumenical three-year cycle lectionary adopted from the American Prayer Book. Because there is no lectionary for the Eucharist on ordinary days, the Sunday readings are generally used with one of the first two readings simply omitted.

Two of the five forms of intercessions were borrowed from the American book. Of the remaining, one is based on the Solemn Collects for Good Friday and the other is an entirely new composition, with longer responses by the people. A fifth form calls for extempore prayers based on a list of recommended intentions.

The Philippine Prayer Book has retained Eucharistic Prayer A, with its variable prefaces to highlight the various seasons of the Christian year, from the American Prayer Book. Eucharistic Prayer B, also with variable prefaces, is a modification of Hippolytus's model eucharistic prayer found in the *Apostolic Tradition*. Eucharistic Prayer C was adopted from the Divine Liturgy of the Orthodox Church and so chosen because of its suitability for the Advent season. Eucharistic Prayer D was adopted from the Roman Missal and is especially appropriate for Lent, with its emphasis on Jesus' suffering and death. Eucharistic Prayer E represents a modification of the Episcopal Church's Eucharistic Prayer D, which is valued by many clergy because of its strong sweep of salvation history and the fact that it also allows the celebrant to add various special intentions towards the end.

Morning and Evening Prayer

The structure of the divine offices follows the American book closely, but has some unique features. First, there is no separate form for each. Rather, the two offices have been put together, with some indications of which parts are more suitable for use in the morning and which for the evening. Four new canticles have also been added, three of them from the prophet Isaiah: the Song of Peace (Isaiah 2:2–5), the Song of Good News (Isaiah 40:9–11), The Lord's Servant (Isaiah 53:3–6), and God's Plan of Salvation (Ephesians 1:3–7). These additions necessitated modifying the suggested canticles for use in the morning and evening. The Aaronic blessing (Numbers 6:24–26) was added to the forms of benediction.

Also included among the divine offices are An Order of Service for Noonday, An Order for Compline, and An Order of Worship for the Evening, which are commonly used during official church gatherings. Daily Devotions for Individuals and Families are suitable for simple gatherings at noon, early evening, or the close of day. With a few modifications, these have been adapted from the Episcopal Church's Prayer Book.

Holy Baptism

The form for the administration of Holy Baptism also resembles closely that of the Episcopal Church, with additional readings to provide wider options. It incorporates some elements reminiscent of the baptismal service in the context of the Great Easter Vigil, such as vesting with a chrisom and giving lighted candles, as these are similar to elements of Roman Catholic rites and so are meaningful for many Philippine Episcopalians. Baptism may be a separate office, but its normative celebration is always in the context of the principal Eucharist, especially when the bishop is presiding.

While a separate form for confirmation is provided under the pastoral offices, it is also included in this service, along with baptismal reaffirmation and reception. The former is

used during a bishops' pastoral visit solely for the purpose of confirmation, when there are no candidates for baptism. This form is also recommended when there are candidates for confirmation, reaffirmation, or reception aside from those being baptized.

A new element added to the whole baptismal process is the celebration of a Vigil on the Eve of Baptism, although it is not obligatory. Another unique feature is a short office for the admission of catechumens, which is designed for churches where candidates for baptism come from a thoroughly non-Christian background and therefore need a longer period of preparation.

Pastoral Offices

Rites for confirmation, the celebration and blessing of marriage, and the blessing of civil marriage are largely adaptations from the American Prayer Book with minor modifications. Some cultural modifications are significant, since the use of symbolism at wedding ceremonies is important. The rubrics allow the inclusion of such symbols as the veiling of the couple, tying with the knot, and the giving and receiving of *arrhae*–coins which the groom hands over to the bride as a pledge to provide for the needs of the family they intend to build together. The bride receiving them commits herself to being a good steward of household properties. Another cultural modification is the form for the celebration of wedding anniversaries, which is the response to a much-felt need in many Philippine cultures.

Also noticeable is the absence of a form for thanksgiving for the birth or adoption of a child, although this rite will be included in the planned *Priests' Manual*. For many members, baptism is the preferred occasion for giving thanks for the gift of a child and his or her being welcomed by the whole community.

Other pastoral offices are adapted from the 1979 American Book of Common Prayer, including the Reconciliation of a Penitent, Ministration to the Sick, Ministry to a Dying Person, Ministry at the Time of Death, Service of Preparation for Burial, and The Burial of the Dead. Forms exist also for the Vigil for the Dead, commonly used during the wake, but after much debate these were not included in the Philippine book because there are so many different forms already in use among the dioceses.

Other Services

The forms for the ordination of a bishop, priest, or deacon sparked much debate among Commission members, but in the end they decided to adopt those from the American book. However, the local bishops are given freedom to adopt the forms to the cultures of their constituents through the use of indigenous symbols during the vesting of the candidates and the giving of the symbols of offices.

Liturgies for Ash Wednesday, the Sunday of the Passion or Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Holy Saturday, and the Great Vigil of Easter may take widely different forms in different dioceses, where enriched resources are continually being developed to suit the cultural tastes of their members.

The section of the Prayer Book on Prayers for the Christian Year and Special Occasions has received a great deal of attention and reflects much creative work. It increases the number of special occasions to be celebrated and adds new collects–these, although they follow the classical structure, reflect Filipino idioms as well.

Into the Future

As soon as the new Book of Common Prayer for the Philippine Episcopal Church came into use, the initial general comment was that it still represented largely the Prayer Book of the

Episcopal Church in the United States. Indeed, there is still much to be desired in terms of seriously adopting the rites to the different cultures of the people whom the Philippine church seeks to serve. The Commission decided, however, that this task would be undertaken by the dioceses themselves since the cultures greatly differ from one diocese to another.

One can take comfort from the fact that these rites are extremely flexible and subject to endless modifications as they are translated from one dialect to another. Liturgical leaders are making a serious attempt to express the prayers of the church in the common idioms and thought patterns of the people in the local congregations. Likewise, ritual elements are also freely added to satisfy the Filipino preference for exuberant and festive celebrations. Already these rites are undergoing thorough review for future revision, even as our church grapples with the question, 'To what extent can the Book of Common Prayer be modified and still remain Anglican in character and ethos?'

Japan: Nippon Sei Ko Kai

John M. Yoshida

The current Japanese Book of Common Prayer, used by all the dioceses of the Anglican Church in Japan (Nippon Sei Ko Kai, NSKK), was authorized by the regular General Synod in 1990. Traditionally, the NSKK stops using the older version of its Prayer Book as soon as it authorizes a new one. The previous (1959) Book of Common Prayer may, however, still be used as the 'BCP in the classical literary style', on condition that the diocesan bishop permits its use. Accordingly, the collects and lectionary of the 1990 revision are published by the provincial office in the classical literary style, too. But with very few exceptions the 1990 Prayer Book is generally used except on special occasions.

Background to the Current Prayer Book

The Revd J. Liggins and the Revd C. M. Williams – who would later become the first NSKK bishop, consecrated in 1866 – first brought the faith of the Anglican/Episcopal church to Japan. They were sent as missionaries in 1859 by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A. The Church Missionary Society began evangelization in Japan in 1869, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1873. It was Williams who in 1861 first translated the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments into Japanese.

In 1878, eighteen missionaries from the three British and American societies met at a united missionary conference in Tokyo and decided to publish a Prayer Book for Japanese Christians. The following year, the *Sei Ko Kai Toh Bun*, the *Prayer Book of the Anglican Church,* was published in Japanese. After five revisions, it appeared in 1895 as *The Book of Common Prayer of NSKK*. This Japanese book was based on the 1662 Prayer Book and the 1789 American Book of Common Prayer. For the Prayer of Consecration, which is different in these two books, the Japanese Prayer Book provided both alternatives. The 1895 Prayer Book was revised and enlarged several times. The last edition before the Second World War, published in 1938, was influenced by the Book of Common Prayer proposed in the Church of England in 1928, and by the American church's revised Prayer Book, published in that same year.

The 1938 Prayer Book continued in use following the war, but in 1950 the General Synod decided to revise it completely, and commissioned a committee on doctrine, worship, and organization to edit a new Book of Common Prayer. Adopted by General Synod in 1959, the new Japanese Prayer Book was not just a translation but a completely new version, which the NSKK created for itself on the basis of mid-century research. It also followed the guidelines issued by the 1958 Lambeth Conference. The eucharistic prayer or 'Great Thanksgiving' was in some ways unique in the Anglican Communion at that time. It was composed to emphasize the offering of thanks to God, and took its opening paragraph from Revelation 7:12, with the word 'thanksgiving' moved to the beginning. The doxology at the end was taken from Ephesians 3:20, phrased in very stately Japanese (*see* 'From the 1959 Japanese Liturgy'). There were drawbacks, however. The 1959 Prayer Book was still written in the classical literary style, and the revisers were unable to take account of the remarkable results

From the 1959 Japanese Liturgy

The Prayer of Consecration composed in Japanese and adopted by the General Synod in 1959 drew for the most part on the Scottish and American tradition of Anglican eucharistic rites, except for the opening paragraph and the conclusion, of which the following is a translation by Kenneth Abbott Viall, S.S.J.E., Acting Bishop of Tokyo.

Unto thee, O God, the Father almighty, be thanksgiving, and blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and honour, and power, and might, for ever and ever; for that thou by thy Word didst create all things, and for us men, and for our salvation didst give thine only Son Jesus Christ verily to take our nature upon him, and to be born into this world; Who did make upon the Cross (by his one oblation of himself once offered) the only perfect sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world; and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memory of that his precious sacrifice and death until his coming again.

. . . .

And now unto thee, O Father Almighty, who art able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us, unto thee be glory in the Church by Christ Jesus throughout all ages, world without end.
℞. Amen.

of liturgical scholarship since the beginning of the 1960s. The 1971 General Synod passed a resolution calling for the Japanese Book of Common Prayer to be thoroughly revised and, after twenty years of study and trials, the 1990 General Synod adopted the book that is currently in use.

Contents and Character of the 1990 Prayer Book

The Daily Office of the 1990 Book of Common Prayer includes shorter forms of both Morning and Evening Prayer, as well as Noonday Prayer and Compline. In addition to the Holy Eucharist, there is a Service of Preparation for use prior to the eucharistic celebration. Following a Catechism, there are Initiation Services: the Service for Candidates (catechumenal rite), Baptism and Confirmation, Conditional Baptism, Emergency Baptism, and Confirmation. In addition to the funeral service and a service for the funeral of a child, the book provides prayers for a vigil before the funeral, memorial service for the deceased, and the requiem Eucharist. Following the ordinal there are services for the appointment of a pastor and the appointment of a catechist, and for the consecration of a church.

The 1990 Book of Common Prayer follows the general trend of revisions in other churches in the Anglican Communion, and draws on the most recent results, including the 1979 American Prayer Book and the Church of England's 1980 *Alternative Service Book,* as well as on liturgical reforms in the Roman Catholic and other churches. At the same time, careful consideration is given to the tradition of the NSKK that has been nurtured by the 1959 Japanese Book of Common Prayer. One small example is the response to the versicle 'Give peace in our time, O Lord.' Instead of 'For it is thou, Lord, only, that makest us dwell in safety', as in the 1928 American Prayer Book, the Japanese book of 1959 had 'Make war to cease in all the world' (Psalm 46:9). This unique modification was carried over into the 1990 Prayer Book.

Major characteristics of the new book can be summarized as follows.

Modern, colloquial Japanese

Since the first Japanese Book of Common Prayer, the NSKK has consistently held its services in the Japanese language. For missionaries from overseas, there was a Prayer Book in romanized Japanese. Before 1990, classical literary language was used. It has become difficult

for younger generations to understand the old classical-style Japanese. Certainly many people feel affection for the rhyme and rhythm of classical Japanese and the feelings it creates. But Christian services, which are the source of Christian life, ought to be owned and shared by the whole community in terms of both language and sensibility. Services in the language of daily life are also important from the viewpoint of evangelization. So the NSKK has no official translation of its modern Japanese Prayer Book into other languages, with the one exception of the English-speaking congregation of St Alban's Anglican/Episcopal Church in Tokyo.

A shift from penitential feeling to an emphasis on thanksgiving

Expressions that overemphasize individual sin are removed from Morning and Evening Prayer, the Eucharist, and the Ministry to the Sick, as well as from the funeral service. Such expressions, stressing fear of death, were characteristic of the medieval burial offices. In the 1990 Book of Common Prayer, sorrow is accepted as sorrow, but in place of sentences such as 'From the gates of hell, deliver their souls, O Lord', what is expressed is the hope of resurrection, the overcoming of death. The funeral service is understood as a service of the gratitude for, and exaltation of, God's mighty act of salvation in the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

For the Reconciliation of a Penitent there is a new form of service. This consists of two parts: the Litany of Penitence, to be said by the church community, and confession of sin by individuals. In place of the Commination service, which goes back to the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, the Litany – based on the one in the Ash Wednesday service of the 1979 American Prayer Book – expresses communal penitence. The confession, created by consulting the new wording of Japan's Roman Catholic Mass, replaces the confession contained in the service of ministry to the sick in the older Prayer Book. This makes it possible to hold the balance between thanksgiving and penitence.

A clear sense of church community

The 1990 Japanese Book of Common Prayer tries to emphasize the communal nature of the Holy Eucharist by increasing the responses of the people and enhancing their role. The same is done by adding people's responses to express consent and support of what is said in the services of baptism, confirmation, marriage, thanksgiving after the birth of a child, and ordination, all of which used to be considered occasions for individuals to receive salvation and grace.

Diversity within services

The number of the canticles that may be used at Morning and Evening Prayer (and their shorter forms), as well as in Noonday Prayer and Compline, is greatly increased. There are also two kinds of eucharistic prayers in the Holy Eucharist. Wider choices are given for the biblical lessons to be read at the marriage service and the funeral service. For the vigil service before a funeral, the celebrant is given permission to choose and combine several texts. In its lectionary, the 1990 Book of Common Prayer has adopted the three-year eucharistic cycle and the two-year Daily Office cycle from the 1979 American book.

A clear sense of missio Dei *(mission of God)*

The prayers in the older Prayer Books were, by and large, prayers for the church, for believers, and for the clergy. The 1990 Book of Common Prayer has a wider diversity of prayers for the world and its people, both in daily prayers and in a number of the additional prayers

that have been included. At the Eucharist, the intercession, which was once considered a part of the oblation, is now treated clearly as prayers of the people, who pray for the church and the world. This new sense of mission is most distinctly expressed in the words of reception of the newly baptized in baptism and confirmation. Right after the candidates are baptized, the celebrant says, 'Brothers and sisters who have now received the grace of baptism, we welcome you into the household of God, and we give thanks that you are united with us in the one body of Christ.' The people respond, 'Confess the faith of Christ crucified, proclaim his resurrection, and share together with us in the priesthood of Christ.' Then the celebrant and people say the Apostles' Creed before proceeding either to the confirmation, or to the prayers of the people, the penitential rite, or the passing of the peace of the Eucharist.

Restoration of ancient church practice

This has been the basic idea of the Anglican church since Thomas Cranmer, and it was emphasized at the Lambeth Conference in 1958. The NSKK shares this emphasis. The 1990 Japanese eucharistic rites are much like those of the Church of England and the Episcopal Church in the United States, especially in terms of the structure of the Holy Eucharist. As for prayers and the creeds, as far as possible they have been translated into Japanese directly from original languages. In this sense, it can be said that the newest Japanese Prayer Book not only has a contemporary orientation but also follows the liturgical tradition of the Anglican Communion.

The Future of the Japanese Prayer Book

In future revisions of the NSKK Prayer Book, it is clear that there will be more alternatives – different kinds of canticles at Morning and Evening Prayer, additional forms of the prayers of the people and the eucharistic prayer, alternative scripture lessons at the marriage and funeral services. As in other Anglican provinces, the theology of confirmation has to be reconsidered. Currently, confirmation gives admission to communion. This needs to be reviewed in the light of current baptismal ecclesiology (*see* Meyers, 'Initiation', pp. 488–90). The NSKK needs a form of service for receiving those who belong to another denomination. There should be prayers that take into consideration believers who have not yet received confirmation, candidates for baptism, and those who have attended the church service for the first time. The question of inclusive language has been addressed, but there is more work to be done.

These and other concerns have been referred to the Liturgical Committee set up by the General Synod in 2000. Its charge is to 'consult about and review the liturgy and liturgical books, and to submit to the Synod a proposal to revise them'. The committee will gather information about liturgical trends around the world and about Prayer Book revision in other Anglican provinces, and the results of its study will be shared with the churches, clergy, and people of the NSKK.

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The Chinese Prayer Book

Sze-kar Wan

Chinese Anglicans have a multiplicity of Prayer Books, and the Chinese Book of Common Prayer has many grandparents as well. This proliferation of translations is the result of two factors that still persist today. In the first place, Anglican and Episcopal Church missionary groups operated independently of one another throughout the nineteenth century in China, and so translations were published independently by both groups. For example, Robert Morrison, an agent of the London Missionary Society known primarily for his translations of the Bible, first published a Classical Chinese translation of Morning and Evening Prayer in 1818 and the entire Book of Common Prayer in 1829. Building on Morrison's work, Cobbold and Medhurst produced a translation that eventually was published in Hong Kong in 1855 and widely distributed among Chinese *émigrés* to California and Australia. Meanwhile, Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky, sent by the American church as a missionary to Shanghai, not only published his own Classical Chinese translation, but also helped John Shaw Burdon complete another translation using a phonetic system in roman characters instead of Chinese. First published in 1872, it became the basis for all subsequent translations published by North China Missions.

Also available were regional colloquial translations, such as the Shanghainese translation of Morning Prayer of 1849 by another American, the first missionary bishop of Shanghai, William Boone. Arthur B. Hutchinson, drawing on Schereskewsky's work, prepared a Cantonese Book of Common Prayer in 1878, and Church Missionary Society missionary George Evans Moule preceded him in 1874 with a Hangzhou colloquial version of Morning and Evening Prayer. For the large Chinese population of Malaya and Singapore who did not read Chinese, moreover, in 1887 William H. Gomes issued a Fujianese translation of Morning and Evening Prayer together with the Communion service in phonetic roman characters, with the occasional offices following the next year.

It was not until 1912 that English, American, and Canadian representatives agreed to gather all missionary dioceses in China under the umbrella structure of Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui (The Holy Catholic Church of China). This agreement eventually produced a standard Prayer Book, which formed the basis of a 1957 revision published in Hong Kong.

Political events, however, soon destroyed any ecumenical cooperation. With the triumph of the Chinese Communist Party in 1949 and the formation of the non-denominational Three Self Patriotic Movement in the early 1950s, the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui was, for all practical purposes, reduced to the diocese of Hong Kong and Macao. Today, the Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui is a province consisting of three dioceses, while Taiwan is a diocese of the American Episcopal Church. Chinese Anglicans in Southeast Asia, the United States, and Canada have no independent diocese, although Singaporean and Malaysian Anglicans, most of whom are ethnic Chinese, became part of the Province of South East Asia. This diversity of Chinese Anglicans across the globe has once again brought about a flowering of Prayer Books.

Linguistic Diversity

A second factor in the proliferation of Chinese Books of Common Prayer is linguistic diversity. Far from being one language, Chinese is a family of several, while Chinese 'dialects' are in reality distinct languages mutually incomprehensible to those who speak them. For thousands of years, the literati wrote in Classical Chinese while everyone spoke *baihua* or 'plain-speak'. During the demotic movement of the 1920s, *baihua* was formally adopted as the national language and eventually developed into modern *putonghua* ('common-speak'). In China today, *putonghua* is the *lingua sinica* in both speech and writing. In Hong Kong, however, as well as in many overseas Chinese communities (and to a lesser extent in Singapore and Taiwan), while *putonghua* is used as the written language, native tongues continue to be used in speech. In Hong Kong, for example, while everyone is taught to write in *putonghua* in school, all Chinese texts are pronounced in Cantonese. As a result, the spoken language, especially in a formal setting like the liturgy, is a hybrid of *putonghua* idioms spoken in Cantonese, with an artificial air of formality and stiltedness. When the written and spoken words diverge, performers and hearers alike must always make a mental if not oral 'translation' whenever a text is performed in public.

This dissonance between native tongues and the imposed *putonghua* cannot but exacerbate the tension between the spoken word (*parole*) and the linguistic system standing behind it (*langue*), a tension that is arguably inherent in any language. While every language assumes a stable grammatical structure, it is the spoken word that lends concreteness and historical reality. In a liturgical context, while a Prayer Book might be assumed to be permanent and constant, it is the performance of the liturgy that brings the book to life. Without the Prayer Book, worship would be shapeless; without performance, the Prayer Book would be lifeless. But if the spoken word must follow a script, and the script is written according to the rules of another tongue, the performance can end up distancing the worshipper from the worship itself. This problem is further compounded by the continual use of Classical Chinese Prayer Books.

Different Prayer Books are used today in different regions. Two books can be found in Hong Kong: one of these, most recently revised in 1957, is a Classical Chinese translation, while the other, originally translated in 1989 and revised in 2000, uses modern *putonghua*. Congregations are free to use either, but more are leaning towards the contemporary book.

The Hong Kong Prayer Books

The Hong Kong 1957 Book of Common Prayer emerged out of the 1912 union of English, American, and Canadian missionary dioceses, and probably traces its origins to the Cobbold–Medhurst editions. For the most part it follows the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, though it is also influenced by the Proposed English Prayer Book of 1928. It is a full Prayer Book with Morning and Evening Prayer, the collects, rites for baptism and confirmation, the Catechism, and so on. But it also has innovations of its own appropriate to a Chinese context. After the Catechism, the book includes a brief history of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui, along with an explanation of its organizational structure and a concise exposition of Anglican worship. A unique feature of the book, however, is its preface of instructions on worship 'etiquette' as well as on the Christian responsibilities of church members. Worshippers are asked to worship in spirit and in truth, to keep a reverential silence, to kneel for prayer immediately after they enter the sanctuary and right before they leave it, to come to the service on time, to follow the directions of ushers during communion, and to be polite, hospitable towards newcomers, and helpful towards the old and infirm. As for Christian living, they should be good witnesses to the example of Christ, attend to their spiritual formation through prayer and daily scripture reading, come to Sunday worship and receive communion, maintain the sanctity of the Christian marriage, care for the spiritual forma-

tion of their children, serve the church, neighbours, and community as individuals, and make offerings to the church and diocese. Including these instructions in a Prayer Book reflects an emphasis on personal moral growth that is characteristic of Chinese culture.

In the Holy Communion, the Summary of the Law is printed before the Decalogue. In practice, this often means that the New Testament text is preferred on Sundays. The 1957 Hong Kong Eucharist is unique in its placement of the confession and absolution at the beginning of the service, immediately after the Decalogue and prior to the scripture readings. A Chinese emphasis on morality and the importance attached to the sermon are likely reasons for this move. Recitation of the 'holy commandments' calls attention to moral failings, of which worshippers must repent before the reading of scripture and the sermon–the latter is far longer and more elaborate than is usual in the West. The preacher is highly revered as teacher, and it is no accident that 'teaching' (*jiangshu*) is often used for 'preaching' (*jiangdao*) in colloquial Cantonese.

Along similar lines, the Prayer of Consecration follows the English proposed rite of 1928, but heightens the sense of human sinfulness and the need for purification before receiving communion. The English text of the *epiclesis* prays: 'with thy Holy and Life-giving Spirit vouchsafe to bless and sanctify both us and these thy gifts of Bread and Wine'. The Chinese, however, reads: 'through the holy and life-giving Spirit, *consecrate* the bread and wine that the Lord has bestowed'–here a rubric calls for drawing 'the holy sign of the cross' on the bread and wine–'as well as *purify us*'. The phrase 'sanctify both us and these thy gifts' is divided by the prescribed action of signing, so as to remove 'us' from the *epiclesis* and make explicit the need for purification before communion is received.

Towards the end of the consecration, the Prayer of Oblation is to be said by the congregation together:

English Proposed BCP, 1928	Hong Kong BCP, 1957
And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice unto thee: humbly beseeching thee, that all we, who are partakers of this Holy Communion, may be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction. And although we be unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service; not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences; . . .	We now offer to the Lord our body and soul as a reasonable, *purified,* living sacrifice. We sincerely beseech our Lord that we who *receive* this Holy Supper may be filled with the Lord's grace and heavenly blessing. Our sins are *weighty,* and we are not worthy to offer sacrifice to our Lord. But what we do now is but our duty. We sincerely beseech our Lord to accept ['this gift', understood] with gladness, because *our Lord Jesus Christ* has forgiven our transgressions . . .

The nuances of the Chinese version show the same emphasis on sin and forgiveness. It amplifies the gravity, the *weight* of sin, and the significance of forgiveness (taking 'holy' to mean 'purified' or 'cleansed'); it transfers the agency of forgiveness to Christ, and makes active 'partakers' into passive 'receivers' of the Holy Supper (the standard term for the Eucharist). The impression that communion has to do with a sacrifice to the Lord is minimized, while the atoning sacrifice of Christ is highlighted. Notice also the use of 'Lord', rather than a personal pronoun–common in Chinese prayer as a mark of reverence.

A translation of the American 1979 Rite Two Holy Eucharist into modern Chinese appeared in 1989 in Hong Kong and a slightly revised edition followed in 2000. The book contains only the eucharistic service, anticipating a full Book of Common Prayer when the other parts are fully translated. The booklet is a literal translation that follows Rite Two

rather faithfully. While readable, the language reflects the distinct idioms of educated Hong Kong Chinese.

The Taiwan Prayer Book of 1948 and the East Asian Prayer Book of 1983

The Taiwan 1948 Book of Common Prayer is most likely dependent on a 1917 Jiangsu and Shanghai edition. It is a translation of the full Book of Common Prayer, but unlike the Hong Kong 1957 Prayer Book it contains no Catechism, no instructions on worship etiquettes or personal responsibilities, and no history of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui. The language is largely free of archaizing tendencies and is much closer to modern Chinese than the Hong Kong book of 1957. It uses *tianzhu* ('Heavenly Lord'), the term favoured by Northern Chinese Anglicans for 'God', as opposed to *shangdi* ('Lord on High'), the term more commonly used in the Hong Kong and Singapore Prayer Books.

In 1976, after the Episcopal Church and the Dong Ya Sheng Kong Hui (The Holy Catholic Church of East Asia) had authorized the diocese of Taiwan to compile its own Prayer Book, the East Asian Committee for the Revision of the Anglican Chinese Prayer Book was formed. After three years' labour, an experimental bilingual edition with English and modern Chinese was circulated in 1976, followed by a revision in 1983. This East Asian Prayer Book is based on the American 1979 Rite Two services, while retaining some characteristics of the older rites. It begins with the greeting 'Praise be to God' (rather than 'Blessed be God'), and continues with the Collect for Purity. After the prayers of the people, it retains the Summary of the Law from the 1928 rite, with the Decalogue included as an appendix, followed by the confession, which is included in Rite Two but is often used in a modern Chinese service only in connection with the sixth form of intercession. Thereafter follow the 1979 absolution, the Comfortable Words from the classic Book of Common Prayer, and the Prayer of Humble Access as an option before the peace. In general, the service follows Rite Two closely, although there is an added response as a preface to the Communion:

> We break this bread to share in the body of Christ.
> *Though we are many, we are one body, because we share in one bread.*

or,

> Blessed are those who are invited to the marriage supper of the Lamb.
> *Let us rejoice and exult and give the glory to the Lord.*

The East Asian Prayer Book was accepted in Hong Kong and Taiwan with hesitation. Some Hong Kong congregations complained of the plebeian quality of its modern Chinese because it lacked the archaizing poetic qualities of the 1957 book. Dissatisfaction with the East Asian book eventually led to the new translation of Rite Two liturgies in 1989 and its wide adoption today. In Taiwan, some were reluctant to endorse the book because they found the language 'too Cantonese'. Although the translation committee was supposedly pan-East Asian, most of its members were Cantonese-speakers drawn from the much larger Hong Kong diocese. Taiwan continues to use the East Asian book today even as a new translation is being prepared.

Prayer Books in Singapore and Malaysia

The Holy Communion in the 1956 Prayer Book of Singapore and Malaysia, on which a 1964 Abridged Edition is based, follows the 1662 rite closely. Its only concessions to the 1928 proposals are the inclusion of the Summary of the Law as an alternative to the Decalogue and the addition of the Prayer of Humble Access just before the Prayer of Consecration. It

omits the two prayers for the king, as one might expect, but is otherwise a literal translation of the 1662 rite into readable *putonghua*. The confession and absolution appear after the General Prayer and before the *Sursum corda*. The consecration follows the 1662 version down to the placement of the rubrics. And the Prayer of Oblation finds its place after the Lord's Prayer, followed by an alternative thanksgiving. Other than what appears to be a standard translation of 'our manifold sins' as 'our sins are *weighty*', the Chinese reproduces the English rather literally. A new Singapore Prayer Book appeared in 1984, combining the 1956 rite with Rite Two along with verbal updates.

The 1964 Abridged Edition is a full Book of Common Prayer, complete with Morning and Evening Prayer and services for baptism, confirmation, burial, and so on. Characteristic of a diocese in a predominantly non-Christian culture, the Prayer Book also includes burial services adapted to the burial of unbaptized adults and children.

Today, revision of the Prayer Book continues apace. Besides the Taiwan and Hong Kong efforts, the Episcopal Asiamerica Ministry of the Episcopal Church in the United States has been hard at work since the early 1980s translating the American Book of Common Prayer into modern Chinese. The result is a complete and thoroughly revised translation that was published in late 2004. Though the style of translation is rather bland–so much so that Chinese Anglican communities outside the United States have yet to adopt it despite more than a decade of experimental use–it is a monumental accomplishment in Anglican liturgy, especially given the small percentage of Chinese Episcopalians in the United States.

The Anglican Church of Korea

Nak-Hyon Joseph Joo

The Anglican Church of Korea has been an autonomous province within the Anglican Communion since 1992, when the provincial constitution went into effect. The first Korean primate was installed the following year. There are three dioceses: Seoul, Taejon, and Pusan. Since 2004 the church has been a worshipping and celebrating redemptive community using its own new Book of Common Prayer.

Anglicanism was introduced to Korea by the English missionary bishop Charles John Corfe, who was consecrated for Korean mission work in 1889 at Westminster Abbey and arrived in Korea on 29 September 1890. At the Koreans' own initiative, Roman Catholicism had been introduced to Korea in the late eighteenth century, and various forms of Protestantism in the late nineteenth. The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was in charge of the Anglican mission in Korea, with clergy from England and Canada, and lay medical missionary workers from the United States. Their work was successful in educational institutions, medical facilities, and social work centres.

In keeping with their Anglo-Catholic spirituality, the first Anglican missionaries set out to establish a 'high church' liturgy. It was thought that this style of worship would fit best with traditional Korean religious contexts, which combined Buddhist contemplative piety with strictly ordered Confucian rites. This approach to inculturation, which proved to be remarkably successful, was reflected in church architecture that embraced the styles of Buddhist temples and Confucian shrines. On Kanghwa Island, for example, the Church of Sts Paul and Peter, built in 1900, embodies in one complex form the inculturation of the missionaries' Anglo-Catholic understanding of Christianity into a different cultural context. The church has the shape of a Buddhist temple, combined with a Buddhist and Confucian arrangement of the building and an interior plan for worship like that of a Christian basilica. In Seoul, the cathedral built by the third bishop, Mark Trollope, in 1926 (completed in 1996) was a typically Romanesque building. These two very different styles of church architecture symbolize the dilemmas and tensions involved in building an authentically Korean Anglican liturgy.

Despite the difficulties of working under the Japanese colonial occupation of Korea (1910–1945), Korean Anglican mission work continued actively in the northern part of the Korean peninsula. Following the Korean War in 1950, much of this work was lost with the rise of the Communist regime in the North. In subsequent years, Anglicans formed only a small segment of Korean Christianity. There was one diocese, under the Archbishop of Canterbury. In the 1960s, the fifth bishop of Korea, John Daily, urged the establishment of an autonomous Korean church in the Anglican Communion. During a time of poverty and political turmoil, he also encouraged ecumenical dialogue and social mission for the least privileged in society. In 1965, Korean Anglicans elected and consecrated the first native Korean bishop, who became the first bishop of Seoul, while Bishop Daily led the formation of the new diocese of Taejon. A third diocese, Pusan, followed in 1974. The year 1965 also is remembered for the publication of the first complete Korean Book of Common Prayer since the first Korean Mass was offered in 1896. Although a new eucharistic rite was introduced in

1982, the 1965 Book of Common Prayer continued in use, virtually unchanged, until an entirely new Prayer Book was approved by the Provincial Synod in 2004.

In the 1970s, as many Anglican priests and people were deeply engaged in the democratic movement, the sacramental dimension of social mission in the Anglican tradition was widely revisited. Even as a tiny Christian denomination, largely overshadowed by the conservative, American-oriented Presbyterian tradition, Korean Anglicanism attracted many young theological students and seminarians from other Christian traditions who were committed to the social protest movements of the time. Many of these were ordained in the late 1980s and 1990s. The Anglican cathedral in Seoul served as a refuge for protestors, and it became the starting point of the democratic movement in 1987. Sharing houses, the social mission centres for the poor around suburban areas of most industrialized cities, became important missions, drawing support from dioceses and local churches. Anglicans began to recognize the necessity of reforming pastoral ministry in the church, which included revising the Prayer Book.

Korean Prayer Books

At first the Korean text used for the liturgy came mainly from the Church of England's 1662 Book of Common Prayer, which the missionaries revised in a 'High Mass' direction to fit the context of their mission as they understood it. After using separate books for services translated into Korean, the first Korean Book of Common Prayer was compiled and published in 1908. It included the Daily Office, the Litany, the Eucharist, the collects, and occasional prayers for private use. It was not a complete version of the Book of Common Prayer, but it provided the foundation for subsequent Prayer Books as regards its literary language, its noble and rhythmic but terse style, and its various adaptations from other Prayer Books.

The 1938 Book of Common Prayer was a substantial revision of the previous book and was strongly influential in the formation of the next Prayer Book in 1965. It was a mixture of different sources, including the *Anglican Missal* that was used by some Anglo-Catholics in the Church of England. In the occasional services there was some borrowing from the Book of Common Prayer proposed in 1928. Maintaining the same language and expressions that had been employed in the 1908 Book of Common Prayer, it adopted a decisively Anglo-Catholic style. It was in the 1938 version that 'Mass' was first used for Holy Communion in the Korean Anglican Prayer Book. This became an official title for the Eucharist in the 1965 Book of Common Prayer.

The 1965 version was the first Prayer Book compiled entirely from separate service books, except for the episcopal services, and it reflected revised rules for spelling that were current at the time. It was further distinguished from its predecessors in that it added many detailed Anglo-Catholic liturgical rubrics for the presider and people. Its theology was penitential and focused on the sacrificial dimension of the Eucharist. There was no post-communion prayer. This Prayer Book shaped Korean Anglican liturgical custom for many years, and its influence would last even in following revisions.

As the Anglican Communion, in keeping with recent liturgical scholarship, affirmed the need for inculturation or contextualization of the liturgy, the Korean church started revising the 1965 Book of Common Prayer in the early 1970s. But they were unable to revise the whole book and produced only an alternative Eucharist in 1982, replacing the Eucharist of 1965. The 1982 Eucharist was a result of the ecumenical dialogues with other Christian traditions, especially with Roman Catholic Church in Korea. After the official introduction of the *Common Translation Bible* in the late 1970s, these two churches shared the same translation of common liturgical texts, while retaining, as might be expected, differences in detail affecting the order and theology. The revised Eucharist introduced a new simplicity into the liturgy and made the order of service more understandable. The revised form also included a closer balance of the Liturgy of the Word and the Liturgy of Holy Communion. It

provided three different eucharistic prayers. The first of these was the brief version of 1962; the second was a restoration of the 1908 prayer (derived from the 1662 and 1549 Prayer Books from the Church of England); and the third was an abridged translation of St John Chrysostom's liturgy. It should be noted that the 1982 Eucharist encouraged a love of liturgy in daily life, with its simplicity, and it stimulated church leaders to study and reform liturgy for use in particular pastoral contexts.

In 1992, one of the bishops offered a new Prayer Book proposal at the Provincial Synod, but as it called for translating the entire American Prayer Book of 1979 into Korean, the Synod rejected it. An unexpected consequence of this proposal was that it stimulated a desire for developing an authentic Korean Prayer Book. The result of this renewed interest was the 1997 *Proposed Service Book*. This book tried to take account of recent liturgical revision in the Anglican Communion as well as additional liturgical sources developed in other Christian traditions in Korea. The theological concerns behind this revision eventually became wider, drawing mainly on the World Council of Church's Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation (JPIC) theology and Korean experiences and theological reflection on social mission. The daily offices, Eucharist, and seasonal services for the entire liturgical year were critically compared to previous Prayer Books. The language of the 1997 *Proposed Service Book* was modern and the style was easy to understand. A number of the radical translations of traditional materials in this version astonished people. One example was the use of the word that means 'open' as a translation for 'catholic' in the Nicene Creed. Although it was authorized for experimental use during the next two years, the *Proposed Service Book* was often criticized by clergy and lay people because of its neglect of pastoral concerns and the Korean church's deep commitment to tradition. After two years and many debates, the revision was handed over to a newly organized Provincial Liturgical Committee for further work.

The 2004 Korean Anglican Prayer Book

The Provincial Liturgical Committee listened to the churches and accepted the evaluations of diocesan liturgical committees, and then revised the 1965 Book of Common Prayer, while trying to retain the best work done for the 1997 *Proposed Service Book*. The result is a conflation of previous revisions with special emphasis placed on the 1997 materials. In 2004 the Provincial Synod adopted the proposed book as the official Korean Anglican Prayer Book, replacing the 1965 Book of Common Prayer and the 1982 Eucharist. The name was changed in Korean from the more traditional *Book of Common Prayer* to *The Holy Catholic Church* (*Anglican*) *Prayer Book* (*Sung-Kong-Hoe Kee-Doh-Suh*). It contains all the usual services that local churches use, as well as those that Anglican Prayer Books have customarily included: the calendar for the liturgical year, the collects, seasonal services, the Daily Office, occasional prayers together with the Litany, the Holy Eucharist, Holy Baptism, the other sacramental services, pastoral services, the lectionary, the Psalms, an Outline of Faith; it also has an appendix that includes a family memorial service.

As compared with previous Prayer Books, there are several substantial changes. For instance, the 2004 revision provides three different collects for each Sunday of the church year, to coincide with the three-year lectionary cycle. Weekday collects are provided according to the theme of the liturgical seasons, since Korean Anglicans usually hold a daily Eucharist in local churches. The daily services add Noon Prayer and Compline to Morning and Evening Prayer. The expanded canticles allow further flexibility in the daily service. Language is modernized. Structurally, however, the new Prayer Book remains very similar to the 1965 Book of Common Prayer.

The new Prayer Book highlights the two primary sacraments, Eucharist and baptism. The baptismal service includes anointing in the sense of full initiation to the Christian faith, a part of the liturgy that was not found in previous versions. The new Prayer Book also indicates that confirmation should be understood as a service of mission and responsibility to

the world on the part of Christians. In the other sacramental rites minor revisions have been made and details added. The Eucharist includes four different eucharistic prayers. The first derives from the 1549 English Book of Common Prayer, which previous Korean Prayer Books had used in various versions. The second, an adaptation of Eucharistic Prayer E from *Common Worship* in the Church of England, focuses on the reign of God with an emphasis on justice and mercy. The third comes from St Chrysostom's liturgy, in a new translation of the original text emphasizing the resurrection and eternal life. The fourth prayer is a translation of the so-called Ecumenical Eucharistic Prayer, based on the Liturgy of St Basil.

Among the pastoral services, the funeral liturgy includes several important developments. While maintaining continuity with the traditional Anglican liturgy, the new book also provides a group of short rites corresponding to parts of Korean funeral tradition. These include a coffin rite, daily prayers during the traditional three-day funeral, and a rite at the start of the funeral procession. A rite for cremation and a funeral service for non-believers are among the new additions in the 2004 Prayer Book. Although the Anglican Church has not come into serious conflict with the Korean tradition of ancestor veneration at home, the new Prayer Book in its appendix offers a family memorial service for those who do not wish to practice ancestor veneration. No deeper dialogue between Christian worship and ancestor veneration is attempted. The notes only indicate several options from the Prayer Book that are suitable for the occasion, and permit traditional ancestor veneration with some alteration.

The Korean Anglican Prayer Book 2004 is the first one that Korean Anglicans have developed without the direct influence of foreign missionaries. Nevertheless it keeps the tradition of previous Prayer Books both in the range of services it includes and in its style. The language is a mixture of traditional and contemporary. Many churches continue to worship in a high Anglo-Catholic liturgical tradition, but one contextualized in Korea. Although there was only a short public discussion and no trial use, the new Prayer Book has been welcomed and is now widely used, while some of the more evangelical churches are seeking more flexibility, and are trying to develop their own worship style sensitive to local and community contexts.

Looking to the future, many people of the Korean Anglican Church believe that it is not enough for our identity that Korean Anglicanism has walked through more than a century struggling for justice and peace in our culture and history. They also expect authentic Korean eucharistic prayers, rooted in their own experiences of God in history. Various voices from local churches and sharing houses need to be listened to throughout the greater church as it commits itself to the service of people and the least of society. There continues to be hope for a Prayer Book more deeply interwoven with distinctive Korean theological and religious traditions.

The Province of Myanmar (Burma)

Katharine E. Babson

Liturgical expression today among Anglicans in Myanmar (Burma) is as curious and colourful as the country's history, and their province's emerging liturgy is both creative and faithful–as Myanmar Christians have had to be, faced with political realities that have isolated the country and impoverished its churches for more than fifty years.

Two books, old and new, are currently used, often in combination. One is the Book of Common Prayer of the Church in India, Pakistan, Burma, and Ceylon (CIPBC), which goes back to colonial days. The other, a booklet locally produced, is an *Order for Holy Communion* written by the province's own Liturgical Commission and approved by the Provincial Council in 2001. The older book connects the now autonomous Province of Myanmar with its roots in the Anglican Communion. It also laid the foundation for the new eucharistic liturgy, which is used without exception at all primary services of worship on Sundays and feast days. The CIPBC book provides a basic lectionary framework, including the full Psalter and Sunday lessons, as well as the liturgies used for baptism, ordination, matrimony, the burial of the dead, and other 'occasional offices'. These services, however, are always used in tandem with the new eucharistic rite, which locates Anglican Christian tradition squarely within the predominantly Burmese Buddhist culture of Myanmar, and makes a confident native Christian response to Buddhist beliefs, values, and forms. While both the Prayer Book and the *Order for Holy Communion* are in English, biblical passages are often read in Burmese and other native languages according to Bible translations now available in Myanmar.

The Anglican Church in Myanmar was originally a church of empire, created by chaplains of the British army to serve their own personnel as they managed the newly subjugated kingdoms in the territory they conquered south of China, west of Siam (now Thailand), and east of British India. The colonial church soon attracted many native converts. Most of these were from minority ethnic groups whose religious traditions had been primarily animist. They were strongly attracted to Christian expressions of hope, freedom from fear, and new life. The first converts came chiefly from the populous Kayin (or Karen) ethnic group, but also from the Chin, Shan, and Kachin, each of which held substantial ancestral territory surrounding the stronghold of the majority group, the Burmans, from whom the British took Burma as the name of their colony.

A story told by the Kayins helps to explain their readiness to be converted. Three brothers received the original creation as the gift of their Father. The oldest, who had the darkest skin, received the earth; the middle son, whose skin was lighter, the skies and the waters. The youngest, who had the lightest skin, received only the ancestral story of his people in the form of a book. Then he left his people to explore the world, and they waited for him to return with the story of their origin and destiny. So it is told that when the first fair-skinned Christian missionary arrived in the land of origin, bringing the book he called the Bible, the Kayin embraced him as their lost kin and adopted his book as their own new-found story.

The Burmans, by contrast, were seldom converted. They had embraced Theravada Buddhism in the eleventh century, and so deeply was this tradition rooted that even today the expression 'to be Burmese is to be Buddhist' persists. Burmans never admired or trusted the

British, whose alliances with the surrounding ethnic minorities were in part a strategy of containment of the Burman majority. Consequently, when the former colony became independent in 1948 and the British left, one of their legacies was intensified ethnic rivalry. In the eyes of the Burman majority, Christians among the ethnic minorities bore the further stigma of association with the colonial overlords–especially members of the Church of England, which carried their very name, and so was especially handicapped in a land that was soon dominated by the Burmans.

The first Church of England parishes had been established at Sittwe on the west coast of the Bay of Bengal in 1825; at Moulmein, close to the Siamese border, in 1854; at Rangoon, the British capital, in 1866; at Mandalay in 1868; and at Toungoo in 1893. The diocese of Rangoon was founded in 1877, under the bishop of Calcutta as metropolitan. These parishes were the basis, respectively, of the later episcopal jurisdictions of Sittwe, Hpa'an, Rangoon, Mandalay, and Toungoo, which exist to this day. Another was established in the early 1900s, in Myitkyina in upper northeast Burma. The first bishops had been sent from England and served the colonial church from Rangoon. Actual mission work, including the establishment of mission schools and hospitals, was initiated by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) in 1854, Winchester Mission in 1892, the Mission to the Seamen in 1907, and the Bible Churchmen Mission Society (BCMS) in 1924.

In 1966, the socialist government of Burma decreed that all foreign Christian missionaries must leave the country, and none would be allowed in. The doors to the country were effectively closed. The usual way of nurturing the Christian churches and their mission programs in schools and hospitals all over the country suffered a sudden and severe blow. Native bishops immediately replaced the English, and native lay leaders worked to restore devastated Christian education programs, establish men's groups, and fortify the Mother's Union. The government confiscated many of the churches' considerable properties, converting many of the old mission schools into military barracks and national schools. Ten years later, in 1977, an autonomous church of the Anglican Communion was inaugurated under the leadership of Archbishop Francis Ah Mya, who had served as the first native bishop of Rangoon (Yangon). 'Myanmar' in the current name of the province is the name given to Burma by the military government in 1989.

The greatest challenge to the church in Myanmar has always been how to carry out its mission in a Buddhist land. Christianity, which today embraces an estimated five per cent of Myanmar's total population of fifty-five million, has felt obliged to articulate itself in ways that would be true and yet would not exacerbate old inter-ethnic tensions with the majority Buddhist Burmans. Buddhism itself is not a monolith in Myanmar–there are at least seven distinct Buddhist sub-groups–and official freedom of religion allows churches and mosques to be open. Nevertheless, the military generals who rule Myanmar are aggressively pro-Buddhist, and use the country's television channels to propagate their Buddhist belief, sometimes calling for generous donations to special projects for beautifying and enriching the cult. For Christians, this nationalistic Buddhist culture requires careful attention to their own self-expression and catechesis.

Anglicans form the second largest Christian denominational group, after the Baptists. As the Liturgical Commission went about its work, it paid special consideration to the social and religious pressures Anglicans would have to face. For example, Christian faith is often a vocational handicap for young people because both government and non-government agencies sometimes make conversion to Buddhism a prerequisite of hiring or advancement. Ethnic Indians, who form a substantial proportion of the church's membership, encounter even more serious difficulties. Knowing that circumstances like these represent grave temptations to abandon the faith, the Commission sought to present the tenets of Christianity clearly, honestly, and non-aggressively, so that Buddhists and Christians alike could see that many of Christianity's religious values and its forms of faith are not at odds with those of Buddhism. Two points of compatibility served as a place to start. One was Buddhist tradition's threefold

Opening Acclamation and Greeting

Take Refuge

Celebrant.	O God the Father, our Creator, we take refuge in you.
Response.	O God the Father, our Creator, we take refuge in you.
Celebrant.	O God the Son, our Redeemer, we take refuge in you.
Response.	O God the Son, our Redeemer, we take refuge in you.
Celebrant.	O God the Holy Spirit, our Sanctifier, we take refuge in you.
Response.	O God the Holy Spirit, our Sanctifier, we take refuge in you.
Celebrant.	The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, three persons in one God, blessed be your Kingdom.
Response.	And blessed be forever. *Amen.*

Greetings

Celebrant.	The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you.
Response.	And also with you.

affirmations, which parallel Anglicanism's clear articulation of Trinitarian belief. The other was the Christian value of sacrificial, compassionate love, closely comparable to Buddhist belief that actions of *Myitta*–compassionate love–are necessary to assure advancement along the path to enlightenment.

The first of these points of contact is strikingly evident in the Anglican Church's 2001 *Order for Holy Communion*. The opening acclamations, with their tripartite structure, take their cue directly from the Buddhist's own threefold, self-introductory statement of personal discipline: taking 'refuge' in the Buddha, in the *Dhamma*–righteousness or the 'law' in the broadest sense–and in the *Sangha*, the community or assembly of Buddhist monks. So, too, in their corporate worship, Myanmar Anglicans make their own opening acclamation of 'taking refuge' in their faith. Following the priest's opening invocation and the people's 'Amen', the assembly moves to an acclamation of the Trinity in litany form, which leads to the 'grace' from 2 Corinthians.

These opening sentences present a direct and deliberate parallel to the opening statement of Buddhist self-discipline. The same principle of framing articles of Christian faith in such a way as to make evident their resonance with Buddhist belief and practice also guides the way the new liturgy incorporates the Ten Commandments, the beginning of the Sermon on the Mount, and the Pauline declaration that 'faith, hope, love abide, these three, but the greatest of these is love' (1 Cor 13:13). One of these three almost creedal statements of faith always follows the introductory collect, and introduces the Ministry of the Word. Each is appointed for a different season of the church year.

The Ten Commandments, as the ethical foundation of the Christian's understanding of divine-human covenant, are used from Advent until Quinquagesima, the Sunday before Lent; from Lent to Whitsunday, the Day of Pentecost, 'The Eight Beatitudes'. This title ingeniously echoes the Buddhist principles of practical righteous known as 'The Eightfold Path'–right *understanding,* right *thought,* right *speech,* right *action,* right *livelihood,* right *effort,* right *mindfulness,* and right *concentration.* The Beatitudes do not match this list exactly, but Jesus' eight promises of blessedness are especially apt in light of the usual expectations of life in Myanmar today. They are statements of courage; they make plain the highest values and hopes Myanmar Christians have for all people in Myanmar; and, like the Ten Com-

mandments, they are also proclamations of value to non-Christian Myanmar. In sum, they are evangelistic in every way. A third introduction to the Ministry of the Word is assigned throughout the Trinity season. Entitled 'The Three Virtues', it expands on the familiar triad of faith, hope, and love, weaving it together with several other sentences drawn directly from scripture. As the 'Three Refuges' of Buddhism have even deeper, more complex levels of meaning, so too the 'Three Virtues', Paul's ultimate values, are here expounded and lead to a response that is yet another biblical affirmation.

These three substantial innovations near the beginning of the eucharistic liturgy are effectively confessions of faith that speak to the Buddhist cultural context in a Christian voice. The creed, the intercessions, and the exhortation, confession, absolution, and Comfortable Words that follow the sermon are all more traditional. They all derive fairly evidently from the 1662 Book of Common Prayer by way of the CIPBC book. The Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church, however, does introduce new wording and new petitions, and at three successive points it inserts one section of a ninefold *Kyrie,* giving the intercessions the responsorial form of a litany. After the Communion, too, the liturgy ends in a traditional way, with the Lord's Prayer, the Prayer of Thanksgiving, and the *Gloria in excelsis,* in versions that modernize the older Prayer Book wording, rather than any of the recent agreed texts.

The eucharistic prayer itself is another matter entirely. This is a local composition, which seems originally to have been written in Burmese, then translated into English. It was no

The Three Virtues

Faith

Celebrant.
(1) Without faith it is impossible to please God, because anyone who comes to Him must believe that he exists and that He rewards those who earnestly seek Him.
(2) The work of God is this; to believe in the one He has sent.
(3) Do not let your hearts be troubled. Trust in God, trust also in me.
Response. Yes Lord, I believe that you are the Christ, the Son of God, who is to come into the world.

Hope

Celebrant.
(1) Be still and know that I am God.
(2) Why are you downcast, O my soul?
(3) It teaches us to say "No" to ungodliness and worldly passions, and to live self-controlled, upright and godly lives in this present age, while we wait for the blessed hope, the glorious appearing of our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us to redeem us from all wickedness and to purify for himself a people that are his very own, eager to do what is good.
Response. Put your hope in God, for I will yet praise Him, my Saviour and my God.

Love

Celebrant.
(1) Keep yourself in the love of God and wait for the mercy of our Lord Jesus until he brings you to everlasting life.
(2) A new command I give you. Love one another. As I have loved you, so you must love one another.
(3) By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you love one another.
Response. Yes Lord, you know that we love you.

easy task to convey in idiomatic English what is meant by expressions that are more at home in native languages, using the *lingua franca* of Burmese. Following the preface and *Sanctus,* the prayer thanks God for giving 'the Law and sacrifice for fallen human beings' and for sending a redeemer 'when the time was fulfilled'. Then it turns to address Christ directly, mentioning his incarnation, temptation, walking willingly towards the cross, and offering a full and perfect sacrifice. The words of institution continue this address:

> Almighty, Holy, Eternal, and perfect Creator, by your hand [you] took bread and gave thanks; you broke it and gave it to your holy and chosen disciples at the table, saying, Take, eat; this is my body which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me.

There is a brief *anamnesis* and an invocation of the Spirit, and the prayer concludes in the usual way with a Trinitarian doxology. The Prayer of Humble Access follows, with only the pronouns 'thy' and 'thou' changed.

Myanmar's *Order for Holy Communion,* its first indigenous eucharistic liturgy, is a bold and faithful initiative. It represents the first hopeful steps towards a complete, indigenous Book of Common Prayer for the province. In it non-Christians will see values esteemed in their own native Buddhist culture echoed in the heart of Christian worship. Christians will see that their tradition is neither so alien nor so unsympathetic as might be supposed.

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The Episcopal Church in Jerusalem and the Middle East

JERUSALEM HAS HAD a bishop in Anglican orders since 1841. The see began, however, as a remarkable ecumenical arrangement, instigated by the Lutheran King of Prussia. A treaty signed jointly with England provided that the two countries would alternately nominate a member of their own state clergy, who as bishop would minister to Anglicans and Protestants alike in Egypt, Ethiopia, Chaldea, and Syria. The scheme was announced as a step towards uniting the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England and the 'less perfectly constituted' Protestant churches of Europe, and as a way of promoting amity with the ancient eastern churches. It was opposed from the first–Lutherans objected to the jointly sponsored bishop because he was a bishop; Anglicans, because he was to require any German ordinands to subscribe to the Augsburg Confession and not the Thirty-nine Articles. Eventually Prussia, which had taken its turn only once, withdrew and in 1886 the treaty was dissolved. The bishopric was reconstituted in the following year, and has remained Anglican ever since.

Spread as it was over different countries, the diocese of Jerusalem had to cope with the inherent difficulty of bringing together widely different Christian communities, as well as with the region's shifting political currents. In 1957 the first Arab bishop was consecrated for a new diocese comprising Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria; at the same time, Jerusalem was raised to archiepiscopal status, although the Archbishop of Canterbury remained the metropolitan. Another reorganization was completed in 1976. The eleventh bishop, and the first Palestinian, took the title bishop *in* Jerusalem, the diocese of Cyprus and the Gulf was formed, and the Episcopal Church in Jerusalem and the Middle East was launched as an autonomous province. There are now four dioceses: Egypt, including North Africa and the Horn of Africa; Iran, founded in 1912 to unite various congregations begun by missionary societies; Cyprus and the Gulf; and Jerusalem. The presiding bishop may be any of the four diocesans.

Many of the churches have both an Arabic-speaking and an English-speaking congregation. As in other Anglican provinces, the 1662 Book of Common Prayer is the official liturgy, but has fallen out of use. There is no formally authorized Arabic Prayer Book. The one commonly used in Jordan is based on the revised Book of Common Prayer proposed in England in 1928, but other eucharistic liturgies exist, including an Arabic form of the rite in the *Alternative Service Book* of 1980 (*ASB*). A version of the *ASB* is used by the English-speaking congregation of the Anglican Church of the Redeemer in Jordan, but a new liturgy based on *Common Worship* is due to be presented to the diocesan synod. *Common Worship* is the book that most congregations use in the diocese of Cyprus and the Gulf, which ministers primarily to expatriates, although even there the English are no longer a majority of Anglicans. The American Prayer Book of 1979 is also used.

The diocese of Iran made use of Persian translations of the 1662 Prayer Book until 1965, when revisions of the Communion service, inspired by the recommendations of the 1958 Lambeth Conference, began to be drafted. In the version adopted for experimental use, the intercessions take the form of a litany in which the response to each petition is 'Amen', reflecting

Muslim custom for such responses. In other respects the Liturgy of the Church of South India was influential.

The diocese of Egypt includes no fewer than eight countries: Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, and Somalia. Except for the Sudanese refugee churches in Ethiopia, congregations outside Egypt are largely made up of internationals and expatriates, and tend to worship in English. The Prayer Book they use varies from place to place. At St John's Church in Cairo, the current American book is used, while other English-speaking congregations primarily use *Common Worship*. Egyptian congregations use an old Arabic translation of the 1662 Prayer Book.

Because the province as a whole is so widespread and so diverse, with government restrictions on movement between countries, communication between dioceses is difficult and no fully developed indigenous liturgies yet exist. Liturgical innovation and experimentation are also hampered by the fact that the Arabic-speaking Anglican community is very small.

C. S. and C. H.

The Church of England: *Common Worship*

Trevor Lloyd

Common Worship is not just one book, but the name for a series of volumes that reflect a major change in Prayer Book history in England. Some would say it is a change that takes the church back to the way things were in medieval times, before the Book of Common Prayer had remedied the state of affairs that Cranmer criticizes in its original preface: 'Furthermore, by this order, the curates shall need none other books for their public service, but this book and the Bible; by means whereof, the people shall not be at so great charge for books, as in time past they have been.'

But it is not quite like that. The church had worked with a variety of books and booklets for some years.

The failure of Prayer Book revision in 1928, followed by the bishops' decision to publish the book rejected by Parliament, had two results, both of which influenced subsequent history. In the first place, church members became used to using these 1928 texts illegally; in the second, it was decided to forgo further Prayer Book revision until there was a mechanism in place that did not result in the defeat of the church's proposals in Parliament. This did not happen until the 'Alternative and Other Services Measure' of 1965, which was followed by an intensive fifteen-year period of experimenting with alternative services. The subsequent 'Worship and Doctrine Measure' replaced most of the provisions of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Acts of Uniformity and enshrined the 1662 Book of Common Prayer in continuing use, with little possibility of amendment. All the new services were 'alternative' to the 1662 Prayer Book, hence the name of the *Alternative Service Book 1980* (*ASB*), which emerged from the experimental booklets of 'Series 1' (much of the 1928 book legalized), 'Series 2' (modern structures and liturgical provisions such as the peace and locally composed intercessions, but still addressing God as 'thou'), and 'Series 3' (in 'you-form' language).

The *ASB* put everything in one book, like the classical Book of Common Prayer. All the main services, however, were published separately as well, because using the experimental booklets had convinced many of the pastoral value of having some services in that format. And not long afterwards, the 1985 *Faith in the City* report on inner-urban areas in England observed that 'to give people a 1,300 page *Alternative Service Book* is a symptom of the gulf between the Church and ordinary people in the Urban Priority Areas'. So, when the time came to produce new worship material, ease of handling and availability in a variety of forms were given high priority. Instead of squeezing all the texts for worship into a single volume, the General Synod agreed in 1994 to the production of a set of separate volumes. Hence *Common Worship*. The contents of its principal volume were published simultaneously both in print, as a book and in separate booklets and cards of varying sizes, and also electronically, as part of the *Visual Liturgy* computer program for composing services, and in versions that can be downloaded from the church's website.

The very name *Common Worship* spells out two more differences from its predecessor. 'Common' was chosen after much deliberation for two reasons. First, in these books worship is for everyone; they are not specialist volumes for clerical leaders. And, second, they stand in the tradition of common prayer. So in the main volume there are some texts (the

services for Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, and Holy Communion, as well as collects) which are not merely phrased in 'Prayer Book language', but replicate those services from the 1662 Book of Common Prayer as they are in use today. Considerable discussion took place with representatives of the Prayer Book tradition in the preparation of *Common Worship*. Indeed one of the vice presidents of the Prayer Book Society, the author Baroness (P. D.) James, was a member of the Liturgical Commission, which deliberately strove for unitary and not divisive liturgical forms so that all churches would be able to use the new books. This was true with respect not only to ancient and modern language, but also to language and concepts that have to do with gender, race, urban and rural contexts, catholic and evangelical theology. Perhaps it was an inevitable part of the process of liturgical development that enactment of a measure concerned with 'alternative and other services' should have opened the door to fifteen years of experimenting with liturgies, some of which were radical alternatives to the Prayer Book tradition, and that this led to some perceived divisions in the church, especially when church councils had to vote for or against a wholesale adoption of the 'new' in preference to the 'old'. The time had come for synthesis.

The second word, 'Worship', indicates that what is provided is something larger than prayer or praise or liturgy. The books provide frameworks for all that the people of God do when they come together. In addition to complete services, there are service outlines and liturgical resources, something comparatively new in the Anglican tradition. So, for instance, the 'Service of the Word'. It is a one-page outline giving both a structure and an indication of where mandatory text must be used, with a three-page introduction that tells how to prepare for using the service, plus two pages of notes and explanations which, for example, redefine 'sermon' to include 'less formal exposition, the use of drama, interviews, discussion, audio-visuals and the insertion of hymns or other sections of the service between parts of the sermon'. In the resource section there are twenty authorized confessions, any one of which can be used to fulfil this requirement.

When 'A Service of the Word' was first proposed in 1989 it was designed to meet a desire expressed both in inner-urban settings and where a family service was the norm – clear, simple structures which would allow more flexibility and variety, and would reflect local needs in worship. It appeared originally as part of *Patterns for Worship*, a radical volume produced in the lead-up to *Common Worship*, and subsequently updated and reissued in 2002. The book was radical in that it was designed as a directory providing service outlines and massive resources sections containing alternative texts for each element of the liturgy, plus sample services showing how to put liturgy together (which can be used as is) and a section-by-section commentary full of educational and formation material. It is radical in its implications for Anglican worship. Despite fears that this approach would open the floodgates to yet more disparate liturgy, the aim was to provide a measure of control, moderating some of the extremes of informal services by insisting both on a framework that would ensure balance and on the use of certain important texts (creeds and penitence especially) approved by the wider church as represented by General Synod. The same kind of framework-plus-resources approach can be seen in the outline funeral service.

If the number of volumes, the mix of ancient and modern texts, and the provision of frameworks and resources as well as full services mark some of the differences between *Common Worship* and its predecessors, the process by which the final versions were arrived at and authorized was also different. It was not Cranmer's solo work of drawing resources together into a book imposed by an Act of Uniformity. Nor was it like the production of the *Alternative Service Book*, with a fairly academic commission working in comparative secrecy before submitting texts to a process so democratic that they were amended line-by-line on the floor of Synod. Instead, for *Common Worship* the Liturgical Commission held regular consultations with diocesan representatives, took ecumenical input into account through the work of the Joint Liturgical Group and the regular and active contributions of a Roman Catholic observer, and benefited from its representation on the International Anglican Litur-

gical Consultation (IALC), which during this period produced authoritative statements on baptism, Eucharist, and ministry. The IALC meetings in particular contributed to the kind of relationships among those engaged in similar work across the Communion which made using and adapting each other's material easier.

The Commission itself also shared its proposals and thinking, and secured a change in canon law which made it possible for services to be tried out in a number of varied parishes in each diocese. Funeral and marriage rites were tested in this way, as were eucharistic prayers. In the case of the Psalter and Daily Prayer, preliminary editions were made available for use. In addition to questionnaires about these new services, a further questionnaire dealt with questions of publishing, formats and styles, and availability in different electronic media. At the end of the day there was still the procedure for winning Synod approval, but this was amended to avoid as far as possible any voting on textual details. It is significant that the funeral services, on which there had been the most consultation, sailed through the Synod without once being referred back.

Five further differences between *Common Worship* and its predecessors may be noted. First, its language, besides mixing sixteenth-century and modern idioms, is deliberately inclusive in referring to human beings, while still open to using male pronouns about God where necessary. The language is also richer, less stark than the *ASB,* using more adjectives and adverbs, attempting to reflect pictures and not merely theological concepts. Second, the Bible is handled differently. The Book of Common Prayer, the *Alternative Service Book,* and *Common Worship* are all steeped in scripture, with many echoes of biblical phrases: some of this is explicitly brought out in the biblical indexes in both *Common Worship* and *Patterns for Worship.* More significantly, *Common Worship* abandons the two-year thematic lectionary of the *ASB* (its limited, predetermined Sunday themes had become stale) and adopts a very slightly amended version of the three year Common Lectionary used in many other churches. Instead of the compilers choosing themes, this lectionary is based on Cranmer's principle of semi-continuous reading of scripture.

Third, unlike the Book of Common Prayer, which derived its authority from the 1662 Act of Uniformity, and the *Alternative Service Book,* the whole of which was material authorized by General Synod as *alternative* to the Book of Common Prayer, *Common Worship* contains material that takes its authority from different sources. Some of it comes from the Prayer Book; some is authorized by Synod under one canon; some has been commended by the House of Bishops and is allowed either by rubric or under another canon. Fourth, unlike the *ASB*–and everything else since 1965–the services in *Common Worship* have no date set on which authorization or commendation ends. Finally, the sheer volume of material included in the *Common Worship* volumes marks them as different. The 1662 Book of Common Prayer has four or five hundred pages; there are almost 1,300 in the *ASB;* but *Common Worship* comes to something over 3,600 pages.

What follows is a brief outline of the different volumes in the *Common Worship* series.

Common Worship: Services and Prayers for the Church of England

The main volume for Sunday worship is in classic black, with gold lettering on the spine and rubrics printed in red. The calendar, governing the structure of the church's year, is placed at the beginning. This is followed by the structure outline already referred to, 'A Service of the Word', which can be used for any non-eucharistic services and for the first part of Holy Communion. Morning and Evening Prayer, which come next, derive their structure and authority from this outline. Holy Communion services and Holy Baptism (from the Initiation Services volume) can be found in the middle of the book. Collects and post communions come towards the end, followed by the lectionary references, with canticles and the psalms at the back where they can easily be found.

There are two basic structures for the Holy Communion services. Order One follows

the pattern of *ASB* Rite A and most modern revisions across the Communion. Order Two has the structure in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. As each of these is given in both traditional and modern-language versions, there are four in all, one of which is the old Prayer Book service with the most commonly used variations, accompanied by a modern-language version. But while the traditional-language version of Order One has two eucharistic prayers, no fewer than eight are provided for the modern-language version. One of these traces its ancestry back to the *Apostolic Tradition* and includes such vivid imagery as 'he opened wide his arms for us on the cross'. Another has its origin the 1662 Prayer of Consecration. There is a eucharistic prayer that tells the story of redemption in short vivid sentences, with a variable introduction to a set acclamation: 'This is our story. *This is our song: Hosanna in the highest.'* In this prayer the institution narrative has fewer than sixty words, echoing the slightly staccato feel of the rest of the prayer. Another of these prayers, based on the eucharistic prayer of St Basil, has an eastern flavour and structure, telling the story of salvation with a series of optional interjections. The opening of another, 'Blessed are you, Lord God . . . ', echoes the traditional Jewish form of thanksgiving, and goes on to include evocative phrases such as 'the silent music of your praise' (from St John of the Cross) and 'As a mother tenderly gathers her children, you embraced . . . ' (*see* 'Eucharistic Prayer G'). And lastly there is a very short prayer, produced in response to demands from the Synod to in-

Eucharistic Prayer G

Blessed are you, Lord God,
our light and our salvation;
to you be glory and praise for ever.

From the beginning you have created all things
and all your works echo the silent music of your praise.
In the fullness of time you made us in your image,
the crown of all creation.

You give us breath and speech, that with angels and archangels
and all the powers of heaven
we may find a voice to sing your praise:

Holy, holy, holy Lord,
God of power and might,
heaven and earth are full of your glory.
Hosanna in the highest.
[Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord.
Hosanna in the highest.]

How wonderful the work of your hands, O Lord.
As a mother tenderly gathers her children,
you embraced a people as your own.
When they turned away and rebelled
your love remained steadfast.

From them you raised up Jesus our Saviour, born of Mary,
to be the living bread,
in whom all our hungers are satisfied.

He offered his life for sinners,
and with a love stronger than death
he opened wide his arms on the cross.

An Affirmation of Faith in Verse

The prolific hymn-writer and bishop of Thetford, Timothy Dudley-Smith, composed this metrical affirmation of faith for *Common Worship.*

We believe in God the Father,
God almighty, by whose plan
earth and heaven sprang to being,
all created things began.
We believe in Christ the Saviour,
Son of God in human frame,
virgin-born, the child of Mary
upon whom the Spirit came.

Christ, who on the cross forsaken,
like a lamb to slaughter led,
suffered under Pontius Pilate,
he descended to the dead.
We believe in Jesus risen,
heaven's king to rule and reign,
to the Father's side ascended
till as judge he comes again.

We believe in God the Spirit;
in one Church, below, above:
saints of God in one communion,
one in holiness and love.
So by faith, our sins forgiven,
Christ our Saviour, Lord and friend,
we shall rise with him in glory
to the life that knows no end.

crease the number of responsive prayers, which uses a dialogue between president and people to further the action: 'Father, we do this in remembrance of him: his body is the bread of life.'

The wealth of supplementary and alternative eucharistic material in the book includes a preliminary penitential rite, forms of intercession, introductions to the peace, prayers at the preparation of the table, words at the giving of communion, and congregational prayers after communion, as well as sets of seasonal invitations to confession, gospel acclamations, both short and long eucharistic prefaces, and blessings. Elsewhere in the book are sixteen authorized confessions and absolutions, as well as seven affirmations of faith, largely taken from scripture, though one is a specially commissioned metrical version of the Apostles' Creed (*see* 'An Affirmation of Faith in Verse').

Common Worship: Pastoral Services

The second volume to appear contains services for marriage, funerals, healing, and thanksgiving for the gift of children. The introduction to this volume spells out the 'accompanied journey' theme:

> We are all on a journey through life. One of the presuppositions on which the Church of England's Pastoral Services are based is that we do not travel alone. Where is God

in relation to that journey? He is both the starting point and the ending point, the Alpha and the Omega. No only that but, as the Psalmist says, in all our rushing around between the beginning and the end, he is there too.

The journey motif is one which is well worked out in relation to initiation services. Catechumens or parents of children preparing for baptism go through a series of stages, which may reflect the kind of process people go through in becoming Christians, and which may be marked liturgically. The 'On the Way' resources in the *Initiation Services* volume does just that, and more. In *Pastoral Services* this 'staged rites' principle is applied most fully to the funeral services, which take us from Ministry at the Time of Death, through a series of options before the funeral (a liturgy at home, before the funeral; a rite for receiving the coffin at church; a funeral vigil; prayers on the morning of the funeral), followed by the funeral service itself, and then prayers at home after the funeral, the burial of ashes, and a form for memorial services. There are also resources and an outline order for the funeral of a child, thirty-eight pages of prayers, and selections of Bible readings, psalms, and canticles. To provide still greater flexibility there is an outline order for the main funeral service. Although Bible readings, a sermon, and prayers are mandatory in this order, the only places where authorized texts are specified are at the commendation and committal. The funeral service includes optional prayers of penitence, and provision for placing symbols of the life and faith of the dead person on or near the coffin, and for a tribute, distinct from the sermon, which is 'to proclaim the gospel in the context of the death of this particular person'.

Given the staged rites approach to baptism and funerals, one might assume that a similar approach would have been adopted for marriage, with separate betrothal and engagement rites, or the possibility of something for a divorce. This was considered pastorally dangerous, but the additional material does include prayers for use at the calling of banns, An Order for Prayer and Dedication after a Civil Marriage, and an outline service, Thanksgiving for Marriage, with resources. (It should be noted that the Church of England's authorized marriage and funeral services include not only those of 1662 and *Common Worship*, but also the 'Series 1' services based on the 1928 book.)

As for the remaining pastoral services, material in the section on wholeness and healing is in two parts, preceded by a theological introduction which links physical, emotional, social, and spiritual healing to salvation and so to baptism. The first part is a very imaginative Celebration of Wholeness and Healing, with instructions and resources for the laying-on of hands and anointing, together with prayer for individuals in public worship. The second part, Ministry to the Sick, is the provision for the celebration or the distribution of communion at home or in hospital.

Apart from Wholeness and Healing, which contains a short theological introduction, each of the other services has a Pastoral Introduction. This material, designed for reading quietly before the service, is intended especially for those unfamiliar with worship and it puts the rite in its pastoral context.

Common Worship: Initiation Services

This volume, published in 2005, includes a variety of services for baptism, confirmation, affirmation of the faith, and reception into the Church of England, together with a range of resources and services for introductory 'Rites on the Way', services for healing and wholeness, and services and prayers for reconciliation and restoration.

Common Worship: Daily Prayer

The forms of prayer in this volume are authorized through the authorization of the outline service, 'A Service of the Word'. They include Morning and Evening Prayer for different

days of the week and for the main seasons, the less onerous Prayer During the Day, and Night Prayer, each again with a form for each day. This volume has benefited greatly from *Celebrating Common Prayer,* a joint venture between members of the Liturgical Commission and the Society of St Francis in 1992, many of the features of which are to be found here. Revised following a trial publication in 2002, the book now includes new provision for the Daily Lectionary, as well as collects and other prayers, nearly eighty canticles, and the Psalter, provided with refrains and a psalm prayer for each psalm. It begins, like the main volume, with the Calendar.

Common Worship: Times and Seasons

These two volumes are a rich compendium of seasonal services and resource material. This has been both expanded and refined from previous volumes, *Lent, Holy Week, Easter* (1984), *The Promise of His Glory* (1991), *Patterns for Worship* (1995 and 2002), and *Enriching the Christian Year* (1993), all but the last of which have been formally commended by the House of Bishops. The electronic publication of these as a module within *Visual Liturgy* will make these resources easily accessible and encourage the use in parishes of a richer range of seasonal material.

Common Worship: The Ordinal

The services for making bishops, priests, and deacons have been gently but not radically revised in the light of the IALC's work on ministry and ordination. These are mainly available in electronic format for the use of bishops and others preparing for ordination services, but are also being published in a book which will include background essays.

The Scottish Episcopal Church

Gianfranco Tellini

The tradition of the Scottish Episcopal Church, more than that of almost any other church in Anglicanism, has centred on the creation of liturgical 'wee bookies'. Since the printing of a whole Prayer Book, or even the whole Communion service was too expensive for an impoverished and disestablished church, the first 'wee bookie' of 1722 contained only the central part of the 1637 Communion Office, beginning with the offertory (*see* Hefling, 'Scotland', p. 169). In practice, bishops and presbyters were free to do as they pleased in conducting worship.

Nowadays the process of liturgical revision is done by committee and takes place with the approval of the Faith and Order Board, the seven diocesan synods, and the General Synod. Trial liturgies are now used for seven years, whereupon they are accepted or rejected by Synod. This process began in 1966, when a modification of the Scottish liturgy contained in the province's 1929 Prayer Book appeared as a 'wee bookie' – called the 'Grey Book' – and was approved, reprinted, and authorized for use in 1970. This simplified version of the 1929 book was used until the publication of the *Experimental Liturgy of 1977*, which became known as the 'Orange Book'.

The 'Orange Book' was an attempt in contemporary language to go back to the eighteenth-century Scottish Nonjurors' understanding of the Eucharist: Christ's sacrifice consisted of his self-offering at the Last Supper, with his actual death on the cross its inevitable consequence. The self-offering of Christ at the Last Supper was the primordial sacrifice of the New Testament, the holy and living sacrifice in which Jesus was both priest and victim. The altar on which his sacrifice was offered was the altar of his life and work that cost him his passion and death. The self-offering of Jesus made possible the self-offering of the church, when united with him in his dedication to God's purpose for creation. Moreover, the self-offering of Christ and that of the church were to be seen as *one* holy and living sacrifice, not two.

For the 'Orange Book', the Eucharist was therefore the central act of the worship of the church, which is the fellowship of those who are called together to be Christ's body – his living presence in the world. Although it would have been at home in the theology of the ancient churches of the Byzantine rite, this understanding departed from the theology of the 1662 English Prayer Book and from that of other Anglican churches as well. Furthermore, the structure of the 1977 eucharistic prayer anticipated, point by point, the ideal structure suggested by the 1983 World Council of Churches document *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry.*

Scottish Liturgy 1982

The word 'liturgy' is the traditional term used in the Scottish province for a eucharistic formulary. After five years of experimentation and extensive rewriting for literary style, poetical resonance, and more inclusive language, this liturgy was authorized for permissive use in 1982. Because of its cover it became soon known as the 'Blue Book'. Changes were made both in the prescribed order of the intercessions and in the wording of the Prayer of Obla-

tion in order to make its theological basis more self-evident: 'Made one with him, we offer you these gifts and with them ourselves, a single, holy, living sacrifice.' As in the ancient *anaphora* of Hippolytus, what is being offered here is the entire church, at one with its Head in its consecration to God's final purpose.

Five years later, the *Scottish Liturgy 1982* became part of the fully authorized services of the Scottish Episcopal Church. More eucharistic prayers were added, three reflecting the liturgical seasons – one for Advent (*Anticipation*), one for Lent (*Returning to God*) and one for Easter–Pentecost (*New Life, The Lord, The Spirit*). A fifth prayer was intended to make the meaning of the Eucharist more accessible for children. An excellent publication for children on the theology of the liturgy, entitled *My Holy Communion Book: Scottish Liturgy 1982,* also appeared in 2001.

Scottish Ordinal 1984

The ordinal of the Scottish Episcopal Church differs to a large extent from those of other Anglican churches, with the partial exception of the *New Zealand Prayer Book*. Both ordinals make clear that every Christian has a ministry by virtue of baptism; some are called and empowered to fulfil an ordained ministry and to enable the total mission of the church. The functions of the different orders are set out at the beginning of the service, furthermore, in a way that goes beyond the limitations of geography and culture.

Rather than starting from a previous text, the Scottish church spent much time discussing and studying the theological relationship between church, baptism, ministry, ordained ministry, and the Eucharist. Therefore the theology of the new ordinal was built on the underlying basis of the *Scottish Liturgy 1982,* and the liturgical texts make the following points:

(1) The church militant is the fellowship of those who are called and empowered to be visible instruments for the coming of God's kingdom. Ministry therefore is the call and duty of every baptized person. In the Eucharist, God's call to mission to the church and the individual is renewed again and again through word and sacrament.
(2) The service therefore should be seen as a Eucharist in which there happens to be an ordination, and not the other way around.
(3) Every baptized member is given by God his or her particular gift for ministry. Some, however, are given also a particular task of leadership and pastoral care that, by ordination, is then recognized and authorized in the name of the church universal.
(4) There is only one High Priest, Christ himself. Ordained ministry and the priesthood of all believers derive equally from the one priesthood of Christ, although not exactly in the same way, and every baptized person, lay or ordained, must be a 'christ' to all others.
(5) According to liturgical tradition, three elements are necessary for an ordination: the assent of the people, the prayer of the people, and the prayer with laying-on of hands. From a theological point of view, the prayer of the people is the most significant of the three elements.
(6) Above all, the concept of *God's call* is central to the services: the call to the candidate (to a particular order); the call to the people (to assent to God's call to the candidate to serve them); and the call of the church universal to the candidate in the person of the ordaining bishop.
(7) In Anglican tradition, there are three distinct orders of ministry, each of them of a collegiate nature with shared collective responsibility. Therefore candidates are ordained, not 'consecrated' or 'made'.
(8) Three further points were then made liturgically explicit: the relation of the ordained to the whole people of God; the relation of any one member of an order to the other members; and the relation of any one order to the other two.

A Litany for Ordinations

This is one of the permitted alternative litanies authorized in the *Scottish Ordinal 1984.* It is notable for including references to saintly persons especially associated with Scotland.

God the Father.
Have mercy on us.

God the Son.
Have mercy on us.

God the Holy Spirit.
Have mercy on us.

Holy, blessed and glorious Trinity.
Have mercy on us

By the greatness of your love.
Good Lord, deliver us.

By your coming in the flesh,
Good Lord, deliver us.

By your dying for your people.
Good Lord, deliver us.

By your rising to new life.
Good Lord, deliver us.

By your gift of the Spirit.
Good Lord, deliver us.

By the prayers of the whole company of Heaven.
Draw us to yourself.

As you called Mary to be the Mother of the Lord,
Sanctify our wills.

As you were glorified in Ninian, bringer of good tidings,
Lighten our darkness.

As you empowered Columba, apostle of our land,
Strengthen our weakness.

As you received the worship of Kentigern, Mungo the loved one,
Deepen our love.

As you advanced your kingdom through the work of Margaret, mother and queen,
Fill us with zeal.

As you built up this church by the witness of . . .
Renew us in faith.

Guide and protect your Church, fill us with love and truth and grant us that unity which is your will.
Lord hear our prayer.

Make us bold to preach the Gospel in all the world and to make disciples of all the nations.
Lord hear our prayer.

Enlighten your ministers with understanding and bless *him* now to be made bishop (*priest, deacon*).
Lord hear our prayer.

May *he* be an instrument of your peace,
a proclaimer of your truth,
a bearer of your love.
Lord hear our prayer.

May all your people hear and receive your word
and bring forth the fruit of the Spirit.
Lord hear our prayer.

Uphold the weak
raise up those who fall
and strengthen us all by your power.
Lord hear our prayer.

Thanks and glory be to you, O holy Trinity,
for calling us to your service
to a heritage so great,
a life so rich,
a salvation so dearly bought.
All glory be to you, O Lord.

(9) In Anglicanism, the order of bishops is the focus of unity and the ultimate holder of responsibility in and for the church. The services of ordination are therefore listed in their theological order, from bishop to presbyter to deacon, not the other way around.

Furthermore, the structure of the service of ordination makes most, though not all, of these following points clear:

(1) The candidate's acknowledgement of God's call is made explicit in the Declaration of the Candidate that follows the Response of the Bishop.

(2) The distinction between the two priestly orders (presbyters and bishops) from the order of deacons is marked by the presence of the *Veni Creator* (the ancient hymn to the Holy Spirit) in the first two services, but not in the ordination of deacons. Furthermore, the prayers of ordination of presbyters and bishops are based on the ordination prayer of Hippolytus (from the early third century, the oldest extant full text of the ordination prayer of a bishop), but not the prayer for the ordination of deacons.
(3) The precise distinction between the two priestly orders is left somewhat undefined, as it still is today, theologically, in most churches in which the three orders are maintained. However, both presbyters and deacons are under the authority of the local bishop.
(4) The collegiality (or 'collective responsibility') of three orders is shown by the injunction to the newly ordained to share the kiss of peace with the members of his or her order before exchanging the same with the people.
(5) After ordination, instead of being inducted to the cathedra by anyone else, the new bishop simply takes possession of what is his or hers by right and then presides over the celebration of the rest of the Eucharist. Moreover, the locus of the ordination of a bishop is obviously meant to be the cathedral church of *his*, and now possibly also *her*, diocese.
(6) The service allows for a *porrectio instrumentorum* (the handing over of the 'tools' proper to the order). It is a liturgical feature that is not theologically essential to the services.

Revised Funeral Rites 1987

As with the ordinal, the *Revised Funeral Rites 1987* differ from those of most other Anglican churches with the possible exception of the *New Zealand Prayer Book*. Both books offer more than the main service in church or in the crematorium chapel; both take great care not only to underline Christ's victory over death and the Christian resurrection hope, but also to provide pastorally for the bereaved as well as for the different types of persons, believers and non-believers, that may take part in the service. As the introduction explains, the Scottish funeral rites are not designed to be followed slavishly; rather, a variety of rituals and prayers are available. Circumstances may vary: the central service may be conducted in church, followed by a brief committal either at a graveside or in a crematorium, or may be conducted totally in a crematorium chapel. Two different congregations, or perhaps the same congregation, may attend the service in the church and the committal. Part of the service may be held in the home of the deceased. The priest and the family of the deceased will need to make decisions about the use of the material offered in the booklet.

All services maintain the structure of an office, with psalmody, scriptural readings, and prayers. As well as committing the dead to God's keeping within the context of the resurrection hope, every funeral has a pastoral dimension. Those leading worship must pay attention to the feelings of the bereaved family when choosing the wording of the service or services from the rites available and, when necessary, from other sources. A number of subsidiary rites are also provided for occasions that may demand a formal liturgical expression: during a visit immediately after the bereavement, at the closing of the coffin, as the funeral party sets out from the house, and at the interment of ashes.

The wording of the printed services is meant to be no substitute for the pastor's own use of sensitivity and imagination. Bereavement offers an opportunity for pastoral care at three different levels: ministry to those directly involved; to those who have little or no church connection and may be helped or challenged by what the gospel has to say about death and eternal life; and, finally, a statement to the whole of society of the way in which the Christian faith gives meaning to life and to its conclusion in death.

Prayers before a Funeral

The 'wee bookie' for funerals, authorized in 1987, includes these prayers for use with relatives at the time of bereavement.

Prayer at the closing of the coffin

Father,
your servant's eyes have closed
in the final sleep of death,
eyes that laughed, eyes that shed tears.
Let them wake to the full vision of your glory,
and our brother/sister see you face to face;
through Jesus Christ our Lord.
Amen.

Prayer on leaving the house

Father, your servant has begun his/her journey
to the place which you have made ready for him/her.
Hallow all the memories we have of him/her
in this house which no longer is his/her home,
and be yourself close to us in our grief;
through Jesus Christ our Lord.
Amen.

Daily Prayer

Two different forms of *Daily Prayer* were authorized in 1988. The short form, published as a 'wee bookie', is meant to be the daily prayer of the whole church for both laity and clergy. The longer version affords the possibility of adding one or more additional elements to the basic shape of *Daily Prayer,* according to the needs and function of the individual. The main difference between the 1988 *Daily Prayer* and other similar Anglican services is this insistence that the shorter version is meant to be the daily prayer of the whole church and the longer version is meant to provide for the needs of the individual.

There are two offices: Morning and Evening Prayer. The morning is the time of resurrection: as the new light breaks, we pray to be made one with Christ the Light of the world. The evening is the time of his deposition from the cross: as the sun sets, we pray to be forgiven the sins we may have committed and to find our final rest in him. The basic shape of both offices is the same throughout: the traditional 'O Lord, open our lips', followed by the *Gloria Patri,* psalmody, and scripture readings according to the seasons, a canticle, prayers (silent or not) followed by the Lord's Prayer, a collect, and concluding versicles and responses.

In the shorter version, psalmody and scriptural reading consist of a small number of verses that remain the same throughout the individual seasons; in the longer, psalmody is longer and more variable, while the scriptural readings follow the ecumenical Common Lectionary. There are also additional, optional responses after the readings and a number of different concluding prayers. In the long version, the morning service has an invitatory, and its appendices include a penitential introduction to the Evening Service and a Blessing of Light to precede it, rules to order the office, some suggested psalm music, and an optional service of Compline.

Initiation and Marriage

In 1901, the Lambeth Conference overwhelmingly rejected a proposal to confer full initiation on infants, but reversed this decision in 1968. In 1973, the Scottish Episcopal Church belatedly responded to the Lambeth decision with a service entitled 'The Rite of Baptism and New Life in the Spirit', which was submitted to the Provincial Synod the following year, only to be rejected by a straight majority vote. The previous Synod's decision to confer full initiation to infants was, however, never repealed. A long period of discussion in consultation with both the Doctrine and the Education Committees of the province resulted in a decision to revise the 1929 Scottish Prayer Book's initiation services on the understanding that infants were to be fully initiated at baptism and that the whole of Christian initiation was to be understood as a *process* and not just as a short liturgical service. In baptism, God makes through the church a call to the individual to respond, when capable, to his love and to his free offer of grace. Province-wide educational structures were to be devised for local congregations to help them in their responsibilities for the growth of children in their Christian life and for baptized young people in the process of Christian formation. Changes were also to be introduced in the church's legislation to clarify the status of individual children and young people who were initiated according to the old or the new rites, as the new services could not in practice be made compulsory from the outset.

This reasoning proved to be in full agreement with the recommendations of the first (Boston, 1985) and fourth (Toronto, 1991) meetings of the International Anglican Liturgical Consultation (IALC), but the work was subsequently abandoned. The Liturgy Committee based the new services to a great extent on the services of New Zealand's 1989 Prayer Book, while the section on the pastoral responsibility of the local congregation for the nurture and growth of infants and young people in the Christian life was drastically curtailed. The exact initiation status in law of those who had undergone either the old or the new initiation rites remains unspecified.

Last to appear in the form of a 'wee bookie' was the *Marriage Liturgy 2002*. This rite is again heavily indebted to the marriage liturgies of the *New Zealand Prayer Book*, with some new material based on the ancient Jewish marriage service and other material based on the Church of England's *Alternative Service Book 1980* and the SPCK publication *All Desires Known*.

By way of a general conclusion, all the modern 'wee bookies' are now widely accepted and used by most congregations, although some may still be using partly (or exclusively) the 1929 Scottish Prayer Book that is now being reprinted, or some modification of the same.

The Church in Wales

Robert Paterson

Except for its use of the Welsh language, the liturgical history of Welsh Anglicanism has been closely linked with that of the Church of England. A Welsh-language version of the 1559 Prayer Book was published in 1567, and the revision of 1662 was translated in 1664. As late as 1984, when a two-volume Book of Common Prayer came into use, it was in many ways similar to the classical Prayer Book of 1662.

Until its disestablishment the Welsh church was part of the Church of England, but even after the creation of a new, separate ecclesiastical province in 1920 the 1662 Prayer Book continued to be used with minor variations, such as no longer referring to the monarch as a 'governor'. Although the Church in Wales was free to order its own liturgical life, it chose for the first generation simply to use what it had inherited, deciding in 1922, for example, to adopt the Church of England's new lectionary in order to save the inconvenience of having to publish its own. The later consequences for liturgy of constitutional independence were both positive and negative. Negatively, it prevented Church of England liturgical materials from being used in Wales unless specifically authorized by the Governing Body, the province's legislative synod. Positively, however, it led over the course of time to the development of an unique Welsh style of Anglican public worship, generally more formal and less diverse than in many other parts of the Anglican Communion. At the beginning of the twentieth century, leading figures in the Welsh church felt they had been abandoned, under pressure from Nonconformists and political Liberals in favour of disestablishment and disendowment, and many stressed the catholic heritage of the church, at the expense of its Reformed character, over against what was at the time a considerable Nonconformist majority in Wales. Thus, following disestablishment, the Church in Wales developed a distinctive style of churchmanship – conservative and moderately catholic in style – and an ethos distinct from that of the Church of England.

Prayer Book Revision

The first significant departure from the liturgical practice of the Church of England came in 1944, when a calendar of Welsh saints, such as the national patron saint, David (1 March), Asaph, patron of one of the ancient dioceses (5 May), Cadoc, the strongest intellect of the Celtic saints (24 January), and Illtud, founder of a great monastic school (6 November), was published. Following the report of the Nation and Prayer Book Commission in 1949, the first Standing Liturgical Commission was appointed in 1950. Its first revisions of the 1662 book appeared in 1956, at the same time as a new canon permitting the experimental use of approved rites for ten-year periods. Thus the Church in Wales set its course for piecemeal liturgical revision, and experimental texts and rites followed in the period from 1956 to 1964: a lectionary, rites for initiation and burial, a calendar, and a marriage service, in each case bilingually.

A draft order for the Eucharist was prepared by 1965. Widespread consultation followed, culminating in a national Liturgical Congress. In 1966, the Governing Body approved the

new rite for experimental use, having first deleted the optional opening penitential rite. The order relied very heavily on the thinking of the great Anglo-Catholic liturgical scholar E. C. Ratcliff (whose work included the coronation service of Queen Elizabeth II, the Liturgy for India, and various ecumenical ordinals), and it had a clear, fourfold eucharistic action. The intercessions included a mandatory prayer for the departed, and the Great Thanksgiving included an expression of offering: 'we thy servants, with all thy holy people, do set forth before thy Divine Majesty this Bread of eternal life and this Cup of everlasting salvation'. In an abbreviated return to the 1549 Prayer Book, it prayed that the 'whole Church' may be granted 'remission of sins and all other benefits of his Passion'. With the Eucharist was a complete set of collects, Old Testament readings for Advent and Lent, epistles, the Revised Psalter of the Church of England (1966) with a Welsh translation and gospels, based on the 1963 calendar. Interestingly, the bishops' notes on the development of this revised eucharistic order refer to the need to take account of 'the present temporary conservatism' in liturgical matters – an attitude which lasted for another three decades at least.

Although there were protests from the small number of Evangelicals, who had difficulties with the briefer confession, mandatory petitions for the departed, and the eucharistic oblation, and from the poet-priest R. S. Thomas, who objected to the linguistic changes in Welsh and English and remained a 'non-usager', this experimental Holy Eucharist was universally adopted from the first, not least because of its ease of use compared with 1662 and its integral propers with psalms pointed for chant. To help introduce it, filmstrips were distributed showing how the rite might be celebrated – with a choice of low church surplice-and-stole or high church eucharistic-vestment versions! Moreover, the bishops made it very clear that they expected the rite to be used.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s new work was completed on initiation, the lectionary, the daily offices, and the ordinal. The processes of revision ran into serious trouble, however, in the Governing Body. Towards the end of its experimental decade, an extensive revision of the 1966 Eucharist (known as the 'definitive' rite) failed to gain sufficient support. One reason was that conservative attitudes had been reinforced by negative reports on the new 'Series 3' services, which were being used experimentally in the Church of England. Another reason was that some parishes objected to replacing their hardcover books before they had worn out, and a third was that Evangelicals, now growing in strength in the Church in Wales, would no longer accept liturgy expressing a eucharistic theology that appeared to marginalize them. Inevitably the church was forced to return to a more moderate revision of the 1966 rite.

By 1984, the Governing Body was exhausted by the protracted quasi-parliamentary mechanics of liturgical revision. All the experimental rites were tidied up and brought together in two volumes as the first Book of Common Prayer of the Church in Wales. The 1662 Prayer Book ceased to be authorized for liturgical use, except for the Holy Communion (a concession to tradition) and Holy Matrimony (which is incorporated into the civil law of England and Wales). The first volume contains the lectionary, eucharistic propers and commons, the daily offices, and the Revised Psalter; the second, Eucharist, rites of initiation, a catechism, and ordination, marriage, healing, and funeral services. So large was the amount of text included – the propers, commons, and Psalter alone take up nearly six hundred pages in the first volume – that bilingual publication, as originally planned, was impracticable and the two volumes were made available only in English. All the liturgies were, however, published bilingually, as separate books (Morning and Evening Prayer, the Eucharist), as booklets (marriage, burial, and so on), and on cards (baptism, confirmation, communion of the sick, and others). The Thirty-nine Articles, which strictly speaking are not part of the 1662 Prayer Book, were not amended and were omitted entirely, though they remain a doctrinal standard.

The 1984 Book of Common Prayer, supplemented with material formally authorized after 2002, sets out the normative standard of liturgy in the Province of Wales. The 1984

preface emphasizes uniformity: 'It remains the intention of the Church in Wales that there be one Use in this Province.' And so there was, for most of the following decade. It soon became obvious, however, that this intention no longer commanded significant support in the province.

Linguistic Considerations

Language, culture, and history are closely related in Wales where, for many centuries, the ancient tongue has been important to a sense of religious and national identity. Before 1920, the Church of England in Wales (then a minority) had been called 'the foreign church' and identified with English domination. In the period since disestablishment, the Church in Wales has become the principality's most significant religious body, in no small measure because of a commitment to both languages and particularly their use in public worship.

The 1984 Prayer Book uses a style of English developed for the Revised Standard Version of the Bible. It is not a historically accurate replica of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century usage, nor is it late twentieth-century style, but was acceptable to a conservative church. The 1984 collects in English were much criticized because of changes at a late stage of revision which confused second-person with third-person forms. For example, the alternative collect of Christmas Day reads, 'Heavenly Father, who makes [makest] us glad . . . '; and the First Sunday after Christmas, 'Almighty God, who did [didst] wonderfully create man . . . '. The revision had been based on the false assumption that the relative clause is a parenthesis, an aside to the congregation, rather than an appositional phrase addressed to God attributing to him his nature, powers, or past actions. With the Welsh language (spoken by about a fifth of the population of Wales) there was in some respects less difficulty, not because it has remained unchanged, but because modern Welsh has, for instance, retained a distinction between second-person singular verb forms and pronouns ('thou' and 'thee' in older English) and second-person plural.

The process of developing a contemporary liturgical style in Welsh is bearing fruit, but it is still in its early stages. Because the Church in Wales is a bilingual church, all its provincially published liturgical materials have for some time been printed with the Welsh on the left-hand page and the English on the right. Since most Welsh-speaking churches are, in fact, bilingual, the minister can move from one language to another without leaving non-Welsh speakers deprived of a translation. This has the inevitable result of making the Welsh church often more closely tied to the book than it might otherwise be. Original Welsh language material, at present no more than an occasional prayer or eucharistic preface translated into English, is slowly being introduced. The influence of Welsh may be a factor in reducing the importance of gender-inclusive language to the Church in Wales; for instance, the 1975 International Consultation on English Texts (ICET) texts of the Nicene Creed and *Gloria in excelsis* are used in the 2004 Eucharist.

The first serious attempt at a Eucharist in contemporary English was made in 1971, a study document accompanied by a clear warning that the diocesan bishop had to approve each occasion on which it was to be studied, and that it was not to be used for any act of worship. Predictably, the lack of encouragement for this contemporary order led to its rejection, and an important opportunity to develop contemporary liturgy for Wales was missed, although traces of the attempt survived in later revisions. The eucharistic action was basically two-by-two (taking in order to give thanks, breaking in order to share), and the emphasis in some phrases of the eucharistic prayer is clearly catholic: 'we ask you, Father, to sanctify these gifts of bread and wine' and 'together with all your people, we set before you this bread of eternal life and this cup of everlasting salvation'.

A second, much more conservative version of the contemporary-language Eucharist was produced in 1978. This rite, basically a linguistic update of the failed 'definitive' rite, also failed to gain acceptance. In 1980, a straightforward contemporary translation of the lightly revised 1966 order was published for study but was so conservative that it met with little sup-

port. The contrast with the Church of England, which was then authorizing its *Alternative Service Book (ASB)*, is striking. Indirectly, however, the *ASB* and the 'Series 3' services that preceded it did influence the move towards contemporary language in the Church in Wales, through the Order for Holy Communion prepared in 1981 for the Covenanted Churches, an association of the Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, and United Reformed churches, together with some Baptists.

Alternative Contemporary Rites

By the late 1980s some members of the Church in Wales were rebelling against its conservative liturgy and traditional language, so the new Standing Liturgical Advisory Commission

Eucharistic Prayer with Children Present

The 2004 'Order of the Holy Eucharist' authorized by the Church in Wales provides this brief eucharistic prayer, 'suitable for use when a significant number of children under seven years is present'. There are also directions for ordering the earlier parts of such a service.

The Lord be with you.
And also with you.

or The Lord is here.
His Spirit is with us.

Lift up your hearts.
We lift them to the Lord.

Let us give thanks to the Lord our God.
It is right to give our thanks and praise.

Thank you, Father,
for making us and our wonderful world.
Wherever we are in your world,
we should always thank you,
through Jesus, your Son.
[Jesus lived as one of us;
Jesus died on the Cross for us;
Jesus is alive because you gave him life again;
Jesus is with us now.]

So, with the angels and everyone in heaven,
we *say/sing* together:

Holy, holy, holy Lord,
God of power and might,
Heaven and earth are full of your glory.
Hosanna in the highest.

Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord.
Hosanna in the highest.

Great and wonderful Father,
we remember when Jesus had supper with his friends
the night before he died,
he took the bread;
he thanked you, broke it, gave it to his friends and said:
Take this and eat it–this is my body, given for you.
Do this to remember me.

After supper, Jesus took the cup of wine;
he thanked you, gave it to his friends and said:
All of you drink from this cup–because this is my blood–
the new promise of God's love:
Do this every time you drink it
to remember me.

Together we remember that Jesus is always with us
and *say/sing*

Christ has died.
Christ is risen.
Christ will come in glory.

So loving Father,
remembering how dearly Jesus loves us,
we should love him too.
Send your Holy Spirit, gentle as a dove,
on us and on these gifts,
so that, with everyone who eats and drinks this bread
and wine,
the body and blood of Jesus,
we may be full of your life and goodness.
Help us all to walk hand in hand with Jesus
and live our lives for him.

All honour and glory belong to you, Father,
through Jesus, your Son,
with the Holy Spirit:
one God, for ever and ever.

Amen.

began to draft a series of 'alternative' contemporary rites. These began with initiation rites in 1990, which quickly came to be used almost everywhere. The Daily Office and Eucharist followed, then the calendar, lectionary, and collects, an order for Compline, a service for communion outside the Eucharist, and supplementary material for funerals. Besides these, the bishops permitted the use of *Lent, Holy Week, Easter* (1984) and *The Promise of His Glory* (1991) from the Church of England and *Enriching the Christian Year* (1993), in conjunction with Church in Wales liturgies. These have not been widely used, except in the more liturgically aware parishes.

A major innovation in the 1992 alternative daily offices was a set of notes stating what should be included in any informal liturgy–penitence and declaration of forgiveness, praise, scripture, intercession, an affirmation of faith or some other response to the Word–but without providing any specific texts or specifying the order of the parts. The 1994 alternative Eucharist had four eucharistic prayers based on a two-by-two action. New versions of the Collect for Purity were included, as well as a new additional version of the Prayer of Approach (the Prayer of Humble Access). An order for informal celebrations was added to the 1994 Eucharist and has been included unchanged in the 2004 Prayer Book service. Though still dominated by a mildly catholic ethos, all these were drawn up in the light of a comprehensive policy in the hope that no part of any rite would be out of bounds for any mainstream brand of churchmanship. The 1995 alternative calendar, lectionary, and collects were mainly the work of the Four Nations Liturgical Group of Britain and Ireland, formed in 1992. In 2003, a volume of the calendar, the new collects and post-communion prayers (similar to those of the Church of England and classical in style), and corrected versions of the 1984 collects, together with the *Revised Common Lectionary* (in its Atlantic Isles form) and lectionaries for the daily offices and weekday eucharists, all became part of the Book of Common Prayer.

In 2004, a new order for the Holy Eucharist with seven eucharistic prayers also became part of the Prayer Book. This order has a number of interesting features: the introductory penitential section may be moved from the beginning to a point following the intercessions, for example, and two eucharistic prayers are provided for use when a significant number of children are present (though not for a 'children's Eucharist') (*see* 'Eucharistic Prayer with Children Present'). Four of the prayers have a single *epiclesis,* one concludes with the *Sanctus,* and one was taken from the 1982 liturgy of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Here, too, the new order is becoming the principal use in Wales, thanks to a national educational exercise, and is used on all major diocesan and provincial occasions. Although the 1984 equivalents remain, the 2003/2004 additions to the Book of Common Prayer are becoming the principal use and are likely to be the only use before the end of this decade. In coming years the Prayer Book will also have new initiation rites, daily prayer, and funeral services, all of which have been piloted in 'alternative' forms for a decade. Others are likely to be added in due course. These twenty-first century additions are published separately.

The Church of Ireland

Harold Miller

Over the centuries, worship in the Church of Ireland has been profoundly influenced by the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. Until the late 1960s, the Book of Common Prayer, derived from 1662 with only mild tinkering, was quite simply *the* worship of the Church of Ireland. Even if asked to pray informally, most clergy would, as if by a default mechanism, use a collect from the well-ingrained words of the traditional Prayer Book. The basic materials of this traditional worship continue to be important in the Church of Ireland and are available in the 2004 Irish Book of Common Prayer.

The other major factor in the development of the 2004 Prayer Book is the influence of liturgical renewal in the Church of Ireland since the 1960s, both at the grass-roots in Ireland and throughout the wider church. The introduction of Parish Communion in many Church of Ireland churches as the main morning service once a month, rather than Morning Prayer followed by Holy Communion, paved the way for a new and fuller eucharistic liturgy. This meant that the whole congregation remained for communion, whereas before the great bulk would have left before the sacrament. It also meant that the 1926 service (now separated from Morning Prayer) was seen to be lacking in a full Ministry of the Word, as it only included an epistle and gospel. Also, more informal styles of services were appearing, at that time often related to 'family worship' and 'youth services'.

On the wider Anglican front, Prayer Book revision was one of the main topics at the Lambeth Conference of 1958, and a committee was appointed to provide recommendations to be taken into consideration when provinces revised their eucharistic rites. The highly respected George Simms, Archbishop of Armagh from 1969 to 1980, chaired the 'Prayer Book' section of the 1958 Lambeth Conference and was also to chair the new Liturgical Advisory Committee set up by the General Synod of the Church of Ireland in 1962. His role in this work made a very important connection between the work of the wider Communion and its acceptability and implementation at the local Irish level.

Earlier Service Books

The first 'experimental' service made available to the Church of Ireland was the 1967 revision of Holy Communion (the 'White Booklet'), essentially a 'structural' revision of the rite. It added an Old Testament reading, making it one of the earliest rites to include three scriptural readings. This rite also featured a more 'litany-style' form of intercessions, the peace, a conservatively revised 'shape' for the eucharistic prayer, and more seasonal variations. Thus it laid a good foundation for future revisions, and indeed for Holy Communion Rite Two in the 2004 book. The 1967 rite still addressed God as 'thee' and 'thou' but the people as 'you', following the model of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible. In many ways it was similar to the 'Series 2' revision of the Church of England.

The 'Red Booklet' which followed in 1969 was a series of services produced together under one cover. This booklet proved very popular and became almost ubiquitous in the Church of Ireland. It included a radically new baptismal rite, one of the first thoroughgoing

revisions in 'you' form in the Anglican Communion, and this service lasted for thirty-five years until the 2004 revision. It was not until 1972, however, that the Holy Communion service was introduced using the 'you' form of address for God (the 'Blue Booklet'), followed quickly by similar revisions for other major services in *Revised Services 1973* (the 'Grey Booklet'). In that year, a booklet of 144 pages was published, making available everything that was needed to conduct regular Sunday worship in contemporary English. It also included the Joint Liturgical Group's two-year thematic lectionary, which remained in use until the *Revised Common Lectionary* was introduced in the Church of Ireland in 1996. This revision included new collects to match the themes, the best of which have been retained in the 2004 Prayer Book.

Most of this work (originally authorized by the House of Bishops as experimental services for a seven-year period) was re-revised, went through the General Synod, and was drawn together in the *Alternative Prayer Book* of 1984, four years after the publication of the *Alternative Service Book* in the Church of England. It was essentially a Sunday service book with the services being alternative to the 1926 Book of Common Prayer. In the years following, a set of alternatives to most of the other main Prayer Book services (baptism and confirmation, marriage, thanksgiving for the birth of a child, ministry to the sick, funerals, ordinations, institutions of incumbents) also went through the synodical processes and was gathered together in *Alternative Occasional Services* in 1993. In broad-brush terms, most of the new liturgies were highly influenced by the corresponding services in the Church of England. However, the Church of Ireland was generally more conservative in its revisions, inclined to remain more legalistic in its rubrics and to provide fewer options within the services themselves. This made the services easier to follow and the texts more memorable, but gave them less variety.

Between 1984 and 2004 the Church of Ireland became a church of 'two books': the Book of Common Prayer and the *Alternative Prayer Book*. Many parishes chose one or the other for their worship, a choice which then became part of their identity; others used both books at different times. The latter group kept up with both strands of worship in the church, but they were never quite at home with either.

Alongside the books themselves, other forms of worship were developing using the 'directory' model of 'A Service of the Word'. This provided a framework for more informal worship into which the worship leader could insert particular texts, readings, and songs. This model has proved both popular and adaptable to a variety of different situations, and the structure for 'A Service of the Word' is included in the 2004 Book of Common Prayer. The Church of Ireland, therefore, revised her liturgies according to the 'English' system: the Book of Common Prayer was retained as it was (with its 1662 roots but in its 1926 form) and alternative services developed alongside it. By the early 1990s many of these alternative services were becoming dated. In the area of inclusive language, for example, the alternative services lagged so far behind that the Liturgical Advisory Committee had to publish a sheet of acceptable emendations. The very sparse and terse language of the 1970s, moreover, needed to be replaced by something more imaginative and poetic for the twenty-first century. Much of the liturgical writing of the 1970s and 1980s lacked imagery and warmth.

Finally, in terms of its lectionary, the Church of Ireland had, like the Church of England, adopted the Joint Liturgical Group's lectionary and calendar, with its nine Sundays before Christmas, its thematic approach, and its two-year model. This too needed revision; the lectionary themes were becoming dated, with needless interpretation of scripture texts before they were even read. Only a limited selection of the scriptures was used, with key narratives omitted, and the new calendar was not finding total support and approval.

The Irish Book of Common Prayer 2004

In 1997 the Liturgical Advisory Committee proposed an entirely new Book of Common Prayer to include both traditional language and contemporary language services, and this

emerged in 2004 as the official Prayer Book of the Church of Ireland. It has had a wide degree of acceptance and been welcomed very readily in the vast majority of parishes, where it can play a unifying role in the church as a whole. It has been produced in a variety of editions–basic pew, luxury, and desk editions, as well as a large-print edition with the basic services, canticles, and Psalter for the visually impaired. An Irish 'add-on' edition of *Visual Liturgy* on CD-ROM, developed for the Church of England's *Common Worship,* adapts the programme very smoothly to the Irish Prayer Book. This technology is often used for customized Sunday service sheets or for Powerpoint™ presentations.

The 2004 Book of Common Prayer has several distinctive features. First of all, it includes services in both traditional and contemporary forms. In the 1970s and 1980s it was thought that each set of services had an integrity of its own and should never be mixed, but it became increasingly clear that people in congregations were perfectly able to worship with a range of language styles, different hymns and songs, and different translations of the Bible. When the new Church of Ireland hymnbook was being drawn together, it was decided that each hymn should be considered on its merits; while some could be altered to contemporary language, others held an important place in people's memory and were not tampered with. Therefore it is possible to sing a part of the service or a canticle in a traditional setting within a modern liturgy. It has also meant that some well-known prayers, such as the General Thanksgiving, have been included only in the traditional form in the new Book of Common Prayer, because they do not translate well into contemporary idiom.

Another important language question was whether or not to include two Psalters in the book. When the original proposal was made to produce a new Book of Common Prayer, those who had been used to traditional language services were told that they would still be able to use the services just as they always had (the major exceptions being that 'Ghost' is changed to 'Spirit' and the Lord's Prayer has 'who art in heaven', a change from the 1926 Prayer Book's 'which art in heaven'). Synod was given the option of having two Psalters (Coverdale as amended in 1926 and a 'modern' Psalter) or one that was 'in-between'–the Psalter that is included in *Common Worship*, in 'you' form, but with resonances of Coverdale. The latter was chosen, with the proviso that churches were still free to use the 1926 Psalter even though it is not printed in the book.

Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry

The three services in the book which have undergone the most radical revision are those studied by members of the International Anglican Liturgical Consultation (IALC) in their most recent gatherings. Guidelines on initiation were issued in 1991, on the Eucharist in 1995, and on ordination in 2001. These are also the three key areas covered in the Lima Document, *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry.* The general policy of the Church of Ireland's Liturgical Advisory Committee has been to keep these guidelines in mind.

In baptism, this has meant that there are no longer separate services for infants/children and for adults within the new material. Baptism is baptism; whatever we say about it must apply to *all* the baptized. It has also meant that the baptismal rite always takes a central place in the liturgy–not merely a part of the service, but in some sense setting the tone for the whole. As much as possible, additional baptismal ceremonies (name-giving, candles, and the sign of the cross) are kept separate from the sacramental sign of water. Water should be in abundance, either by dipping or pouring. One of the other issues raised by the new baptismal rites is the very controversial subject of the language of regeneration, or rebirth, in baptismal liturgies. When the Book of Common Prayer was being revised in the 1870s this was undoubtedly one of the most divisive issues in the Church of Ireland. Many believed it was inappropriate to use 'absolutist' language of regeneration, even if that language had a sacramental character. In the end, the 1878 service remained the same as 1662 with the declarative language: 'Seeing now . . . that this Child is regenerate'. In the new service, the

post-baptismal prayer 'Father, we thank you that . . . have now been born again . . . ' is optional. This does not suggest any weakening of the idea that baptism is the sacrament of new birth, but the idea is exposed in less absolutist language.

In the Eucharist, the IALC shape of the rite has been followed throughout, a great deal more flexibility is allowed, and, generally speaking, the new English Language Liturgical Consultation (ELLC) texts have been included. The points at which the greatest changes will be observed are penitence, intercessions, and eucharistic prayers. The new book allows for penitence at the beginning, or before or after the intercessions, and uses different forms of penitence, including penitential *Kyries*. Instead of one or two fixed forms for intercession, the new book recognizes that intercessory prayer can happen in a variety of ways – set texts, responsive litanies, biddings and silence, open prayer. The Lord's Prayer may be used as the climax of the intercessions. Finally, three eucharistic prayers are used, including a highly popular and responsorial prayer which addresses the three persons of the Trinity in turn (developed from Prayer H in *Common Worship*) along with many new texts for the preparation of the table, the invitation to communion, and the distribution.

The ordinal represents the first complete revision of its kind in the Anglican Communion since the 2001 IALC statement. The starting point for revision was the IALC guidelines, but these were made more conservative as the liturgy went through the committee processes. Nevertheless, a real attempt has been made to place the ordination services in the context of the ministry of all the baptized people of God, not least by including the presentation of the candidates by members of the congregation and, at the end of the service, a procession of representatives from the parish and diocese. The special nature of each order is highlighted; the Bible is given to deacons as well as to presbyters and bishops, and an alternative ordination prayer with congregational responses has been added for each of the three orders (*see* 'A Responsive Ordination Prayer'). The whole congregation also stands for the ordination prayer, which clearly conveys that in some sense this person is ordained by the church as a whole and not simply by the bishop and those who take part in the laying-on of hands.

Other Services

The 2004 Irish book also includes the pastoral services of marriage, Thanksgiving after the Birth of a Child, ministry to those who are sick, and funeral services. Again, these services provide greater options. New additional services include A Form of Prayer and Dedication after a Civil Marriage, A Celebration of Wholeness and Healing, a service for use when the body is brought to the church on the eve of a funeral (an event which, in parts of Ireland can be as big as the funeral itself), a form for use in the home, funeral home, or mortuary, and a form for the burial of ashes.

One of the other distinguishing marks of the Irish Prayer Book is that it still includes a service for Ash Wednesday. This is the only liturgical provision in the book of a full service for a particular point in the Christian year, though allowance is made in the Table of Readings for an Easter Vigil. Such a service has, of course, a long history, going back to the old Commination service which was revised in Ireland as the Penitential Service and then revised again as a Service for Ash Wednesday. In this case, only a 'you' form service is provided, and the Church of Ireland retains the tradition (going back to the Reformation) of not mentioning the use of ashes in the service itself. It is probably one of the few parts of the Anglican Communion to have a modern Ash Wednesday service without ashes! The only hint of such a practice is the note that 'local custom' may be followed.

The 2004 Book of Common Prayer uses the *Revised Common Lectionary* as its major lectionary for Sundays and festivals. It does not include a weekday lectionary because at the time of the book's compilation a great deal of thinking was going on about possible models and it was considered wiser to leave the situation open. The calendar includes the usual bib-

A Responsive Ordination Prayer

Each of the three ordination services in the 2004 Book of Common Prayer provides a form of the ordination prayer with laying-on of hands that includes the responses of the people. This is the prayer for the ordination of priests or presbyters.

The candidates kneel before the bishop, who says
Praise God who made heaven and earth,
who keeps his promise for ever.

Let us give thanks to the Lord our God.
It is right to give our thanks and praise.

We praise and glorify you, almighty Father,
because in your infinite love you have formed throughout the world
a holy people for your own possession,
a royal priesthood, a universal Church.
Glory to you, Lord.

We praise and glorify you
because you have given us your only Son Jesus Christ,
the image of your eternal and invisible glory,
the firstborn of all creation and head of the Church.
Glory to you, Lord.

We praise and glorify you
that by his death he has overcome death
and having ascended into heaven,
he has poured out his gifts abundantly,
to equip your people for the work of ministry
and the building up of his body
Glory to you, Lord.

And now we give you thanks that you have called *these your servants,*
whom we ordain in your name,
to share in the sacred ministry of the Gospel of Christ,
the Apostle and High Priest of our faith and the Shepherd of our souls.
Glory to you, Lord.

Here the bishop and priests lay their hands on the head of each candidate as the bishop says
Pour out your Holy Spirit upon . . . .
for the office and work of a priest in your Church.

The bishop then continues
Fill *them* with grace and power that *they* may fulfil your call
to be *messengers* and *stewards* of the Lord,
to watch over and care for those commited to *their* charge,
and to join with them in a common witness to the world.
Pour out your Spirit, Lord.

Set *them* among your people to proclaim boldly the word of salvation,
and to share in Christ's work of reconciliation.
Together with them may they offer spiritual sacrifices
acceptable in your sight,
and celebrate the sacraments of the new covenant.
Pour out your Spirit, Lord.

(continued)

Grant *them* wisdom and discipline to work faithfully
with all their fellow-servants in Christ,
to search for God's children in the wilderness of this world's temptations,
and to guide them through its confusions,
so that they may be saved through Christ for ever.
Pour out your Spirit, Lord.

Accept our prayers, most merciful Father,
through your Son Jesus Christ our Lord,
to whom with you and your Holy Spirit,
belong glory and honour, worship and praise,
now and for ever. **Amen.**

lical festivals and saints along with the major Irish saints of Brigid (1 February), Patrick (17 March), and Columba (9 June), all red-letter days in the Church of Ireland. The calendar also provides a list of commemorations of nearly forty other Irish saints and other figures, including Jeremy Taylor, bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore, and Charles Inglis, a bishop in North America who came from Raphoe. Finally, at the end of the book, which is careful not to designate them as 'historical documents' or by any other generic term, are the Church Catechism (1878), the Creed (commonly called) of St Athanasius, the Preamble to the Constitution (1870), and the Articles of Religion.

Propers for Saint Columba

Three Irish saints have 'red-letter' status in the 2004 Book of Common Prayer, which provides the following prayers for the festival of the sixth-century abbot and missionary Columba. The post communion was written by Brian Mayne.

Collect

O God, you called your servant Columba
from among the princes of this land
to be a herald and evangelist of your kingdom:
Grant that your Church, remembering his faith and courage,
may so proclaim the splendour of your grace
that people everywhere will come to know your Son
as their Saviour, and serve him as their King;
who lives and reigns with you and the Holy Spirit,
one God, now and for ever.

Post Communion

Lord Jesus, King of Saints,
you blessed Columba to find refuge in you
both at home and in exile.
May we, who have tasted your goodness at this table,
come with all your saints to the royal banquet
of your kingdom in heaven;
where with the Father and the Holy Spirit
you reign, for ever.

Conclusion

What has surprised so many people is the way all this liturgical material has been provided in one unified book of no more than eight hundred pages. Of course this has been made possible by not printing out the Bible readings in full. The book is pleasant to hold, easy to get around, and a joy to own. It looks like a Prayer Book, and feels like a book of devotion. This is not a side issue; the beauty and order of a Prayer Book not only speak of the value which we place on our worship but also remind us that our liturgy is no cold, utilitarian activity but a warm devotedness of both heart and mind to the living God. The desire of those who compiled it is that the Irish Prayer Book be not only for use in corporate worship but, like Prayer Books in the past, a resource for personal prayer and spirituality. To this end, an outline of daily prayer is found in the inside cover.

It is important also to note that there is a tradition to have an Irish language edition of services available for use in Irish-speaking areas, or when it is desired to hold a service or part of a service in the Irish language. This was true for the *Alternative Prayer Book,* and an Irish language edition of the new Book of Common Prayer, *Leabhar na hUrnai Coitinne 2004* was launched in Down Cathedral on 18 September 2004. This complements the large number of Irish hymns made available in the 2000 *Church Hymnal.*

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Anglican Churches in Europe

Jeffery Rowthorn

THE CONGREGATIONS IN Anglican and Episcopal parishes in Europe are extremely varied, including as they do students, expatriates, diplomats, members of the international business community, 'trailing spouses', musicians, tourists, refugees fleeing from political or religious persecution, professors, au pairs, and 'third-culture children' who speak three languages – those of their parents and also of the country where they now live. What can these diverse groups possibly have in common? For a start, you can find people from all of these groups sharing in the life and worship of Anglican and Episcopal congregations in a host of countries in continental Europe. But is there more to the story than that?

Pentecost 1995 was marked by the publication of 'A Joint Letter to All the Anglicans on the European Mainland'. Written in English, Portuguese, and Spanish, the letter was signed by four bishops who, a few weeks earlier in Portugal, had inaugurated the College of Anglican Bishops in Continental Europe (COABICE). As they worshipped together at this first meeting of COABICE, they used all four Prayer Books of their separate jurisdictions – an important symbol of their new-found unity of purpose.

Compare this with the report of an English priest visiting the Iberian Peninsula in 1962, who told the readers of *Parish and People* that 'no single Anglican Church is responsible for Europe' (being English, he meant by 'Europe' all that lies on the foreign side of the English Channel!). In fact, for well over a century the European mainland has been home to four distinct jurisdictions, all of which are now fully integrated into the Anglican Communion. These jurisdictions are: the Diocese of Gibraltar in Europe (Church of England); the Convocation of American Churches in Europe (Episcopal Church in the United States); the Spanish Reformed Episcopal Church (IERE); and the Lusitanian Church of Portugal. Both the Spanish and the Portuguese churches are extra-provincial, coming instead under the direct oversight of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

With separate languages, distinct cultures, and markedly different histories and traditions, these four jurisdictions have had until recently quite limited contacts and have shown little interest in close collaboration. As the 1995 Pentecost letter demonstrates, that situation is rapidly changing, just as the evolution of the European Union is dramatically transforming the political and social climate within which mainland Anglicans live and worship and witness. These new realities are the inescapable backdrop to what follows in this discussion of Prayer Books in continental Europe.

The Diocese of Gibraltar in Europe

The preface to *Common Worship: Services and Prayers of the Church of England* (2000) states that it 'provides for the diverse worshipping needs of our communities, within an ordered structure which affirms our essential unity and common life'. With one exception, all English dioceses are required to use a clearly delimited body of authorized rites on every occasion. The one exception is the Diocese in Europe, whose Constitution (1995) includes the following provision: 'In addition to the forms of service authorized for use in the Church of

England under canon law, the Bishop may authorize either for use in a chaplaincy where the chaplain and the chaplaincy church council so requests or generally for use throughout his Diocese a rite of a Church with which the Church of England is in communion' (section 26).

English is the primary language of the Diocese in Europe's worship and mission for three reasons. English has historically been the mother tongue of the majority of worshippers; it is increasingly a transcultural global language; and, furthermore, its use testifies to the fact that the Church of England worships and evangelizes alongside, rather than in competition with, churches in communion and ecumenical partners whose vernacular language is other than English. In France and Belgium, however, and especially in Paris, an extensive Francophone ministry makes use of translations of some of the contemporary services in *Common Worship*, in particular Christian initiation and the pastoral offices. This speaks to the needs of a significant number of British people who, because of marriage or for some other reason, now live permanently on the European mainland.

In recognition of the growing presence of non-English speakers in the chaplaincies of this far-flung diocese, worship in the local vernacular is sometimes permitted. The bishop may authorize the use of: (1) the rites of the Scandinavian and Baltic Lutheran Churches, now in communion with the Church of England under the Porvoo agreement; (2) the services of the various Old Catholic Churches of the Union of Utrecht which have been in communion with the Church of England since 1932; (3) the recent translations of the 1979 Book of Common Prayer of the Episcopal Church in the United States into four modern European languages; and (4) the official rites of other provinces of the Anglican Communion. A striking and improbable example of this fourth alternative is the permitted use of rites from the Church of the Province of the Sudan, in Arabic, on the part of a community of Sudanese Anglicans who have been welcomed as political refugees by the Finnish government and now live in Oulu on the Gulf of Bothnia.

For pastoral reasons the 1662 Book of Common Prayer continues to be used in some chaplaincies at early celebrations of the Eucharist. In other chaplaincies explanatory booklets are available, with a translation of the service either in parallel columns or on the facing page. This encourages informed participation in the act of worship, even though the language actually used in the celebration is English. In all these ways the Diocese in Europe seeks to do what *Common Worship* also aspires after: to make the liturgical texts so familiar that, in the words of its preface, 'the poetry of praise and the passion of prayer can transcend the printed word'.

Iglesia Española Reformada Episcopal

The Spanish Reformed Episcopal Church (IERE) was organized in 1868, the year in which Pope Pius IX convened the First Vatican Council. In its early years it was supported by the Church of Ireland, to which it is indebted for the consecration of its first bishop, and also by the Episcopal Church in the United States.

A translation of the 1604 Book of Common Prayer into Spanish, made in 1612, was used by Spaniards living in Oxford and London who had embraced the Reformation. For the first years of IERE's existence, an 1864 translation of the 1662 Prayer Book, printed in London, was used in its worship. Then in 1881 the Church Synod took the bold step of combining services from this version of the 1662 Prayer Book with the Mozarabic liturgy, the ancient indigenous rite of Spain. To that end the Mozarabic liturgy was freshly translated for inclusion in IERE's first Prayer Book (*see* Oliver, 'Spanish', p. 384).

At the request of the Fourth Council of Toledo (633) the Mozarabic rite was given its final form by St Isidore of Seville. Early in the following century the Moors conquered much of Spain and subjected the country to Muslim rule. As a result many Spaniards adopted Moorish dress and customs and spoke a mixture of Spanish and Arabic. The resulting cultural pattern

was termed 'Mozarabic' or 'mixed Arab'. Due to its strategic importance Toledo was treated more leniently and the Christian population was permitted to continue using the ancient Spanish liturgy, known by that time as the 'Mozarabic rite'. In 1085 Pope Gregory VII suppressed it in favour of the Roman rite, and eventually it survived only in the cathedral in Toledo, where it has been celebrated in a chapel erected by Cardinal Ximénes (d. 1517) expressly for that purpose.

IERE's present Prayer Book was published in Madrid in 1975 and contains 'the Divine Offices and the Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites'. In its preparation there was a conscious effort to reflect the general characteristics of Reformed liturgy and at the same time to 'conserve the typical and distinctive features of the ancient Spanish or Mozarabic Rite' (*Preface*, xi). In keeping with this purpose, the celebrant at the Lord's Supper faces the congregation across the Holy Table and uses a single eucharistic prayer with twelve seasonal prefaces. As in the Mozarabic rite, the Nicene Creed follows the eucharistic prayer and, as the celebrant recites the Lord's Prayer, the congregation responds 'Amen' to several of the petitions. Prior to the administration of communion, there is a four-part benediction proper to the season. Among the other distinctive features of this book is a 'Divine Office for the Use of Sailors'. The 1975 service of Confirmation includes a prayer said by the bishop over the newly confirmed; it expresses a hope which applies equally to all who use the Spanish Prayer Book in worship:

> O Lord Jesus Christ! Grant, we beseech thee, that thy servants, quickened by thy Spirit, strengthened by thy power, illuminated by thy splendor, and filled with thy grace, may walk each day supported by thy divine help.

In 2003 the Church Synod authorized a revision of the 1975 Prayer Book with the intent of including further Mozarabic texts. This new book is due to be published early in 2005. For some years a contemporary rite for the Lord's Supper has also been available, containing two eucharistic prayers and seasonal songs for use between the lessons.

Igreja Lusitana Católica Apostólica Evangélica

The Lusitanian Church of Portugal came into being in March 1880 partly in reaction to the decisions of the First Vatican Council, which also contributed to the founding of IERE and the Old Catholic Churches of Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. The church takes its name from the ancient Roman province of Lusitania (now Portugal), and its identity is defined by the three adjectives that are officially part of its title: Catholic, Apostolic, and Evangelical.

During its early days the church used the 1662 English Book of Common Prayer (in an 1849 translation into Portuguese) and the 1789 American Prayer Book (in an 1874 translation). However, in 1884 it published its own Prayer Book based on Anglican, Roman, and Mozarabic liturgies. This first Prayer Book, which sought to emulate 'the customs of the primitive apostolic Church', remained in use for more than a century.

In 1991 a revised Prayer Book was published, taking the form of a 'selection of liturgies authorized in the past decade in the Anglican Communion' – namely, the *Alternative Service Book 1980* of the Church of England and liturgical revisions by the Church of Ireland (1984) and the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (1989). The Holy Eucharist contains three alternatives for the Prayer of the Faithful and three eucharistic prayers. The scriptural references are to the Portuguese Bible Society's *Interconfessional Translation from the Greek Text into Modern Portuguese* (1978). In addition, a new translation of the Psalter was made for this 1991 Prayer Book. As its preface indicates, this Prayer Book is a response to changes in contemporary Portuguese faith and culture. It takes into account the impact of such new realities as the development of biblical studies, the liturgical, ecumenical, and charismatic movements, and the lowering of inherited barriers between the Reformation and Counter-

Reformation churches. In this regard the Lusitanian Church is typical of Anglicanism in many parts of the world.

Convocation of American Churches in Europe

Despite its name, the American Episcopal Church consists of dioceses both within and beyond the boundaries of the United States. Among the latter are French-speaking Haiti, Spanish-speaking Ecuador, and Chinese-speaking Taiwan. In addition, there is the multilingual Convocation of American Churches, a growing 'area mission' on the European mainland. Given the liturgical and pastoral needs of such entities as these, and also on account of the ever-growing presence of native speakers of these languages within the United States, the Episcopal Church has provided three official translations of the 1979 Book of Common Prayer: Spanish (1982/1989), French (1983), and Chinese (2002). The availability of these translations has been of great value in the witness and mission of the Convocation in Europe. At the American Cathedral in Paris, for instance, there are Francophone and Chinese ministries, while at the Church of St Paul's-within-the-Walls in Rome its Latin American community celebrates the Eucharist each Sunday entirely in Spanish.

Similar needs in other European countries have led the Convocation on its own initiative to translate the most often used services of the 1979 Book of Common Prayer into Italian (1999, with a second, enlarged edition in 2001) and German (2004). These two books are bilingual with the English and the Italian or German texts on facing pages. In 2003 bilingual books were also published in English and French and in English and Spanish. These four books are particularly useful in new mission congregations in such places as Bordeaux, Toulon, Augsburg, and Nürnberg, where many of the worshippers have only limited knowledge of the English language.

Bilingual Prayer Books have a threefold purpose and appeal. First, a significant number of Anglicans and Episcopalians are married to a national of one of the countries in mainland Europe and have children who are being shaped each day by the local language and culture; these books enable such families to worship together, united in their diversity rather than divided by it. Second, baptisms, marriages, funerals, and memorial services are attended by many non-Episcopalians who are not at home with the English language; these books are a gesture of hospitality, making the services on such important occasions accessible and intelligible to the visitor. Finally, a growing number of nationals in each country are, by their own desire, becoming members of Convocation parishes; these books allow them to hear in their own language, as on the Day of Pentecost, about the great things that God has done and to respond in prayer and praise.

The Episcopal Church has enjoyed full communion with the Old Catholic Churches for more than seventy years, with particularly close ties between the Convocation in Europe and the Catholic Diocese of the Old Catholics in Germany. A new altar book, *Die Feier der Eucharistie,* was published in 1995. One distinctive feature is the inclusion of no less than twenty-three eucharistic prayers, some seasonal in content. The first of these prayers also appears in the altar book in an English translation, and there are plans to publish this English version in a booklet together with one or more of the Episcopal Church's eucharistic prayers in their German translation. In all these ways the services of the 1979 Book of Common Prayer, in a variety of languages, are enabling more and more people to discover for themselves the abiding riches of the Anglican liturgical tradition.

In recent years leaders of the rapidly growing European Union have challenged the historic Christian confessions to help 'give Europe a soul'. As the visitor to the Iberian Peninsula discovered in 1962, 'no single Anglican Church is responsible for Europe'. However, with a quite new sense of shared mission, the four Anglican jurisdictions are seeking to play their part in responding to that challenge.

The new realities of present-day Europe are bringing the nations and the churches

closer together than ever before, and the wider world beyond the shores of Europe is also part of that picture. There are now Sudanese Anglicans in Oulu praying in Arabic, Ecuadorian Episcopalians in Rome worshipping in Spanish, Chinese students in Paris being confirmed in Mandarin, Rwandan Anglicans in Rennes hearing the gospel proclaimed in French, and old and new members of established congregations using a variety of other languages as they celebrate the Eucharist together. In all these settings the Book of Common Prayer, in one or other of its versions, is an indispensable guide and companion on this journey into fresh and largely uncharted waters. With its help Anglicanism is becoming increasingly indigenous on the Continent, enhanced by the cultural and linguistic riches of its mainland European environment.

PART SIX

Worship in the Prayer Book Family

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Anglicans and Liturgical Revision

Richard Geoffrey Leggett

During the twentieth century Anglicans embarked on an ambitious project of liturgical revision that continues to the present day. The liturgical consensus enshrined in the 1662 Prayer Book and its derivatives began to unravel as a consequence of many factors described earlier in this volume: historical research, theological development, and pastoral accommodation throughout the Anglican Communion (*see* Buchanan, 'Change', pp. 229–38). In place of the traditional near-uniformity, there is now a more complex array of liturgical practices. These liturgical developments have come about independently in their individual provinces, but interdependently within the formal and informal structures of the Communion. There has also been considerable liturgical adaptation and development within other denominations, and Anglicans have participated in this ecumenical phenomenon. So it is that as Anglicans enter the twenty-first century, there are three broad ways in which different provinces make use of official liturgical books. In some provinces, Prayer Books are used which remain faithful to the structure and content of the 1662 tradition. In others, the authorized Prayer Book departs in significant ways from that tradition, while in still other provinces there are 'alternative service books', incorporating the insights of the Liturgical Movement and contemporary society, that are used in conjunction with more traditional books.

One paradoxical result is that the newer Anglican Prayer Books invariably promote variety. Within a given rite, a number of options are usually provided for. Instead of a eucharistic prayer modelled either on the English text of 1552 and 1662 or on the Scots-American prayers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, most contemporary Anglican eucharistic rites provide a variety of eucharistic prayers that derive from Anglican, Roman Catholic, and ecumenical sources. Similarly, the newer books augment the traditional canticles of Morning and Evening Prayer by adding canticles drawn from the scriptures and the writings of significant Christian theologians and mystics. In some cases the newer rites permit the use of another 'affirmation of faith' in place of the Apostles' or Nicene Creeds. The older Anglican ethos of uniformity has been further challenged by the 'directory' approach to worship, which prescribes the structure of a rite but not the specific wording of its prayers. For example, the 1979 American Prayer Book includes not only eucharistic rites in both traditional and contemporary language, but also a third rite that sets out a list of items that are to be included in the structure for the liturgy, along with certain directions for the prayers, but prescribes only a few specific textual elements that are to be used in the celebration. This approach, which puts much of the content of a given service into the hands of the presider or the worshipping community, is strongly reinforced by the emergence of CD-ROM and desktop publishing technology. Both the American and English churches are marketing digital resources that obviate the need for any liturgical book in the pew (*see* Kraus, 'Technology', pp. 541–44, and Morris, 'Cyberspace', pp. 545–50).

Meanwhile, however, all the provinces of the Anglican Communion do authorize Prayer Books to guide their common worship, and these books show their ancestry by including certain standard services, altered to varying degrees. As in the classical Prayer Books of the

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, time–in the seasons of the church year and in the weekly and daily observances–is an integral part of worship. There are services of initiation, services of the Eucharist, rites of ordination, and pastoral rites. The articles that follow this introduction treat these from a 'cross-Communion' perspective.

Time

At the heart of the Christian faith is the incarnation of the Word of God in time and space. Consequently, how time and the seasons are observed is an important dimension of Christian worship. Whether the times are those of the *temporale* (the seasonal calendar), the *sanctorale* (commemoration of saints and heroes of the faith), or the day, time matters as an expression of *kairos*.

The widespread adoption and adaptation of the three-year eucharistic lectionary introduced by the Roman Catholic communion as a consequence of the liturgical reforms of the Second Vatican Council has had an impact on how Anglicans celebrate the liturgical year (*see* Baldovin, 'Liturgical Movement', p. 256). The lectionary's renewed focus on the paschal mystery as the foundation of the Christian year has brought with it the restoration of the rites of Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and the Easter Vigil in many Anglican provinces. Preparation for celebrating the Nativity is now anticipated in many places by the celebration of the reign of Christ. On the Sundays linking the two great seasons readings are appointed that narrate the patriarchs, prophets, and kings of Israel as well as the great deeds of the ministry of Christ prior to his entry into Jerusalem.

Beginning in the 1950s, Anglicans have also undertaken a reconsideration of the *sanctorale*. This reconsideration has led to a greater celebration of how Christ has worked in the lives of men and women throughout the world. As the Canadian *Book of Alternative Services* (*BAS*) puts it, 'The Church celebrates the victory of Christ in the lives of particular individuals in the commemoration of saints.' There are, the *BAS* continues, a number of reasons for remembering these people: because they 'inspired the reverent wonder of another time and place', for example, or because they were part of 'the heroic struggle involved in the development of the Church in this country'. Throughout the Anglican Communion liturgical calendars now regularly include the names of persons and events associated with the development of the particular province, as well as more recent Christian heroes from other Christian communities such as Maximilian Kolbe, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, and Pope John XXIII.

Building upon the tradition of Morning and Evening Prayer, Anglican provinces have begun to develop liturgical offices for midday and night as well, so that the whole day might be consecrated by the prayer of the faithful. More recent developments in New Zealand and England have included forms of prayer that have more fixed elements than variable ones, so as to encourage the use of daily prayer resources by the laity.

Christian Initiation

In *Anglicanism and the Christian Church*, Paul Avis has sketched the movement of Anglican ecclesiology through three paradigms: Erastian, apostolic, and baptismal. The third of these, he argues, is primary. Baptism grounds 'the unity that exists and cries out to be realised in shared Holy Communion, shared mission and shared oversight'. The other two models, Erastian and apostolic, have tended to obscure the Christological reality that constitutes the church's unity, namely that Christians are one body through their initiation into Christ (Avis, 348). In its 1991 Toronto Statement on 'The Principles of Christian Initiation', the International Anglican Liturgical Consultation (IALC) likewise affirmed the centrality of baptism: 'The renewal of baptismal practice is an integral part of mission and evangelism. . . . Liturgical texts must point beyond the life of the church to God's mission in the world.' Given

this theological climate, it is not surprising that the reevaluation of existing baptismal rites has been one of the focuses of recent revision. The traditional language of baptism as incorporating individuals into Christ for salvation has been expanded to include reference to baptism as initiation into mission and ministry. Many rites permit the use of chrism, to evoke biblical images such as the anointing of kings, the royal priesthood, and the eschatological seal of the saints.

Setting baptism as the sacramental basis of initiation into the church and its ministry has had implications for confirmation. Several provinces now permit baptized infants and children to receive the Eucharist prior to confirmation, and baptized members of other Christian traditions are often welcome to receive the Eucharist in Anglican congregations. In addition to rites for confirmation, many provinces have prepared rites for the reaffirmation of baptism as a means for confirmed Christians to renew their baptismal confession of faith.

Holy Eucharist

At the centre of the Reformation were heated debates regarding the theology, structure, and content of the Eucharist. In many and various ways these debates continued through the centuries of Anglican expansion. While English Prayer Books preserved, with some amendment, the theological and structural character of the 1552 eucharistic liturgy, the Scottish and American Prayer Books looked back to the 1549 Prayer Book (*see* Hatchett, 'America', pp. 178–79). Early twentieth-century eucharistic revision focused on attempts to balance these two traditions, the English tradition with its shorter eucharistic prayer, ending with the institution narrative, and the Scots-American tradition, with its *epiclesis* or invocation of the Spirit and its oblation.

Contemporary Anglican eucharistic rites tend to include an *epiclesis* in the eucharistic prayer. In some prayers this invocation is a petition that the Holy Spirit might come upon the bread and wine to make these elements the body and blood of Christ. In other prayers the Holy Spirit is invoked upon the gathered community, so that, in eating the bread and drinking the cup, the community might share in the body and blood of Christ. Many Prayer Books contain several eucharistic prayers, so that differing views of the work of the Holy Spirit in the Eucharist may be accommodated within one national church. There has also been renewed interest in the structure of the eucharistic liturgy. In the Dublin Statement, 'Renewing the Eucharist', IALC 1995 reviewed the progress on eucharistic revision in the Communion and recommended the recognition of one basic, five-part structure for the rite (see Dowling, 'Eucharist', pp. 460–64). Most contemporary Anglican eucharistic rites reflect this structure, particularly in the restoration of the prayers of the people as an act of the entire assembly and in a renewed emphasis on mission in the sending forth of the people.

Ordination

The growth of a baptismal ecclesiology has had an impact on the ordination rites of the Communion. The liturgical role of the laity in the rites has, in most cases, been expanded, and more active participation of the congregation in the presentation of candidates and in the ordination prayers themselves is encouraged. Many rites have revised the examination of the candidates to emphasise the collaborative role of the laity in the ministry and mission of the church. Another of the IALC's statements, issued in 2001, declares that Christian baptism is 'the foundation for Christian ministry, both of the church as a whole, and of each of its members, including those called to serve Jesus Christ as bishops, presbyters, or deacons'. Here 'baptismal ecclesiology' means setting ordination in this theological context.

In those provinces where the restoration of the diaconate as a full and equal order has been an ongoing project of the last fifty years or more, the ordination rite for deacons has

undergone significant change. Language describing the diaconate as an 'inferior' order is increasingly being replaced by language that speaks of the deacon as one who animates the *diakonia,* the 'servanthood' of the whole body, and who serves as an agent of the church's ministry to the world.

Pastoral Offices

Changes in the wider culture have transformed all the pastoral offices. Anglican marriage rites are less likely to require that the bride be given to the bridegroom, or that she promise to obey her husband. Some rites permit the presider to omit the procreation of children as one of the purposes of marriage when the circumstances of the couple make this appropriate. Similarly, older rites of ministry to the sick speak of illness as divine visitation, sent either to try patience or to correct and amend faults, so that while the possibility of healing is not absent, the dominant theme is penitence. Newer rites tend to focus on the healing mercy of God, whether it is body, soul, or mind that is healed. Many rites now permit the use of oil as a concrete sign of God's healing intentions. Funeral rites reflect newer understandings of the course of grief, and address the pastoral needs of family and friends.

Prospects

Anglicanism as a distinct theological tradition began as a national church within a monarchical context. Its liturgical language was shaped by its cultural and national environment as well as by a desire to remain faithful to what was understood to be the catholic tradition. However, as that tradition moved beyond the confines of the English state, into what came to be known as the British Empire, Anglicans elsewhere in the world began to question the appropriateness of insular English language, metaphor, and ritual style. Such questioning occurred as the Scottish Episcopalians became a persecuted minority within the United Kingdom and as American Episcopalians wrestled with the consequences of the War of Independence for the church in the United States. In later generations, especially after World War II and the transformation of the British Empire into the Commonwealth, Christians in Africa, Asia, Oceania, and the Americas debated what constitutes the essential characteristics of Anglican worship.

Contemporary Anglican liturgical revision has sought to identify both the transcultural elements that unite us and the contextual elements that legitimately vary from province to province. Following the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral, the IALC's York Statement of 1989 identifies four essentials – 'the Bible, creeds, sacraments of the gospel, and episcopal ordination' – to which it adds the use of the vernacular. But the 'vernacular' is not limited to the written and spoken word; it extends to liturgical time, space, patterns of daily prayer, sacred meals, and ritual care of the sick and dying, as well as setting persons apart for specialized service within the community. Gestures, music, vesture, and hymnody are all expressions of the 'vernacular' (*see* Douglas, 'Inculturation', pp. 271–76). It is precisely the 'vernacular' which distinguishes one Anglican household from another. Thus the churches of the Anglican Communion are facing the process of inculturation, which Victor Atta-Bafoe and Phillip Tovey have characterised as 'the process of overcoming cultural alienation in worship'. It is not a process that follows a schedule. A given church can remain in one phase for decades, even centuries. Nor does its sociology conform to one invariable pattern. Sometimes the 'missionaries' of the founding culture become the strongest advocates for thorough inculturation rather than defenders of the transmitted tradition.

In some areas Anglicans are still engaged in the preliminary steps to genuine inculturation, indigenizing and adapting the inherited tradition; some Anglican provinces have chosen to adapt or adopt, for local use, liturgical texts and rites from other Anglican provinces, most notably from American and English sources, rather than engage in provincial revision.

Whether the newer liturgical rites of Africa, Asia, and Latin America represent adaptation or thorough inculturation is a matter about which opinions differ. *Our Modern Services,* the new Kenyan Prayer Book (2002), represents a significant move towards inculturation, yet the bulk of the texts and rubrics reflect the ongoing influence of the English Anglican liturgical tradition. Aboriginal peoples in Canada have taken some preliminary steps towards adapting existing rites, but these efforts are relatively recent and the majority of aboriginal peoples use local-language translations of the traditional Prayer Book.

Throughout their Communion, Anglicans are seeking liturgical voices that express the Communion's cultural and linguistic diversity. In English-speaking portions of the Communion, for example, the hegemony of Tudor-language liturgical texts is being replaced by a growing body of indigenous English-language texts that reflect the differing idioms of contemporary English used in the world today. These newer texts maintain the cadence and dignity of their venerable predecessors while enabling contemporary Anglicans to proclaim the gospel in the vernacular of their own times. Similarly, incorporating gestures particular to a given culture–such as the use of eiderdown in some North American aboriginal communities as a sign of peace, or the congregational gestures accompanying the confession and absolution in the Kenyan eucharistic liturgy–embodies the vernacular principle of Anglican worship. This commitment to the vernacular is not new: 'It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the Primitive Church, to have publick Prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a tongue not understanded of the people' (Article XXIV).

Although the Lambeth Conference of 1958 could speak of the unifying influence of the Prayer Book as if there were only one exemplar, Anglicanism has always been committed to vernacular catholicism. As Thomas Cranmer wrote in 'Of Ceremonies, Why some be abolished and some retained':

> For we think it convenient that every country should use such ceremonies, as they shall think best to setting forth of God's honour and glory; and to the reducing of the people to a most perfect and godly living, without error or superstition: and that they should put away other things, which from time to time they perceive to be most abused, as in men's ordinances it often chanceth diversely in diverse countries.

It remains to be seen whether the project of inculturation will be pursued with equal vigour throughout the Anglican Communion. Inculturation always poses a challenge to the existing tradition, because this process demands answers to the question of identifying the essentials of Christian faith and practice. However, as Anglicans enter the twenty-first century embroiled in debates about what constitutes these essentials and about how authority is to be exercised within the Communion, the ongoing work of liturgical inculturation–faithfulness to the essentials of the catholic faith as those are expressed in the Quadrilateral, but expressing that faith in a language 'understanded of the people', whoever, wherever, and whenever they may be–must continue if the commission to 'make disciples of all nations' (Matthew 28.19a) is to be fulfilled.

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The Daily Office

John Gibaut

WITH OTHER HISTORICAL liturgical traditions, notably Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Reformed, and Lutheran, Anglicans share a rich heritage of daily liturgical prayer. Indeed, a constitutive element of Anglican liturgical life has been its daily services of Morning and Evening Prayer, also known as Matins and Evensong, and collectively as the Daily Office. The Daily Office of the Book of Common Prayer and its successors has been the daily prayer of cathedral, collegiate, and monastic communities, parishes, families, and lay people, as well as the mandated prayer of Anglican clergy. It is prayed in silence by individuals or aloud by small communities with great simplicity. In cathedral and other communities it is prayed with renowned solemnity, its versicles and responses, psalms and canticles sung to classical Anglican chant, plainsong, or other musical idiom; indeed, for centuries, the finest Anglican liturgical music was composed for the celebration of Morning and Evening Prayer.

Cathedral and Monastic Offices

The roots of the Prayer Book's Daily Office lie deep in antiquity. Daily prayer in the morning, evening, and at night was a feature of Judaism. Early Christianity appears to have retained this practice from its Jewish roots, though other hours were added as well. Eventually, morning and evening emerged as the most important times to pray. Such prayer was not the responsibility of particular kinds of Christians such as monastics (which did not yet exist), clergy, or the particularly pious, but was the responsibility of all Christians, whether alone or in small groups.

Once Christianity became legal in the fourth century, moreover, daily prayer underwent dramatic changes along with the rest of the church's liturgical life. With the much larger numbers of lay people and clergy worshipping together in the large, newly constructed basilican churches, daily prayer became increasingly grand. It was generally associated with morning and evening, which became occasions to commemorate the rising and dying of the Lord. From that time, two distinct forms of daily prayer emerged, which in the twentieth century were conveniently classified as the 'cathedral' and 'monastic' offices.

The cathedral office, or parochial or peoples' office, was the form of daily morning and evening prayer for the laity with their bishops and clergy, who gathered at the cathedral church, the principal (if not the only) place of public worship. Worship was simple: a limited number of psalms, as well as biblical and non-biblical canticles (such as the *Gloria in excelsis*) which were known by heart, and intercession for the church and the world. Both liturgies were sung by the community. Biblical readings, notably, were not characteristic of the cathedral office. Evening prayer began with a service of light, the *lucenarium*, reminiscent of the practice of lighting the lamps in Jewish worship, but recalling as well Jesus Christ, the light of the world, the sun which knows no setting. The fundamental symbols were day and night, the rising and setting of the sun. In contemporary phraseology, the aim of the cathedral or

peoples' office–beyond the primary function of celebrating the paschal mystery by way of the natural rhythm of the day–was corporate 'prayer and praise'.

The monastic office on the other hand, emerged in the same period as the daily prayer of a very different sort of community. Monastic men and women also kept morning and evening as times of communal liturgical prayer, to which other hours were added that were initially prayed privately. In the cathedral tradition only a limited selection of psalms would be used; in the monastic office the whole Psalter was recited, in order, often in the course of a week. While in the cathedral office the singing of psalms was an act of praise, in the monastic offices it was a means of meditation leading to silent prayer. Additionally, the monastic communities introduced the practice of biblical readings in the context of daily prayer. As with the Psalter, scripture was read by the monks continuously or 'in course', a practice known as *lectio continua*.

Although both monastic and cathedral communities retained the times of prayer in the morning and evening, in terms of ethos, content, length, and purpose they were exceedingly different. Over time, the monastic office came to replace the cathedral or parochial office. This began in places where monks moved into towns, and later formed the nuclei of cathedral communities; by the sixth century, the monastic office was predominant. To morning and evening prayer, referred to in the western tradition as Lauds and Vespers, were joined the other monastic offices now prayed publicly: Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Compline, and Vigils or Nocturns, later known as Matins. Of the many early medieval types of monastic offices, the most important was the office of the mid-sixth-century Rule of St Benedict, which was gradually adopted across western Europe. St Benedict refers to daily liturgical prayer as the *Opus Dei*, the 'Work of God', and entitles it the 'Divine Office', from the Latin *officium,* meaning 'service' or 'duty'.

During the Middle Ages, the Daily Office became increasingly the prayer of monastics and by extension the clergy, and less that of the laity and the local church. While there is evidence of lay people attending the Divine Office in some places throughout the Middle Ages, and especially on Sundays, they were at best spectators. The monastic offices were lengthy, complicated choral services sung in Latin, often with great beauty and splendour. Gregorian chant, for example, developed in relationship to the medieval office. Additional liturgical elements were added to the original pattern, such as sung antiphons of notorious complexity. Yet some foundational elements disappeared, particularly the intercessions: what remained were the *Kyries* without the rest of the litanies, or the versicles and responses (*preces*) without the actual petitions, and even they eventually disappeared. Extra-biblical material, such as writings from the church fathers and hagiographical lives of the saints, came to supplant the scriptural readings. Lauds, Vespers, and other services were recited at different hours, and were no longer linked to the natural rhythm of the day. Lastly, the Divine Office became inextricably yoked to the escalating complexities of the medieval liturgical calendar.

For all its shortcomings, the medieval monastic office remained a liturgical celebration within a community, with different ministries, books, and music. By the eleventh century, however, the Divine Office had become the duty not only of communities but of individuals, whether they attended the corporate celebration or not. This shift required a single volume which contained all the material needed to pray the Divine Office, in a significantly abbreviated form. The *Breviarium* or Breviary contained the minimal amount needed for an individual to pray the sevenfold monastic office. While public celebration continued in cathedral, collegiate, and monastic churches, private recitation from the Breviary became normative for the parish clergy. The convoluted rules and supplementary offices for observing the overloaded liturgical year added another level of complexity to the Daily Office: no two days in a row would ever have shared the same liturgical content. A celebrated appraisal of the late medieval Daily Office appears in the preface of the 1549 Book of Common Prayer:

> The Service in this Church of England (these many years) hath been read in Latin to the people, which they understood not; so that they have heard with their ears only; and their hearts, spirit, and mind, have not been edified thereby. . . . Moreover the number and hardness of the rules called the pie, and the manifold changings of the service, was the cause, so to turn to the book only, was so hard and intricate a matter, that many times, there was more business to find out what should be read, than to read it when it was found out.

Efforts to restore the Daily Office to its earlier place as the prayer of the laity began centuries before the sixteenth-century Reformation. By the thirteenth century, elements from the Breviary were being gathered into simplified orders of daily liturgical prayer known as ‘books of hours’. Often beautifully illuminated, the late medieval books of hours with their simplified and reduced liturgical material, unvarying pattern, and curtailed psalmody bear some structural resemblance to the forgotten cathedral office, although in practice they were used by individuals rather than communities. Their popularity increased with the advent of the printing press in the mid-fifteenth century, and began to appear in the vernacular.

The Reformation

One of the most important reforms of the Daily Office in the sixteenth century was the work of the Spanish reformer Francisco de Quiñones. At the request of Pope Paul III, Quiñones produced a Breviary in 1535 that drastically simplified its predecessor, including its treatment of the liturgical year. The entire Psalter was to be recited within a week, and the Bible within a year. The result was a simplified sevenfold office with a large amount of scripture. It remained, however, in Latin and for the use of individual clergy rather than communities. Despite its popularity among clergy and those in religious orders, it was discontinued by Pope Paul IV in 1558 for having departed too much from the inherited tradition.

Continental reformers such as Martin Luther and Martin Bucer also sought to reform the Daily Office of the late medieval church. Unlike Quiñones, they understood daily liturgical prayer to be for the whole church, not just the clergy, and accordingly put these services into the vernacular. They returned to the foundational hours of morning and evening, and drastically simplified the structures of Matins and Vespers. In some ways, their reforms looked like a restoration of the ancient cathedral office. However, they also understood the historic purpose of the Daily Office to be proclamation of the Bible, including preaching. This last element, while thoroughly consistent with the aims of the reformers, was a feature of the monastic office which they otherwise so vehemently rejected.

Thomas Cranmer’s reform of the Daily Office took place after attempts of Quiñones and the continental reformers and was influenced by both, especially Quiñones. Daily Morning and Evening Prayer in the Book of Common Prayer were intended to be the prayer of the whole Christian community, not just the clergy (although from the 1552 Prayer Book onwards priests and deacons are specifically enjoined to pray the office). With the rest of the Prayer Book, the offices were rendered in the vernacular.

The Daily Office in the Prayer Book consists of two celebrations, in the morning and evening. They retain elements of the medieval monastic office: Morning Prayer includes elements of Matins, Lauds, and Prime, while Evening Prayer is a combination of Vespers and Compline. Like Quiñones’ office, the medieval liturgical elements are greatly simplified. At Morning Prayer in the first, 1549 Book of Common Prayer (known by the medieval title ‘Mattyns’), the invariable invitatory is Psalm 95, the *Venite*; the *Te Deum*, from medieval Mattins, is the invariable canticle following the first reading (except in Lent when it is replaced by the *Benedicite*); the invariable canticle after the second reading is the *Benedictus*, taken from the medieval Lauds. Evening Prayer (known by its medieval title ‘Evensong’) contains no invitatory and has two invariable canticles: the *Magnificat* from the medieval Vespers, and

the *Nunc dimittis* from Compline. From the 1552 Prayer Book onwards, however, psalms are provided as alternatives to the traditional office canticles due to Protestant objection to the gospel canticles (interestingly, the first American Prayer Book removed the gospel canticles altogether).

The Apostles' Creed, from medieval Prime and Compline, follows the second canticle in both offices. The versicles and responses in both offices are invariable. The simplicity of the rite, use of the vernacular, the repetition of particular canticles and Psalm 95, and the assumed sung nature of the celebration lend to the Prayer Book services of Morning and Evening Prayer something of the flavour of the ancient cathedral office. On the other hand, like the offices of Quiñones, the continental reformers, and the classical monastic office, the Prayer Book contains psalmody and two scripture readings at both offices. The Psalter is to be read in course in a month and the Bible in a year according to the monastic *lectio continua*. The alternation between biblical proclamation and canticles is unique to the Prayer Book office. The final versicles and responses after the Lord's Prayer with the collects form the basis of intercessory prayer; the 1662 Prayer Book enriched this material by the inclusion of the state prayers. Although meagre compared to the primitive accent on intercessions, the inclusion of the versicles and responses marks the recovery of a forgotten element (*preces*) of the medieval office in the Book of Common Prayer. While the modern distinction between cathedral and monastic offices was as unavailable to Archbishop Cranmer as it was to other sixteenth-century liturgical reformers, he nonetheless created a uniquely hybrid office, the aim of which is set forth in the beginning of the 1552 rite itself: 'to render thanks for the great benefits that we have received at [God's] hands, to set forth his most worthy praise, to hear his most holy Word, and to ask those things which are requisite and necessary, as well for the body as the soul'. The offices of the 1549 Prayer Book remained fairly consistent in the succeeding editions of the Book of Common Prayer until the twentieth century.

Although the Daily Office in the Prayer Book was intended to be just that, daily prayer throughout the year, it gained a predominate place in the Sunday celebration. The intended pattern in the Prayer Book was Morning Prayer, the Great Litany, and the Eucharist, with Evening Prayer later in the day. With the decline of eucharistic celebration within the sixteenth century, and the consequent shortening of the Eucharist to Ante-Communion, Morning Prayer became the mainstay of Sunday celebration for centuries. From the 1552 Prayer Book onwards, a penitential rite was attached to the beginning of both offices (*see* 'The General Confession'). Even when Morning Prayer was celebrated with the Eucharist, the comparisons between the sung character of the offices with their canticles full of blessing, praise, and thanksgiving stand in marked contrast to the sombre and penitential tones

The General Confession

The second Book of Common Prayer (1552) added a penitential introduction to both Morning and Evening Prayer: sentences from scripture, all of them enjoining confession; an exhortation said by the officiating minister; and this 'general confession, to be said of the whole congregation, after the Minister, kneeling'. Absolution and the Lord's Prayer followed.

Almighty and most merciful Father, we have erred and strayed from thy ways, like lost sheep. We have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts. We have offended against thy holy laws. We have left undone those things which we ought to have done, and we have done those things which we ought not to have done, and there is no health in us: but thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us miserable offenders. Spare thou them, O God, which confess their faults. Restore thou them that be penitent, according to thy promises declared unto mankind, in Christ Jesu our Lord. And grant, O most merciful Father, for his sake, that we may hereafter live a godly, righteous, and sober life, to the glory of thy holy name. Amen.

of the largely said Eucharist, in which thanksgiving was almost eclipsed. Until the late nineteenth century the finest examples of Anglican liturgical music were composed for the Daily Office, rather than the Eucharist. Anglican chant emerged from the plainsong psalm-tones towards the end of the seventeenth century for the psalms and canticles for Matins and Evensong. Composers over the centuries such as W. Byrd, T. Tallis, O. Gibbons, A. Batten, C. V. Stanford, A. H. Brewer, H. W. Sumsion, H. Howells, S. S. Wesley, C. H. Lloyd, and countless others have written some of Christianity's finest liturgical music for the responses, canticles, and (from 1662) anthems of the Prayer Book offices, which continue to be sung in cathedral, collegiate, and parish churches across the Anglican Communion.

In addition to the popularity of Morning and Evening Prayer in Sunday celebration, evidence suggests that the sixteenth-century Prayer Book's vision of daily worship has, in part, continued to this day. The Daily Office has been celebrated almost continuously in cathedrals and some collegiate churches, particularly in England. There is also evidence of public celebration of the offices in many parish churches well into the late eighteenth century, when a notable decline of public and private celebration began, associated with deterioration in church life in general, and the lives of the clergy in particular.

The Tractarian Revival

The Daily Office in the Anglican tradition developed considerably in the nineteenth century through the Tractarian and later Anglo-Catholic movements. New monastic and religious communities emerging across the Anglican Communion began to pray the Daily Office. Often variations of the sevenfold office were simply transported and translated into Prayer Book English from the contemporary Roman Breviary; the Prayer Book office was simply not suited to the needs of such communities. From the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, Anglo-Catholic parish clergy were creating alternatives to the offices of the Book of Common Prayer, with interpolations from the Roman office and elsewhere, which often contained a sevenfold office. An English example is the *Manual of Catholic Devotion* (1950), which saw multiple reprintings. A North American example is the *Monastic Diurnal: or Day Hours of the Monastic Breviary according to the Holy Rule of Saint Benedict with additional Rubrics and Devotions for its Recitation in accordance with the Book of Common Prayer* (1932). The aim of the authors of these and similar unofficial Anglican office books was not so much to supplant the Prayer Book, as to recover and stimulate a new and appealing sense of daily liturgical prayer among the clergy and laity.

A sequel to the Anglo-Catholic interest in the sevenfold office was twentieth-century mainline Anglicanism's recovery of the offices of Prime, None, and especially Compline. Prime and Compline were both included in the proposed 1928 Prayer Book in the Church of England; both were published separately after the defeat of the 1928 book and Compline, at least, reemerged in some revised Prayer Books across the Anglican Communion (Scotland in 1929, Canada in 1962). Although monastic in origin, the popularity of Compline among Anglican clergy and laity foreshadowed a late twentieth-century trend in both Prayer Books and office books: an office characterized by simplicity, brevity, and accessibility, comprising an invariable structure, a selected and limited use of psalmody and scripture, and a place for intercessory prayer.

The Daily Office in the Twentieth Century

The sixteenth-century Anglican vision of the Daily Office as the prayer for the whole Christian community, echoed by Tractarian piety in the nineteenth, was to be renewed by the Liturgical Movement in the twentieth century, but with little success. While the offices of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer survived in places, they did not live up to their Reformation expectations among parish (and other) communities, lay people, and even the clergy. Surely

one reason lies in the innate hybrid nature of the rite: its stark simplicity, meant to liberate it for use by the whole Christian community, was simply too stark for many. On the other hand, for others, the meaty diet of scripture and psalmody–intended to reflect the best insights of the Reformation–clogged the liturgical arteries as surely as the rules of the Pie did to the medieval office. Consequently, twentieth-century Prayer Book revision tended to add more variety in terms of canticles (*see* 'Canticles'), seasonal additions such as antiphons to invitatories, different and lighter arrangements of psalmody, and Daily Office lectionaries with a lighter load of scripture. And, as mentioned above, some revised Prayer Books included versions of Compline. However revised, the basic hybrid nature of the inherited office remained unquestioned.

Liturgical revisions of the Daily Office in the second half of the twentieth century were more venturesome. It is virtually impossible to generalize about the newer revisions, since there are so many variations among the provinces of the Anglican Communion. The newer books tend to permit greater flexibility to suit the needs of particular communities and to reflect seasonal movement through the liturgical year. There are greater choices of canticles and other materials such as responsories. The canticles tend to be overwhelmingly biblical in origin, drawn from both the Old and New Testaments, with a marked preference in many revisions for the gospel canticles, the *Benedictus* and the *Magnificat*. The options and degree of flexibility can make these new books appear somewhat complicated to use: complaints of the rule of the Pie have been raised against more than one provincial revision. Daily Office lectionaries now spread both psalmody and scripture over a longer period of time. There is a more deliberate use of psalms, so they are more reflective of the time of day, the day of the week, and the liturgical season. These lectionaries remain basically monastic in orientation but, on the other hand, some of the newer rites highlight the importance of intercessory prayer, including the restoration of litanies. Ritual actions such as the 'service of light' with its thanksgiving have also been restored and, as such, they have started to reproduce elements of the cathedral or parochial office (*see* 'A Service of Light').

Efforts to create more engaging formats for celebrating the office have often been inspired by the renewed rites of Anglican religious communities. The most important recent example is the English *Daily Office SSF* of the European Province of the Society of Saint Francis (1981, 1986), which enjoyed a much wider use beyond Anglican Franciscans. A later version of this book was published as *Celebrating Common Prayer: A Version of the Daily Office SSF* in 1992, and enjoyed wide use across the Anglican Communion. The uniform structure of daily prayer in this office book is divided into a seven-day grid, Sunday to Saturday, with each day containing Morning, Midday (from the monastic office None), Evening Prayer, and Compline. The seven-day grid also corresponds to seven liturgical seasons. In Eastertide, for instance, one prays only the Sunday offices, at Christmastide the Wednesday offices, in Lent the Friday offices, and so forth. While there is daily variation, there is also weekly unity and seasonal integrity. The successor to *Celebrating Common Prayer*, the 2002 preliminary version of the Church of England's *Common Worship: Daily Prayer,* has retained a modified version of this particular structure. The same seven-day pattern is found in the earlier 1989 *New Zealand Prayer Book* and the 1995 *Prayer Book for Australia*, which show clear signs of dependence on *Celebrating Common Prayer*; the seven-day grid, however, does not reflect the liturgical seasons in either the Australian or New Zealand revisions.

The move from the twofold office of the Book of Common Prayer to the decidedly more monastic fourfold office–Morning Prayer, Noonday Prayer, Evening Prayer, and Compline–is characteristic of some newer Anglican Prayer Books. For example, the fourfold office is a feature of the 1979 American Book of Common Prayer, the 1985 Canadian *Book of Alternative Services* (although its awkward 'Late Night Prayer' seemed more complicated than the Pie, and was replaced in 2001 by the separately published *Night Prayer: An Order for Compline*), the 1989 *New Zealand Prayer Book,* and England's 2002 *Common Worship: Daily Prayer*. A threefold office of Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, and Compline is found in

Canticles

The classical Book of Common Prayer provides seven canticles for recitation at Morning and Evening Prayer. Recent Prayer Books have added many more, including these four. The Eliot canticle is from *Murder in the Cathedral.*

The Song of the Knowledge of Wisdom

A Prayer Book for Australia

O God of our ancestors and Lord of mercy:
you have made all things by your word.
By your wisdom you have formed us:
to have dominion over all your creation,
To be stewards of the world in holiness and righteousness:
and to administer justice with an upright heart.
Give us Wisdom who sits by your throne:
do not refuse us a place among your servants,
For Wisdom knows your works:
and was present when you made the world.
She understands what is pleasing in your sight:
and what accords with your commandments.
Send her from the holy heavens:
from the throne of your glory bid her come,
That she may labour at our side:
and we may learn what is pleasing to you.
For she knows and understands all things:
and will guide us prudently in our actions
and protect us with her glory.

The Song of the Women

A New Zealand Prayer Book

We praise thee, O God, for thy glory displayed in all the creatures of the earth,
In the snow, in the rain, in the wind, in the storm; in all of thy creatures, both the hunters and the hunted.
For all things exist only as seen by thee, only as known by thee, all things exist
Only in thy light, and thy glory is declared even in that which denies thee; the darkness declares the glory of light.
Those who deny thee could not deny, if thou didst not exist; and their denial is never complete, for if it were so, they would not exist.
They affirm thee in living; all things affirm thee in living; the bird in the air, both the hawk and the finch; the beast on the earth, both the wolf and the lamb.
Therefore we, whom thou hast made to be conscious of thee, must consciously praise thee, in thought and in word and in deed.

T. S. Eliot

Saviour of the World

Book of Common Prayer, Church of Nigeria, and others

Jesus saviour of the world, come to us in your mercy:
we look to you to save and help us.

By your cross and your life laid down
you set your people free:
we look to you to save and help us.

When they were ready to perish,
you saved your disciples:
we look to you to come to our help.

In the greatness of your mercy loose us from our chains:
forgive the sins of all your people.

Make yourself known as our saviour and mighty deliverer:
save and help us that we may praise you.

Come now and dwell with us Lord Christ Jesus:
hear our prayer and be with us always.

And when you come in your glory:
make us to be one with you and to share the life of your kingdom.

A Song of St Anselm

***Common Worship,* Church of England**

Jesus, like a mother you gather your people to you; •
you are gentle with us as a mother with her children.

Often you weep over our sins and our pride, •
tenderly you draw us from hatred and judgement.

You comfort us in sorrow and bind up our wounds, •
in sickness you nurse us, and with pure milk you feed us.

Jesus, by your dying we are born to new life; •
by your anguish and labour we come forth in joy.

Despair turns to hope through your sweet goodness; •
through your gentleness we find comfort in fear.

Your warmth gives life to the dead, • your touch makes sinners righteous.

Lord Jesus, in your mercy heal us; • in your love and tenderness remake us.

In your compassion bring grace and forgiveness, • for the beauty of heaven may your love prepare us.

A Service of Light

In the Anglican Church of Canada's *Book of Alternative Services* (1985), Evening Prayer may be preceded by a Service of Light, which begins with the hymn *Phos Hilaron* ('O gracious Light') and continues with one of several thanksgivings, which include the one following. Then Evening Prayer may continue with the psalm or first reading.

A deacon, or other assistant, or the officiant sings or says,
Let us give thanks to the Lord our God.
People **It is right to give our thanks and praise.**

Blessed are you, O Lord our God, ruler of the universe!
Your word brings on the dusk of evening,
your wisdom creates both night and day.
You determine the cycles of time,
arrange the succession of seasons,
and establish the stars in their heavenly courses.
Lord of the starry hosts is your name.
Living and eternal God, rule over us always.
Blessed be the Lord, whose word makes evening fall. **Amen.**

the 1995 *Prayer Book for Australia*, the 1996 Nigerian Book of Common Prayer, the 2002 Kenyan *Our Modern Services*, and most recently the 2004 Irish Book of Common Prayer, which provides two quite distinct forms.

In other revisions of the Daily Office, there is a preference for retaining solely the classic Anglican offices of Morning and Evening Prayer. For example, the 1980 English *Alternative Service Book*, the 1984 Welsh Book of Common Prayer, and the 1989 *Anglican Prayer Book* of the Province of Southern Africa all use the twofold pattern.

Besides the revised hybrid offices and offices which are more reflective of a monastic pattern, there is an entirely new trend appearing in Anglican Prayer Books. This alternative pattern reflects a recovery of the cathedral or parochial pattern of daily prayer: simpler, shorter, and more accessible. An early example is found in the 1979 American Prayer Book. A recent instance is the 'Simple Celebration' of the office in *Celebrating Common Prayer* (1992), which was published separately as *Celebrating Common Prayer: The Pocket Version* in 1994, and later revised and reprinted in 2002. Following the seven-day grid, the Simple Offices of Morning and Evening Prayer begin with thanksgiving, continue with a limited use of psalms and biblical readings reflective of the time of day and of the day of the week, a single gospel canticle, and intercessions. A number of provincial Prayer Books have followed the lead of *Celebrating Common Prayer* by including this form of the Daily Office, along with the more hybrid or monastic office, in a single volume–notably New Zealand (1989), Australia (1995), England (2002), and Ireland (2004).

Instead of trying to resolve within a single book the dilemma of cathedral, monastic, or classically Anglican hybrid style of the Daily Office, future revisers of Prayer Books would be well advised to leave a degree of liturgical autonomy to communities and individuals. Anglicans no longer pray the same psalms, proclaim the same portions of scripture, sing the same canticles, or pray the same litanies or collects. In some places, the classic offices of Cranmer's Prayer Book will continue to be sung to Anglican chant and the inherited musical tradition, with the monastic pattern of proclaiming psalmody and scripture. In others, the offices will be sung or said by communities with greater or lesser simplicity in a twofold, threefold, or fourfold pattern, with new or revived liturgical music. The same will be true of individuals who pray the Daily Office on their own. What one may expect of the Daily Office are Christians–in community or alone–uniting to pray with the church at the end and

at the beginning of the day, the setting and the rising of the sun, to celebrate the death and rising of Jesus. The abiding elements of the Daily Office in the Anglican tradition are the celebration of the story of salvation through the liturgical year, the praise of God for the gift of creation and redemption, and prayer for the blessings of the Holy Spirit on the church and the world, night and day.

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The Eucharist

Ronald Dowling

It is now common for Anglicans to expect a weekly celebration of the Eucharist, but one hundred years ago this would not have been so. There were not many parishes where the Eucharist was celebrated every Sunday at the main service, although there was a growing trend to have an early celebration. In most places, the main service was most likely to be Morning Prayer. When it was used, the eucharistic rite was that of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer or else closely based on it. The celebration took place at an altar located at the far east end of the church. The priest stood with his back to the people, or perhaps at the 'north end', for most of the service, and it was he who did nearly all the speaking of prayers and reading of scripture. With the passing of a century, however, much has changed. There have been developments not only in the texts of eucharistic rites but also in eucharistic theology. The role of the laity and their participation in the Eucharist has been reassessed and questions raised about who may preside over the celebration, about what language is appropriate, and even about the elements of bread and wine. Both the texts and the mode of celebration have changed, and with them the role of the Eucharist in forming and nurturing Christian faith, and uniting the church in one communion and fellowship.

While there was some attempt to revise eucharistic rites in the early part of the twentieth century – Canada (1922), the United States (1928), England (1928), Ireland (1926), Scotland (1929), and South Africa (1929) – it is mainly since mid-century that widespread and ongoing renewal in eucharistic rites has taken place around the Anglican Communion. The so-called western provinces have been at the forefront of this process, but their efforts were in fact preceded by revisions in South India and Southern Africa. Today we see development in the newer provinces as well: in Africa, for example, many provinces have issued new eucharistic rites and even entire Prayer Books. Southern Africa, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, and Nigeria are all part of this movement. By the turn of the twenty-first century a second round of major revision was also taking place in Australia, England, and the United States, among others, and some draft revisions were appearing in places like Canada and the Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand, and Polynesia.

A Common Approach

Bishops attending the 1988 Lambeth Conference found themselves asking what liturgical norms there were to hold Anglicans together, since the 1662 Book of Common Prayer was being widely revised and expanded, and even disappearing completely in some places where it had been normative. The bishops' question was addressed directly at the 1995 meeting of the International Anglican Liturgical Consultation (IALC) on the Eucharist, which issued a statement to the effect that in the future Anglicans would find their unity not in uniform texts but in a common approach to eucharistic celebration and a structure that ensured a balance of word, prayer, and sacrament.

Certainly in almost all of the most recent rites, this judgement has proved to be accurate. The texts vary a great deal, but common to all is a basic structure for the entire eucharistic rite expressed in this fivefold sequence outlined in the IALC document:

1. The Gathering of God's People
2. Proclaiming and Receiving the Word
3. Prayers of the People
4. Gathering at the Lord's Table (the Table rite, including the eucharistic prayer, the breaking of the bread, and the distribution of communion)
5. Going Out as God's People

Many provincial rites allow for considerable variation within this structure, but the five main units are celebrated universally, in the order listed.

The Gathering of God's People

The gathering rite is a collection of smaller liturgical units that usually include an invocation of the Trinity, a greeting, or both; a hymn of praise; and the collect. In many revisions the penitential material may be placed here. Prayer Books in Australia (1978 and 1995), Canada (1985), and Southern Africa (1989) are examples. The newest rites in England (*Common Worship*, 2000) and Ireland (2004) require the penitential material to be in this Gathering section. Other elements, such as hymns, scripture sentences, the Collect for Purity (*see* 'The Collect for Purity'), the Ten Commandments (*see* 'The Decalogue with New Testament Precepts'), the Summary of the Law, and the *Kyries* are all permitted as optional variations.

The Collect for Purity

Since the first Prayer Book was issued in 1549, Anglican eucharistic liturgy has characteristically opened with the prayer that became known as the Collect for Purity. The language of Cranmer's translation of this ancient collect has been updated slightly in several recent Prayer Books. In the three examples that follow it has been more extensively rephrased.

Book of Common Prayer, 1662	**Melanesia** ***Melanesian English Prayer Book,* 1973**	**Kenya** ***Our Modern Services,* 2002**	**Wales** **'Order for the Holy Eucharist', 2004**
Almighty God, unto whom all hearts be open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid: Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy Name; through Christ our Lord. Amen.	Almighty God, all hearts are open, and all desires known to you, and no secrets are hidden from you; cleanse our thoughts by the breath of your Holy Spirit, so that we may truly love you and worthily praise your holy Name; through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.	Almighty God, You bring to light Things hidden in darkness, And know the shadows of our hearts; Cleanse and renew us by your Spirit, That we may walk in the light And glorify your name, Through Jesus Christ, The Light of the world. Amen.	Heavenly Father, all hearts are open to you. No secrets are hidden from you. Purify us with the fire of your Holy Spirit that we may love and worship you faithfully, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Decalogue with New Testament Precepts

The eucharistic rites of a number of recent Prayer Books provide a form of the Ten Commandments, each followed by a New Testament complement. *Our Modern Services* (Kenya 2002) suggests that two leaders read these alternately. *Common Worship* adds a response after each pair. The version that follows appears in the Church of Ireland's 2004 Book of Common Prayer.

Hear these commandments which God has given to his people, and take them to heart:

I AM THE LORD YOUR GOD: YOU SHALL HAVE NO OTHER GODS BUT ME.
You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul, with all your mind and with all your strength.
Matthew 22:37

YOU SHALL NOT MAKE FOR YOURSELF ANY IDOL.
God is Spirit, and those who worship him must worship in spirit and in truth. *John 4:24*

YOU SHALL NOT DISHONOUR THE NAME OF THE LORD YOUR GOD.
You shall worship him with reverence and awe. *Hebrews 12:28*

REMEMBER THE LORD'S DAY, AND KEEP IT HOLY.
Christ is risen from the dead: set your minds on things that are above not on things that are on the earth.
Colossians 3:1, 2

Lord, have mercy on us,
and write these your laws in our hearts.

HONOUR YOUR FATHER AND YOUR MOTHER.
Live as servants of God; honour all people, love your brothers and sisters in Christ. *1 Peter 2:16*

YOU SHALL NOT COMMIT MURDER.
Be reconciled to your brother and sister: overcome evil with good. *Matthew 5:24, Romans 13:21*

YOU SHALL NOT COMMIT ADULTERY.
Know that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit. *1 Corinthians 6:19*

YOU SHALL NOT STEAL.
Be honest in all that you do and care for those in need. *Ephesians 4:28*

YOU SHALL NOT BE A FALSE WITNESS.
Let everyone speak the truth. *Ephesians 4:25*

YOU SHALL NOT COVET ANYTHING WHICH BELONGS TO YOUR NEIGHBOUR.
Remember the words of the Lord Jesus: It is more blessed to give than to receive. Love your neighbour as yourself, for love is the fulfilling of the law. *Acts 20:35, Romans 13:9, 10*

Lord, have mercy on us,
and write all these your laws in our hearts.

Proclaiming and Receiving the Word

The structure of this section is universal, with almost every revised rite providing for three scripture readings, together with a psalm between the first and second of these. The first reading is normally from the Hebrew Bible and the second from the New Testament, followed by a reading from one of the gospels. Most of the 'western' provinces are now using the *Revised Common Lectionary* of 1992, which is an ecumenically agreed-upon revision of the three-year Roman Catholic lectionary *Ordo lectionum missae*, first published in 1969. Some African provinces use the two-year cycle found in the English *Alternative Service Book 1980*. A sermon or homily follows the gospel reading and the creed is usually recited. Many revisions now allow use of the Apostles' Creed as well as the traditional Nicene Creed.

Prayers of the People

This section almost always allows for alternative prayers, often in litany form. Many rites simply list topics or areas for intercession, without prescribing any text: the world, the church, local communities, those in need and the sick, thanksgiving for the saints and the departed. In a number of cases there are cross-references to prayers and litanies in other sections of the book. Confession and absolution are frequently included following the prayers, and in almost all revised rites the greeting of peace follows here.

Gathering at the Lord's Table

It is in this section where the most divergence in shape, contents, and theology across the new Prayer Books of the Communion occurs. These differences are focused in the eucharistic prayer or 'Great Thanksgiving', discussed below. With the appearance of a first round of eucharistic revisions in the 1970s, a fuller shape of eucharistic prayer became standard. Almost all provinces have provided a variety of alternative eucharistic prayers, and most have returned to the traditional shape for most of those alternatives, although the content varies greatly.

The 'Humble Access' Prayer

In the Holy Communion service of the 1662 Prayer Book, the prayer referred to as the Prayer (or Collect) of Humble Access is said immediately before the consecration. Many later Prayer Books put it before the reception of communion, which was its position in the 1549 book. The 'Centennial Prayer Book' used in Papua New Guinea has a simplified version, and a new paraphrase has been included in the current eucharistic rites of the Church of England and the Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand, and Polynesia.

Book of Common Prayer, 1662	**Papua New Guinea *Anglican Prayer Book*, 1991**	***A New Zealand Prayer Book,* 1989, and *Common Worship,* 2000**
We do not presume to come to this thy Table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies.	We do not trust in our own goodness, Lord, when we come to your table, but in your many and great mercies.	Most merciful Lord, your love compels us to come in. Our hands were unclean, our hearts were unprepared;
We are not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy Table.	We are not good enough even to pick up the crumbs under your table.	we were not fit even to eat the crumbs from under your table.
But thou art the same Lord, whose property is always to have mercy: Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood,	But because you always have mercy, help us, Lord, to eat the Flesh of your dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his Blood,	But you, Lord, are the God of our salvation, and share your bread with sinners. So cleanse and feed us with the precious body and blood of your Son,
and that we may evermore dwell in him, and he in us. *Amen.*	that we may always live in him and he in us. *Amen.*	that he may live in us and we in him; and that we, with the whole company of Christ, may sit and eat in your kingdom. **Amen.**

Going Out as God's People

This section, the shortest of the five, includes a prayer of thanks for the sacrament received, often with a petition that the gift received may be enacted in the world; a blessing; and a dismissal to 'go in peace to love and serve the Lord'. Again, extra units such as hymns may be added or not.

Sources of Revision

The history of the eucharistic rites in the Books of Common Prayer from 1549 to 1662 and beyond can be found elsewhere in this volume (*see* Jeanes, 'Cranmer', pp. 31–33 and Spinks, 'Elizabeth to Charles', p. 46). The 1662 Prayer Book has profoundly affected Anglican eucharistic rites ever since, and in the Anglicanism of the early twenty-first century it is the major influence. What might be called a 1662 'family' of rites can be found in revisions current in Canada, Australia, England, New Zealand, and many places in Africa. One of the orders of service in *An Australian Prayer Book* (1978) is simply an updating of the language of the 1662 rite with no other changes. England's *Alternative Service Book 1980* and the new Irish Book of Common Prayer (2004) contain eucharistic rites based very firmly in this tradition.

The shape of the classical Prayer Book consecration prayer derives from the 1552 Prayer Book, in which the 1549 canon was separated into various parts that were then redistributed. The result is essentially an *anamnesis,* emphasizing the uniqueness of Christ's atoning death, and a supplication for the reception of Christ's body and blood, followed by the institution narrative, the people's *Amen*, and the immediate reception of the elements. This form throws the weight of consecration onto the words of institution themselves. Many of the revised rites, however, have returned to the shape of the 1549 Prayer Book, restoring an *epiclesis* before the words of institution, placing the *anamnesis* and a form of oblation after them, and concluding with a supplication for the benefits of communion and a doxology. This shape can be found in the English *Alternative Service Book* and *Common Worship*, the Canadian *Book of Alternative Services*, the Australian books of both 1978 and 1995, *A New Zealand Prayer Book*, the Southern African *Anglican Prayer Book,* and others.

A second 'family' of eucharistic rites evolved from the short-lived Scottish liturgy of 1637 (*see* Hefling, 'Scotland', p. 173). Its major difference from the 1662 rite is that the eucharistic prayer returns very much to the model of 1549, with a more traditional shape in which *anamnesis,* oblation, and supplication (prayer for the benefits of receiving communion) are placed after the institution narrative. Under the influence of the Nonjurors and their knowledge of eastern rites, the *epiclesis* moved to *follow* the *anamnesis* after the words of institution. This became the basis of the Scottish Communion Office of 1764, which was the rite that Samuel Seabury took back with him to the newly independent Episcopal Church in the United States of America. A slightly modified form of its eucharistic prayer would be adopted in the first American Prayer Book of 1789. This 'family' of eucharistic prayers is seen most commonly in the Prayer Books of the United States, Scotland, Canada (the *Book of Alternative Services*), Southern Africa, the West Indies, and some other more catholic-minded provinces.

The difference between these two families was underlined in an extremely important and influential address delivered by Thomas Talley to the IALC in 1993 that emphasized the importance of shape in the eucharistic prayer (see Holeton, *Revising the Eucharist*). Historically, all such prayers contained thanksgiving and supplication. The movement from the first of these to the second establishes liturgical 'families', depending on what is included as 'thanksgiving' and what as 'supplication'. As Talley describes it, this movement from thanks and praise to supplication hinges mainly on the *epiclesis.* Whether this invocation of the Spirit is or is not linked with the *anamnesis* is what gives a different shape to the two 'families' of eucharistic prayer: the first, with its *epiclesis before* the institution narrative, follows

the 1549 model; the second, in which *epiclesis* follows that narrative and is associated with the *anamnesis*, follows the 'Scottish' model. The institution narrative itself takes on a very different meaning in the two cases. When the *epiclesis* precedes this narrative, the words of institution take on a consecratory role, as they do in 1662, even though there is no *epiclesis* at all. When an *epiclesis* comes afterwards, the institution narrative is actually part of the thanksgiving section. Talley pointed out that the first of these two families has much in common with the revised Roman Missal of Paul VI (1970), which puts the *epiclesis* before the institution narrative. The text that follows the institution reverts to thanksgiving (the *anamnesis*) before continuing with supplication. Eucharistic prayers in the English *Alternative Service Book* and *An Australian Prayer Book*, among others, follow this pattern. This movement back and forth between thanksgiving and supplication is new in the tradition, and somewhat confusing.

At the end of the nineteenth century the document called the *Apostolic Tradition*, dating from the beginning or the middle of the third century and often ascribed to Hippolytus of Rome, came to take on 'source document' status, and the shape of its eucharistic prayer greatly influenced many revisions both in the Anglican Communion and beyond (*see* 'Eucharistic Prayer from the *Apostolic Tradition*'). In Anglicanism, it was popularized by Gregory

Eucharistic Prayer from the *Apostolic Tradition*

The treatise that includes this prayer is generally ascribed to St Hippolytus, who wrote at the beginning of the third century, and probably reflects Roman liturgical practice of that time.

Then the deacons shall present the offering to him [the bishop]*; and he, laying his hands on it with all the presbyters, shall say, giving thanks:*

The Lord be with you;

and all shall say:

And with your spirit.

Up with your hearts.

We have them with the Lord.

Let us give thanks to the Lord

It is fitting and right.

And then he shall continue thus:

We render thanks to you, O God, through your beloved child Jesus Christ, whom in the last times you sent to us as saviour and redeemer and angel of your will; who is your inseparable Word, through whom you made all things, and in whom you were well pleased. You sent him from heaven into the Virgin's womb; and, conceived in the womb, he was made flesh and was manifested as your Son, being born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin. Fulfilling your will and gaining for you a holy people, he stretched out his hands when he should suffer, that he might release from suffering those who have believed in you.

And when he was betrayed to voluntary suffering that he might destroy death, and break the bonds of the devil, and tread down hell, and shine upon the righteous, and fix a term, and manifest the resurrection, he took bread and gave thanks to you, saying, 'Take, eat; this is my body, which shall be broken for you.' Likewise also the cup, saying, 'This is my blood, which is shed for you; when you do this, you make my remembrance.'

Remembering therefore his death and resurrection, we offer to you the bread and the cup, giving you thanks because you have held us worthy to stand before you and minister to you. And we ask that you would send your Holy Spirit upon the offering of your holy Church; that, gathering them into one, you would grant to all who partake of the holy things (to partake) for the fullness of the Holy Spirit for the confirmation of faith in truth; that we may praise and glorify you through your child Jesus Christ, through whom be glory and honour to you, to the Father and the Son with the holy Spirit, in your holy Church, both now and to the ages of ages. Amen.

Dix's famous *Shape of the Liturgy*. This structure, with a thanksgiving section giving way to the supplication section in the invocation of the Spirit upon the 'offering' of the church, proved to be highly influential. It gave strong support to the 'Scottish' family of Anglican eucharistic prayers, and variations on the prayer in the *Apostolic Tradition* can be found in many of the revised Anglican Prayer Books as well as the revisions of many other churches.

The *Apostolic Tradition* has had indirect effects as well. In its 1989 Prayer Book the Province of Southern Africa adopted one of the eucharistic prayers from the Missal of Paul VI, itself based on the *Apostolic Tradition*. This is but one example of the influence which the Second Vatican Council has had on liturgy outside as well as within the Roman Catholic Church (*see also* Baldovin, 'Liturgical Movement', pp. 256–57). Other, later eucharistic prayers, published by Rome but not ultimately authorized, have found a home in some modern Anglican revisions, including *Common Worship*. What the latest Vatican directives on the English translation of the Missal will mean for ecumenical agreements in the future is yet to be determined.

In many parts of the world there are now official liturgical consultations between the churches. This is especially true of the English-speaking churches. The churches of the United Kingdom, North America, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, and South Africa all have such dialogues. In the decade of the 1970s the International Consultation on English Texts (ICET) was formed and published agreed modern English texts, most for use in the Eucharist (*see Prayers We Have in Common*). Texts of the Lord's Prayer, *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Sanctus* and *Benedictus*, and *Agnus Dei* were widely adopted in Anglican Prayer Books being revised at the time. In the mid-1980s a reconstituted group known as the English Language Liturgical Consultation (ELLC) revised these texts again and published the revisions as *Praying Together* (1988). A number of later revised Prayer Books have adopted (and in some cases adapted) these texts.

Another major influence on Anglican rites has been the World Council of Churches' Faith and Order Report *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*, sometimes called the Lima Document. This report has influenced eucharistic prayers, not only in their shape but also in their content. It lays out a number of items its compilers believe ought to be included: thanksgiving to the Father, the institution narrative, *anamnesis* of the great acts of redemption, invocation of the Spirit on the community and on the bread and wine, consecration of the faithful to God, reference to the communion of saints, prayer for the return of the Lord, and the community's *Amen*. On the whole this list is well reflected in most recent Anglican liturgies.

As there has been an enormous sharing of resources and scholarship across the churches, so too there has been a wide consultation among the Anglican provinces themselves. In 1985 a group of twelve liturgical scholars from England, Canada, the United States, Southern Africa, Australia, and New Zealand met together to consult on the admission of children to communion. This small group developed into the IALC, now the official liturgical network of the Anglican Consultative Council, with a membership drawn from thirty provinces. At a preparatory conference at Untermarchtal in 1993 and again in Dublin in 1995 the meetings were concerned with the Eucharist. A series of recommendations to the provinces about eucharistic revision and participation was published as *Renewing the Anglican Eucharist*, together with the statements of the various study groups. There is now considerable evidence of the influence of this work in eucharistic revision across the Communion.

Consequently, most revised Anglican eucharistic prayers now have the more complete shape. Some provinces include alternatives that follow the Book of Common Prayer tradition (albeit returned to the 1549 shape) as well as providing eucharistic prayers that follow the 'Scottish' model. In practice, this makes for quite a significant change from receiving communion immediately after the institution narrative, as in the 1662 rite. But within this broad structure there are many variations, and as most provinces are providing a number of

alternative eucharistic prayers, there is great variation in the inner details and so in their theological meaning.

Such variation is particularly evident in the provision, in some provinces, of the 'directory Eucharist' or 'outline order'. Instead of a full word-for-word prescription, a list of 'headings' is provided, normally containing the five sections listed earlier, and the community is meant to supply texts for these sections. Examples of this approach appear in the books currently used in the United States, Southern Africa, Australia, and Aotearoa, New Zealand, and Polynesia, where an authorized eucharistic prayer must be used while other texts are determined by the particular community. Given the wide variety these orders provide, together with the many variations allowed in newer rites like *Common Worship,* the variations and permutations of form and content are almost limitless. This, too, has implications for eucharistic theology.

Prayer Books and Eucharistic Theology

Although some theologians develop their sacramental theology in a systematic way, Anglican eucharistic theology is best discerned from the current officially approved rites themselves. (In some provinces, these will always include the 1662 as foundational.) In most places new rites are developed in dialogue with official doctrine commissions. This relationship is complex and sometimes difficult. Liturgical rites are not just theology turned into prayer, but theology does influence the development of the text. The discerning of eucharistic theology also needs to take into account more than the text; other relevant aspects include the way the text is enacted, the ritual use of symbols, and the way in which these all work together in what William Crockett calls a 'dynamic unity'. Theological aspects of this unity include the notions of consecration, sacrifice, presence, offering, memorial (*anamnesis*), and the role of the Spirit (*epiclesis*)–ironically often the source of disunity.

In this respect the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, with its single text, allows for only a very narrow range of interpretation. Not so today. To ascertain the eucharistic theology of a particular church or province it is necessary to examine all the variations provided. The range of eucharistic meaning is often very wide. While most provinces expect all congregations, no matter what their theological 'colour', to be able to use all the alternative prayers provided, it is only to be expected that groups of one persuasion will tend to favour and therefore use some prayers, while groups of a different theological persuasion will use others. Putting these prayers together with scriptural readings, prayers over the gifts (where provided), and a variety of post-communion prayers makes for an interpretive context that is very wide indeed. This theological diversity is troubling to some and liberating to others.

Over the past century there have been many theological debates and divisions over various aspect of eucharistic theology. The first and most prominent of these is the role of the Holy Spirit in the eucharistic action. The more catholic-minded churches (Philippines, Canada, West Indies, Southern Africa, the United States) are happy to invoke the Spirit on the gifts of bread and wine and on the people.

> We pray you, gracious God, to send your Holy Spirit upon these gifts that they may be the Sacrament of the Body of Christ and his Blood of the new Covenant. (Canada, *BAS*; 1979 US BCP)

> . . . pour your life-giving Spirit upon this Eucharist,
> transfiguring this thanksgiving meal,
> that this bread and wine may become for us the Body and Blood of Christ.
> (1999 Philippines BCP)

Others make a clear distinction between the bread and wine, and the communicants:

Holy Spirit, giver of life,
come upon us now;
may this bread and wine be to us
the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. (2004 Ireland BCP)

Yet others are less specific:

. . . send your Holy Spirit upon us and our celebration
that all who eat and drink at this table
may be strengthened by Christ's body and blood
to serve you in the world. (*A Prayer Book for Australia,* 1995)

Some, like Kenya's *Our Modern Services*, have no invocation of any kind, but these are few.

The three examples quoted are all from after an *anamnesis* in the later section of the prayer. In some eucharistic prayers there is a split or double *epiclesis,* on the bread and wine before the institution narrative, and on the people after the *anamnesis. Common Worship* (England, 2000) provides an example of this:

Lord, you are holy indeed, the source of all holiness;
grant that by the power of your Holy Spirit,
and according your holy will,
these gifts of bread and wine
may be to us the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ;
who, in the same night. . . .
. . . .
Send the Holy Spirit on your people
and gather into one in your kingdom
all who share this one bread and one cup,
so that we, in company with [*N and*] all the saints,
may praise and glorify you for ever. . . .

A full survey would show that there is diversity between provinces, but also between alternative prayers within a province.

More controversial than the role of the Spirit and the *epiclesis* is the sacrificial dimension of the Eucharist. The notion of sacrifice pertains to sacramental theological writing as well as the revision of liturgical texts themselves. The use of sacrificial imagery can be found in the earliest Christian documents like the *Didache* (end of the first century) and the writings of Justin the Martyr (c. 150). With the *Apostolic Tradition* the notion of sacrifice appears in the eucharistic prayer itself. The sacrifice of thanksgiving is linked with the gifts of bread and wine: 'Remembering therefore his death and resurrection, we offer to you the bread and the cup, giving thanks because you have held us worthy to stand before you and minister to you.' By the turn of the first millennium the passion of Christ and the offering of the eucharistic gifts were so closely intertwined that in popular belief Christ's sacrifice was offered again in every celebration of the Mass. The reformers objected strongly to this idea, and the eucharistic prayers of the subsequent Anglican Prayer Books removed all connection of the gifts with the notion of sacrifice or offering. Only after the communion had been distributed was the idea of offering a 'sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving' introduced, in one of the alternate prayers, usually called the Prayer of Oblation. Throughout the renewal of eucharistic liturgy over the last fifty years, catholic and evangelical Anglicans have been at loggerheads over this issue. Most of the revised prayers of this period reflect this diversity. Those rites descending from the Scottish line are more willing to offer the gifts to God.

> We celebrate the memorial of our redemption, O Father, in this sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. Recalling his death, resurrection, and ascension, we offer you these gifts. (1979 US BCP).

Others shy away from any direct connection of the bread and wine with the sacrifice of Christ, often using a phrase like 'with this bread and this cup'.

> Father, with this bread and this cup,
> we do as our Saviour has commanded:
> we celebrate the redemption he has won for us;
> we proclaim his perfect sacrifice,
> made once for all upon the cross,
> his mighty resurrection and glorious ascension. . . .
> (*An Australian Prayer Book,*
> *Alternative Service Book,* and 2004 Ireland BCP)
>
> Therefore, Father, with this bread and this cup
> we celebrate the cross
> on which he died to set us free. (*Common Worship*)

There are also some prayers that make no reference to sacrifice in any way connecting it with the bread and wine.

Much work has been done to bridge the gap between the two sides, and there has been some measure of success. However, there is no clear Anglican position. There is still work to be done and questions to be asked. Not the least important of these questions is whether various moments of a eucharistic prayer can or should be identified with sacrificial ideas. Should the whole prayer and action, instead, be understood as sacrificial?

This same sort of question can also be applied to the theological and liturgical theme of consecration. How consecration is effected has long been part of Anglican discussion, debate, and dispute. Most contemporary liturgists and sacramental theologians do not argue for a 'moment of consecration', as the late medievalists did, although it is arguable that such a view was adopted in the Book of Common Prayer of 1662. Rather, contemporary scholars argue for a consecration effected by the entire eucharistic prayer. Consecration, they maintain, is not linked to the institution narrative or even to the *epiclesis,* but to the whole. Difficulty arises, however, when the consecrated bread or wine runs out and a 'supplementary consecration' must be used to set aside more. Most (but not all) Prayer Books that provide a form of prayer for such cases simply require the repetition of the words of institution, implying that it is this text that is of itself consecratory. This is a particularly Anglican practice, as no other liturgical church makes a similar provision.

Another area of controversy for Anglicans is the matter of the presence of Christ within the Eucharist. The remembrance of the saving acts of Christ is more than a mere mental exercise. The bread and the wine, taken, blessed, and shared, are a participation in the body and blood of Christ (see 1 Corinthians 10:16). Beyond this, Anglicans tend to be reticent. It is in eating the bread and drinking the cup that worshippers participate in and receive God's grace. It is a dynamic relationship, not a static manifestation.

Whose Eucharist?

Prior to the sixth century the Eucharist was clearly a celebration by the entire baptized community. Every baptized member had an active role to play. The clergy did not do everything in the celebration; the Eucharist belonged not just to the bishop or presbyter but to the whole community. From early medieval times, however, the clergy gradually took over

more and more of the roles that lay people had previously undertaken. By the eve of the Reformation the liturgy was totally dominated by the clergy.

The Prayer Books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reformed many aspects of the eucharistic liturgy. The language was changed from Latin to English, drinking from the cup was restored to the laity, Anglicans were required to receive communion more frequently, and the laity were encouraged to join in a limited number of responses and prayers. There were theologically motivated changes in the texts, which removed notions like offering the elements and any sacrifice except a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. Churches were re-ordered so that the table was moved into the chancel, and much ceremonial was eliminated. Yet through all of these changes one thing remained constant: the role of the priest was still very much as it had been for several hundred years. That is, the Eucharist was still highly clericalized. In this, the church as a whole reflected the nature of the culture of which it was part. Western culture was still feudal. The church itself was hierarchically structured and clerically dominated, and its eucharistic rite reflected its organization. The fixed texts had been revised chiefly at the hands of the bishops and every celebration was totally dominated by the priest or bishop. Lay people played almost no active part. The prayers and the scripture readings were all spoken by the priest, often 'in the name of all those that are minded to receive holy Communion'. The people are only mentioned occasionally – in the rubrics.

The middle of the twentieth century saw a great renewal in the study of baptismal theology and baptismal practice, which led to a change in the place of baptism in the life of a congregation. In many places this sacrament became central once more, celebrated within the main liturgy of the day. This movement contributed to a renewal of ecclesiology that moved from a model of clerical domination to a model of the church based on the community of all the baptized. In this model it is the entire assembly which is the celebrant, not just the presiding priest or bishop. The Eucharist belongs to the church and not to any one member of it, ordained or lay. Within the one assembly various laypersons take on roles as representatives of the whole community – reading the scriptures, leading the intercessory prayers, assisting with the distribution of communion, and taking communion to the sick, as well as functioning as welcomers, servers, and musicians. This trend is strongly affirmed in the IALC's Dublin Statement on the Eucharist, which went on to say: 'The liturgical functions of the ordained arise out of pastoral responsibility. Separating liturgical function and pastoral oversight tends to reduce liturgical presidency to an isolated ritual function.'

The last sentence of this recommendation raises the question of who may preside. It has always been Anglican polity that a duly ordained bishop or presbyter, and no one else, is the presider. This rule raises two theological issues. The first concerns who may be ordained; the second, whether ordination is a prerequisite for eucharistic presidency at all. The admission of women to the orders of priest and bishop has caused deep division around the Anglican Communion. In some provinces women have been ordained to the priesthood and the episcopate for a number of years now. In some other provinces women may be priests, but debate continues as to their ordination as bishops, and various schemes have been devised to provide (male) episcopal ministry to those who cannot accept a woman bishop. In still other provinces, women are not ordained at all. Here cultural norms are just as much a factor as are theological and ecclesiological arguments. On the whole, the presidency of women is now widespread, but the debates are not yet entirely over.

Meanwhile, in the last few decades there has also been a growing debate about diaconal and lay presidency at the Eucharist. In some places this practice has grown up because of a lack of presbyters, the need to minister in remote rural circumstances, or both. In other places it has arisen out of a conviction that if lay people can minister the word (read and preach), it is appropriate to balance this ministry by authorizing them to preside at the sacrament. Here is not the place to enter into this debate. It should be recognized, however, that although the vast majority of Anglican opinion (and even canon law) stands opposed to this

practice, as do a number of ecumenical agreements and covenants, both the practice and debate about it are ongoing.

Other Anglican Issues

Inclusion

According to the statement of principles and recommendations that came out of the IALC's 1995 meeting on the Eucharist, 'No baptized person should be excluded from participating in the eucharistic assembly on such grounds as age, race, gender, economic circumstance or mental capacity.' For many of the representatives present at this meeting, the question of age was the major topic of discussion. The Consultation, however, affirmed that the only prerequisite to full participation in the Eucharist is baptism. Accordingly, confirmation should not be understood as the gateway to the altar, nor should age be a ground for denying full communicant participation. The issue has been addressed in some recent Prayer Books, and some provinces–Scotland for one–have published official literature designed to foster the participation of children.

Many provinces have now adopted the practice of admitting young children to communion prior to confirmation. In most of these provinces, the age for admission is somewhere between five and seven years. But in a growing number of provinces there is a movement towards admission to communion from the time of baptism, irrespective of age (*see* Meyers, 'Initiation', pp. 488–90). In these places all the baptized are communicants, be they infants, children, or adults. As a result, children are growing up who have never known a time when they were not fully included in the eucharistic community. Although questions remain about Christian education in relation to admission to communion, many have come to understand that education is always an ongoing process and that experience plays a major and significant role in this nurture.

There are ecumenical issues regarding the sharing of the Eucharist as well. Many provinces have practiced an 'open altar' policy. When there are non-Anglicans present, they are invited to join in the sharing of communion, most commonly at the great seasonal festivals, and at baptisms, confirmations, weddings, and funerals. For the most part, it is a local-level practice. On an official level there is a growing desire for ecumenical agreement to be manifest at the Eucharist. Many Anglican provinces are now growing into formal agreements with Lutherans. One example is the Porvoo agreement between the Church of England and some Scandinavian Lutheran churches. In Canada and the United States there are others. Such agreements have led, in the first place, to intercommunion, but have progressed to mutual recognition of ministries. Elsewhere, covenants are being entered into between Anglican and other Protestant churches, which allow for intercommunion in certain circumstances, for example in rural communities. The trend towards formal as well as informal intercommunion seems to be growing. It does not yet officially include the Roman Catholic Church, although unofficial eucharistic sharing does sometimes happen at the local level. In this case differing views about the Eucharist raise difficulties, as Anglicans tend to see the Eucharist as a means of forging unity, whereas the official Roman Catholic teaching is that sharing in the Eucharist as a sign of unity already achieved.

Adaptation, Indigenization, and Inculturation

No account of the Eucharist in Anglicansim can ignore questions of indigenization and inculturation (*see* Douglas, 'Inculturation', pp. 271–76). Of some importance in this area was a major conference in Kanamai, Kenya, in 1993. The section of the Kanamai Statement on the Eucharist had this to say: 'In drawing up eucharistic liturgies, each province should carefully examine the relevant cultural practices of its nation or region as they might affect

eucharistic worship or reflect upon it. In the process of drafting eucharistic rites, provinces should judge whether the cultural practices it has defined can be affirmed in the liturgy' (Gitari, *Anglican Liturgical Inculturation in Africa*). This statement also raises questions about appropriate symbols, architecture, decoration, music, and vesture.

While a number of revised Prayer Books have been translated into other languages and published separately, the current Prayer Book of the province of Aotearoa, New Zealand, and Polynesia itself uses three languages – English, Maori, and some of the languages of Polynesia. Corresponding texts are printed alongside each other, and often Maori and English are used alternatively in the same celebration (see Te Paa, *'Te Rawiri'*, pp. 343–47 and Booth, 'New Zealand', pp. 339–40).

Reservation of the Sacrament and Extended Communion

One of the main liturgical disputes in the early twentieth century was the matter of 'reservation' – setting aside some of the consecrated eucharistic elements in a church, for later administration to the sick and the dying. Anglo-Catholics, who saw this practice as an essential mark of catholic Christianity, adopted Roman liturgical norms, with the result that tabernacles and aumbries appeared in many Anglican churches. During World War I Holy Communion was often distributed in the trenches, using reserved elements. What had been a pragmatically necessary practice under battlefield conditions grew in popularity in peace time, and the Church of England's Proposed Book of 1927/28 allowed for reservation for the sick and the dying. Although the book was defeated in Parliament, many of its provisions were tolerated in English dioceses and elsewhere. Reservation was one of these. Until the revision of Prayer Books in the later part of the twentieth century, however, there were very few authorized liturgical texts for the distribution of reserved communion. Since then, broadly speaking, those provinces which have followed 'Scottish' eucharistic patterns have made explicit provision for this practice. The United States, Canada, Southern Africa, the West Indies, Scotland, and New Zealand all have Prayer Books that include appropriate rubrics, prayer texts, or both. Sometimes this material appears within the eucharistic section, sometimes in connection with ministry to the sick. On the other hand, those provinces that follow English Prayer Book traditions have generally not provided officially for distributing communion using reserved elements. Instead, as in England, Ireland, Australia, and some African provinces, there are shortened forms of eucharistic celebration intended for use with the sick or the dying.

In recent decades some consensus has emerged on the question of receiving communion from the reserved sacrament. The notion of 'extended communion' has found quite wide acceptance across the theological divisions. This practice usually involves a minister, lay or ordained, taking the consecrated bread and wine from a celebration of the Eucharist immediately after those who are present have received, or else immediately following the end of the liturgy. In this way, those others who receive communion do so as soon as possible after the community's celebration. Reserving the consecrated elements in a safe place is not necessary, although many churches still keep consecrated elements reserved in case of emergencies. Some provinces are beginning to authorize texts for extended communion. The Episcopal Church in the United States, in its *Book of Occasional Services* (2003), provides a 'dismissal', following the post-communion prayer, for those taking communion to persons outside the assembly:

> In the name of this congregation, I send you forth bearing these holy gifts, that those to whom you go may share with us in the communion of Christ's body and blood. We who are many are one body, because we all share one bread, one cup.

Some Anglican parishes have introduced other eucharistic devotions – Benediction, Processions of the Blessed Sacrament, and the like – but these are far from normative. A number

of individual dioceses have authorized such services. At the provincial level, however, they have never been officially sanctioned.

Bread and Wine

Ever since 1552 the rubrics of Anglican Prayer Books have specified the use of bread 'such as is usual to be eaten: but the best and purest Wheat Bread that conveniently may be gotten', together with fermented grape wine. With the spread of Anglicanism in Africa and parts of Asia, questions have arisen about this requirement. In some Muslim countries, the production or importation of fermented grape wine is strictly illegal. Elsewhere wheat bread is not readily available. In yet other places there are questions about the cultural suitability of wheat bread and grape wine. The Kanamai Statement raises these cultural questions and asks provinces to consider cultural context along with the biblical witness when considering the issue. Some provinces have allowed substitutes, so as to meet these circumstances. A survey conducted in 2002 on behalf of the Anglican Consultative Council found that six or seven provinces make official provision for alternatives to wheat bread and fermented grape wine. These vary from fermented fruit wine to unfermented grape juice to Coca-Cola. Wheat bread is sometimes replaced by rice bread. In some of these provinces the permission is used very rarely; in others it is in general use.

There are also questions about those communicants who for health reasons cannot receive fermented grape wine or ordinary wheat bread, because they are recovering alcoholics or allergic to wheat products. These are pastoral problems as much as liturgical ones. As far as recovering alcoholics are concerned, unfermented grape juice is often used, although de-alcoholized wine might be a better solution. Gluten-free bread is available; rice bread is also a possible substitute. The question whether these substitutes are to be used for everyone, in a community where there are some persons who cannot receive fermented wine or ordinary wheat bread, is a difficult one which is ordinarily left to the local community to decide at the pastoral level. An understanding of true symbolism is important as well: some believe that eucharistic wine should always be red, like the blood it signifies. But if the real symbolism lies in the drinking of wine, its colour is irrelevant. Similar considerations may apply to the question whether it must be fermented grape wine that is drunk.

Common Cup

It has generally been the Anglican practice, implied in Prayer Book rubrics, for communicants at the Eucharist to drink from one cup. From time to time, however, possible health risks in sharing a common cup become a concern. In many places the practice of intinction is used, with the priest or the communicant dipping the bread into the wine, so that both are consumed together. Sometimes different cups are used for drinking and intinction. This practice has become more common in the life of the church owing to the AIDS pandemic in the last twenty years, although scientific studies meant to determine the risk of infection have on the whole been inconclusive. What has happened, however, is that providing alternative arrangements to drinking from the common cup has divided many a congregation, especially when an 'intinction cup' is kept separate from a 'drinking cup'. Some communities have resorted to using many small, individual cups.

Issues of health are not the only ones that need to be taken into account here. The sharing of a common cup was a fundamental aspect of the English eucharistic reformation in the sixteenth century, which has been retained in Anglican Prayer Books ever since. The symbolic value of a single cup for all to drink from is immensely important. The Eucharist is a shared sacred meal. Often communicants share one loaf of bread which is broken into many pieces, but the corresponding aspect of a meal shared among many is ignored when the common cup is no longer common. Separating the cups destroys the symbol of unity

that is at the heart of the Eucharist and its meanings–the unity of the people of God with Christ and with each other.

Sectional Interests

Another issue for liturgists at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first is the influence of sectional interests on liturgical texts. There are, for example, Anglicans who understand atonement exclusively in terms of 'penal substitution', and insist that only this metaphor should be used in eucharistic prayers. There are linguistic issues, such as whether and how far 'inclusive' language should be used for humans, for God, or both. There are gender issues as well as questions of what constitutes 'vernacular' language. Often groups who hold strong views on such matters seek to have liturgical texts drafted so as to conform to their sectional viewpoint. A certain sort of eucharistic prayer may be mandated through synodical processes. Ideologically driven texts, often dogmatic in their phrasing, tend to become dated quickly and to be useful only for a short time.

Some sections of the church are producing liturgical texts on their own to meet the requirements of a particular viewpoint. The diocese of Sydney, Australia, for example, has issued (among other services) a eucharistic order based on the 1552 rite, in modern English. This text has been published for use by the diocesan liturgy committee, and seems to be widely used despite having no proper authorization from the bishop or the General Synod. In a Communion where doctrinal positions have their primary expression in liturgy, unauthorized rites raise significant questions, which are likely to become more pressing as modern technology makes publishing such texts easier and more efficient.

Electronic Resources

With the development of computers and other electronic publishing devises a new era has begun. Its importance has been compared to that of the invention of printing in the fifteenth century, which made real uniformity in liturgical books possible for the first time. Computers, however, actually provide the means for the opposite to occur. Liturgical forms can now be altered and reproduced at will, and editorial authority has passed to the computer operator, rather than church synods or book publishers (*see* Kraus, 'Technology', pp. 541–44 and Morris, 'Cyberspace', pp. 545–50). The result is not altogether new–local usage has appeared in parish 'Mass booklets', and volumes like *The English Missal* have been used widely in their day–but computerized word processing allows any liturgical leader to edit authorized (or non-authorized) texts quickly, and make them available in well-printed orders of service. How all this will affect the norms of Anglican liturgical worship remains to be seen. Anglicans once shared a common text and a common set of rubrics. That is not so any longer. Texts for worship can differ not only between provinces but even between different congregations in the same parish. Local usage is now so easily established, and so easily disestablished, that every Sunday Eucharist could be different in form and content from every other Sunday Eucharist. Where Anglican liturgical unity is concerned, some commentators see this possibility as a great opportunity, others as a grave danger.

Conclusion

Over the past century the celebration of the Eucharist has been renewed. In most parts of the Anglican Communion new rites reflect a much broader understanding of what the Eucharist is about. There is no one fixed text, even within the same Prayer Book: within each eucharistic rite there are options for alternative wordings, alternative orders, and alternative eucharistic prayers, together with many other resources for worship. No longer does a male priest, facing the holy table at the east end of the chancel, lead the celebration almost en-

tirely by himself. More often than not, priest and people gather together, in some way, around the table. The language used to celebrate the Eucharist may or may not be English. Laypersons participate by reading the scriptures, leading the prayers, and helping to distribute communion. The priest may be a woman, and in many places all those who have been baptized will communicate, including young children and infants.

These changes have come about through the study of the liturgical texts from earliest Christian days, ecumenical sharing of resources, and cooperation across the Anglican Communion. Enrichment and renewal of the broad traditions of Anglican worship, and the celebration of the Eucharist in particular, is an ongoing process. Some of the first revised Prayer Books from the 1970s and 1980s are being revised again. Adding alternatives, rather than replacing existing texts, seems to be the most usual method of revision and renewal. It is a renewal by which, however it takes place, Anglicans around the world are being enriched and nurtured in their celebration of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, made known in the breaking of the bread.

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Sanctifying Time: The Calendar

Leonel Mitchell

The churches of the Anglican Communion inherited the Christian year from the pre-Reformation Church of England, and it has been an integral part of the worship of the Book of Common Prayer since 1549. The Liturgical Movement of the twentieth century has brought a renewal and deepening of the theological understanding of the Christian year, and the reform of many details in its practice. In many ways the catalyst for this renewal was the publication by the Roman Catholic Church in the wake of the Second Vatican Council of a new three-year lectionary, which has been adapted and adopted in most contemporary service books, including the various Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion. In the renewed understanding of the Christian year, the paschal mystery of dying and rising with Christ is celebrated not only weekly on the Lord's Day, the day of resurrection, but in the framework of the whole year, with Easter as its theological and structural centre.

Indeed, some contemporary Anglican books include a theological rationale for their adoption of the calendar. *A New Zealand Prayer Book* (1989), for example, states that 'these celebrations are not just a looking back into history. Their liturgical commemoration provides a way for the Church today to participate, through memory and imagination, in the work of the Holy Spirit in times past, and so be strengthened in its own life and witness'. For the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, 'the yearly observance of the holy days of the Calendar is a celebration of what God has done and is doing for our salvation'.

The Pre-Reformation Calendar

The first Book of Common Prayer in 1549 adopted the seasonal calendar from the pre-Reformation liturgical books of the Sarum (Salisbury) use, a local adaptation of the Roman rite that had first been brought to England by St Augustine of Canterbury and accepted by the English church at the Synod of Whitby in 663. At the centre of this calendar was the celebration of Sunday, the Lord's Day, a celebration which can be traced back to the New Testament. Wednesday and Friday, originally Christian fast days, became the 'station days' of the pre-Reformation Latin church. In the 1549 Book of Common Prayer they are days on which the Litany is to be used and the Holy Communion, or at least the Ante-Communion, celebrated. Fridays were included in the Table of Fasts, and have retained their status in most contemporary Prayer Books.

The annual calendar consisted of two parts, the *temporale* or seasonal calendar, and the *sanctorale* or feast days of the saints, of which there were a great many. Furthermore, the *temporale* itself consisted of two cycles, the Paschal cycle, and the Christmas cycle.

The Paschal cycle, running from Septuagesima through Pentecost, occupied a good portion of the year. The principal feast of this cycle is the celebration of the resurrection of Christ on Easter. Since the date of Easter has never been fixed, this portion of the liturgical year changes annually. The date of Easter is based on that of Passover in the Jewish calendar,

since the gospels place the crucifixion and resurrection at the feast of Passover. It is observed on the Sunday following the first full moon of spring. The Ascension was celebrated on the fortieth day following Easter, and the descent of the Holy Spirit on the fiftieth, Pentecost or Whitsunday. The Friday before Easter, Good Friday, commemorated the crucifixion, and the previous day, called Maundy Thursday in England, the Last Supper. The entire week before Easter was called Holy Week. It began with Palm Sunday, which celebrated the Lord's triumphal entry into Jerusalem with a procession carrying palms, and the passion with the reading (or singing) of St Matthew's Passion. Before this was the season of Lent, a forty-day period before Easter, which was originally a preparation for Easter baptisms, focused on fasting and penitence. In the Sarum calendar Lent was considered to begin on Ash Wednesday, and the three Sundays of Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima, which have been a part of Lent in some places, had become a season of 'pre-Lent'.

The second cycle of the *temporale* was Christmas and its theme was the manifestation of the Incarnate Word. The celebration of the nativity of Christ on 25 December and of the Epiphany twelve days later on 6 January were its centre and focus. Advent, beginning with the fourth Sunday before Christmas, was the opening season of the church year. It looked forwards to the second coming of Christ and also backwards to the incarnation. The Sundays after Epiphany continued until Septuagesima, and included the final feast of the nativity cycle, the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, on 2 February, although the moveable date of Septuagesima sometimes created an overlap.

The First Book of Common Prayer

The 1549 Prayer Book adopted the *temporale*, the seasonal calendar, of the pre-Reformation church, almost without change. The church year began with the first Sunday in Advent. Four Sundays of Advent were followed by Christmas Day, and the three feasts of St Stephen, St John, and Holy Innocents, which were a part of the medieval Christmas cycle. Proper collects, epistles, and gospels for two Communions were given for Christmas Day, the first including the Lukan nativity story, and the second the prologue to John's gospel. The Sunday after Christmas was followed by the Circumcision of Christ on 1 January and the Epiphany on 6 January. Epiphany retained its dual emphasis, appointing Luke's account of Christ's baptism to be read at Morning Prayer and Matthew's story of the Magi at the Holy Communion. Sundays were numbered after Epiphany until Septuagesima.

Ash Wednesday was the name for the first day of Lent, although the Sarum blessing of ashes was not included. Lent included six Sundays, the last called the Sunday Next Before Easter, not Palm Sunday. The name Holy Week was not used either, but liturgical provision was made for Monday through Thursday before Easter, and for Good Friday and Easter Even. The Sarum Holy Week liturgies were not included, and it appears that the daily offices and a daily Communion were intended. Easter Day, like Christmas, had propers for two Communions. The first included the resurrection gospel from John, the second from Mark. Monday and Tuesday in Easter Week were also given proper lessons.

Five Sundays after Easter are followed by Ascension Day, the Sunday after Ascension, Whitsunday, and Monday and Tuesday in Whitsun-Week. The Sunday after Whitsunday was Trinity Sunday, a medieval festival which was very popular in England because of its association with St Thomas à Becket, who was consecrated bishop on that Sunday in 1152. The Prayer Book followed Sarum and some other local uses in numbering the Sundays following after Trinity, rather than after Pentecost as the Roman rite did.

While the *temporale* remained mostly the same, the *sanctorale*, the calendar of the saints, was radically pruned. Only the festival days commemorating the New Testament saints were retained – the Annunciation and the Purification of the Virgin Mary, the Nativity of St John the Baptist, the feasts of the apostles and evangelists, St Mary Magdalene (who disappeared from the second Prayer Book in 1552), St Stephen, Holy Innocents, and St Michael

and All Angels, together with All Saints' Day. The Sarum collects invoking the prayers of the saints were replaced by collects newly composed.

Changes in the Prayer Book Calendar

The second Prayer Book of Edward VI in 1552 reintroduced four feasts to the calendar, three of which were post-biblical saints: St George, patron saint of England, Lawrence, a third-century Roman deacon and martyr, and Clement, first-century bishop of Rome and one of the 'apostolic fathers'. The fourth addition was Lammas Day, on 1 August. This was originally the feast of St Peter in Chains, celebrating his angelic deliverance from prison (Acts 12:4–19), although in England it was an agricultural festival celebrating the gathering of the first grain of the year, and a loaf baked from the new wheat was traditionally used at the Eucharist.

The first major change in the calendar came in 1559 when fifty-eight traditional saints' days were restored as 'black-letter days', so called because they were printed in black type in the calendar, whereas the major festivals appeared in red. The Prayer Book revisions of 1604 and 1662 added a few more. The 1637 Scottish Prayer Book made no changes in the English calendar, except to remove some of the English black-letter days.

In 1645, during the English Civil War, use of the Prayer Book was forbidden and in its place the Westminster Assembly issued its *Directory for the Public Worship of God*. With two short sentences it abolished the celebration of the Christian year:

> There is no day commanded in scripture to be kept holy under the gospel but the Lord's day, which is the Christian Sabbath. Festival days, vulgarly called *Holy-days,* having no warrant in the word of God, are not to be continued.

This gave the force of law to long-standing Puritan objections to the celebration of holy days. On 25 December the Cromwellian town criers went through the streets proclaiming 'No Christmas today!'

With the Restoration of King Charles II in 1661 came a new revision of the Prayer Book. The new book restored the calendar and added a table listing the 'the Vigils, Fasts, and Days of Abstinence to be observed through the year' immediately before the Calendar. The vigils were those of Christmas, the Purification, the Annunciation, Easter, the Ascension, Pentecost, St John Baptist, St Peter, St James, St Bartholomew, St Matthew, St Simon and St Jude, St Andrew, St Thomas, and All Saints. The other 'days of Fasting, or Abstinence' were the forty days of Lent, the Ember Days, the Rogation Days, and Fridays (except Christmas Day). Certain solemn days known as the 'State Services', such as the Martyrdom of King Charles I, were also listed (*see* Hefling, 'State Services', pp. 73–74). This introduction of patriotic-*cum*-religious observances into the liturgical year was continued, first in the American church, which gave Independence Day and Thanksgiving Day a place in its first Prayer Book, and later in other provinces, such as Australia, which commemorates the first Anglican service in that country. These provisions form an important part of the self-understanding of Christians in that time and place.

Contemporary Anglican Calendars

Although the celebration of the Christian year has always been a part of Anglican worship and many examples of calendar-based piety and devotion survive from the nineteenth century, the emphasis on its paschal nature has only been common since the 1960s. Today the integral celebration of the entire yearly cycle, not simply the use of the assigned scripture readings, has become central to the life of the whole church. In this renewed understanding of the Christian year, the paschal mystery of dying and rising with Christ is celebrated not

only weekly on the Lord's Day, the day of resurrection, but in the whole framework of the year, of which Easter is its theological and structural centre.

The baptismal nature of the church year has also been rediscovered. Easter is the great baptismal feast, at which Christians are baptized into Christ's death and raised with him to new life. Lent is the time of preparation for Easter baptism, and the Great Fifty Days is the period of mystagogy, in which the new Christians receive sacramental instruction and are integrated into the life of the body of Christ, the church. Pentecost concludes this season and is a second baptismal feast. In the same way, the Epiphany, or the Feast of the Baptism of Christ on the following Sunday, is a baptismal festival: for this feast Advent is the preparation, and the period until the Presentation on 2 February is the time of mystagogy.

There are two basic approaches to the revision of the *temporale*, one of them typical of North America and represented by the American Episcopal Church's Book of Common Prayer (1979) and the Canadian *Book of Alternative Services* (1985), and the other represented by the Church of England's *Common Worship* (2000). All three agree that every Sunday is a celebration of the paschal mystery and that the paschal character of the Great Fifty Days of Easter is the core of the Christian year, but there are significant differences as well.

The changes in the American and Canadian books were directly influenced by the new Roman calendar produced after the Second Vatican Council and its accompanying three-year lectionary. Specific changes in the seasonal calendar include the elimination of the seasons of pre-Lent and Passiontide, the inclusion of the former Ascensiontide within the Fifty Days of Easter, and the designation of the Sundays following Pentecost as Sundays after Pentecost, rather than after Trinity. The Transfiguration is celebrated on the last Sunday after the Epiphany, following the Lutheran tradition, although the title is reserved for its celebration on 6 August. In the same way, the Last Sunday after Pentecost celebrates the reign of Christ although the American Prayer Book does not use the title. This may be due to anti-monarchist sentiments in the United States, or a desire to avoid the older, gender-exclusive name 'Christ the King'. The 'reign of Christ' is the term used in the collects for various occasions.

The central theme of the Advent season has changed. Instead of an almost exclusive emphasis on the eschatological second Advent, that theme has shifted to the Sundays just before Advent, and by the fourth and final Sunday of Advent the thematic focus is the Annunciation. In this way the Advent season is tied more obviously to Christmas and Epiphany, and the nature of the Advent celebration as both the beginning and end of the Christian year is made clearer. *An Anglican Prayer Book* (1989) of the Province of Southern Africa follows a similar pattern, except that it calls the Sundays after Epiphany and Pentecost 'Sundays of the Year', as the post–Vatican II Roman Catholic calendar does.

The Church of England first published its revised calendar in 1997. It builds on the work of the ecumenical Joint Liturgical Group, the calendar of the *Alternative Service Book 1980,* and material in *Lent, Holy Week, Easter* (1986), *The Promise of His Glory* (1991), and *Enriching the Christian Year* (1993). Some decisions about the structure of the *temporale* differing from those based on the Vatican Council II Roman Catholic calendar and lectionary have resulted. For example, the Epiphany season ends with the Presentation on 2 February. 'Ordinary Time' is the period after the Feast of the Presentation of Christ until Shrove Tuesday, and from the day after the Feast of Pentecost until the day before the First Sunday of Advent. The Sundays after 2 February are called Sundays before Lent. The Sundays between Trinity Sunday and All Saints' Day are called Sundays after Trinity, and those following All Saints' Day are Sundays before Advent. *Common Worship* also provides for the celebration on a Sunday of Harvest Thanksgiving, popularly known as Harvest Home, as does the Church in Wales's Prayer Book. In the United States and Canada it is replaced by Thanksgiving Day. This festival is a remnant of what were once a series of agricultural feasts, including Plow Sunday in January, the Rogation Days (included in traditional Anglican calendars on the

Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday before Ascension Day) celebrating the planting, and Lammas Day at the beginning of harvest.

Not all Anglican Prayer Books have revised their calendar. New Zealand and Wales, for example, have kept the traditional seasonal calendar. The names of Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima are applied to the seventh, eighth, and ninth Sundays after Epiphany. The Fifth Sunday in Lent is called Passion Sunday, Sundays are described as 'after Easter' and 'after Ascension Day', although the Sundays after Pentecost are so named, rather than after Trinity.

Calendars also normally contain some sort of table of precedence, or ranking of festivals. The names differ from province to province, but the purpose is the same: to determine which feast is celebrated when two occur on the same day. For example, what happens if St Andrew's Day falls on the first Sunday in Advent, or the Annunciation on Good Friday? The 'principal feasts', or 'major festivals', take precedence over any other celebration–these include Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension Day, Pentecost, and All Saints. Next in rank comes the celebration of Sundays, which are considered feasts of the Lord. Other major feasts–the remaining 'red-letter days'–do not usually replace the Sunday liturgy, but there are some exceptions to this rule, such as the patronal festival of a parish church. Finally, the traditional fast days of Ash Wednesday and Good Friday, and the days of Holy Week and Easter Week, are all treated as principal feasts that cannot be superseded.

Saints and Heroes

Contemporary Anglican calendars also have a cycle of major and minor holy days commemorating the saints and heroes of the Christian church on fixed dates throughout the year. These also refer back to the main theme of participation in Christ's resurrection, since, as the American *Lesser Feasts and Fasts* says, 'the triumphs of the saints are a continuation and manifestation of the Paschal victory of Christ'. Such a theme is more easily seen in some holy days than in others. It is a temptation for calendar makers, who are often church historians, to include names because of their historical importance, even though they mean little or nothing to those who celebrate them. In Joseph Pieper's words, there can be no real celebration 'unless the celebrant community still draws glory and exultation' from what is being celebrated. The distinction between major and minor feasts is not really relevant in this context. For many, venerable festivals such as St Bartholomew or St Simon and St Jude are less apt to reflect the mystery of Christ than the 'lesser' feasts of Francis of Assisi or Martin Luther King Jr. Apostles though they may have been, little or nothing is known about them, while contemporary Christians more easily see the Christian mystery reflected in the lives of Francis and Martin.

Most contemporary calendars include some major feasts, or red-letter days, which were not in the classical English Prayer Books. Among the feasts of our Lord, the Transfiguration (6 August) and Holy Cross Day (14 September), which in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer are only black-letter days, have generally become major feasts. The Baptism of Christ is commonly celebrated on the Sunday after the Epiphany, and Christ the King on the Sunday before Advent. The title of the Circumcision has been changed to emphasize the naming of Jesus. New red-letter days celebrating saints include Mary the Mother of Jesus (15 August), Joseph (19 March), Mary Magdalene (22 July), the Visitation of Mary to Elizabeth (31 May), and in many calendars James the Brother of the Lord (23 October). The name of Paul is joined with that of Peter on 29 June, as in the pre-Reformation calendars. A new feast, the Confession of St Peter (18 January) is found in several calendars and marks the beginning of the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity, which ends on the Conversion of St Paul (25 January). Several calendars provide alternative dates (usually the same ones as in the new Roman calendar) for many traditional festivals, especially those in December which are often lost in the Christmas festivities. National patron saints, such as George in England, David in Wales,

Collects for Holy Innocents' Day

Although Anglican Prayer Books have from the first retained the feast of the Holy Innocents ('Childermas', observed on 28 December) as a 'red-letter' day, it has proved difficult to provide a suitable collect that expresses the meaning of the celebration.

1549 BCP
(*translating the Sarum collect*)

Almighty God, whose praise this day the young Innocents thy witnesses hath confessed, and showed forth, not in speaking, but in dying: mortify and kill all vices in us, that in our conversation, our life may express thy faith, which with our tongues, we do confess: through Jesus Christ our Lord.

1662 BCP

O Almighty God, who out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast ordained strength, and madest infants to glorify thee by their deaths: Mortify and kill all vices in us, and so strengthen us by thy grace, that by the innocency of our lives, and constancy of our faith, even unto death, we may glorify thy holy Name; through Jesus Christ our Lord.

1979 BCP
Episcopal Church (U.S.A.)

We remember today, O God, the slaughter of the holy innocents of Bethlehem by King Herod. Receive, we pray, into the arms of your mercy all innocent victims; and by your great might frustrate the designs of evil tyrants and establish your rule of justice, love, and peace; through Jesus Christ our Lord. . . .

***A New Zealand Prayer Book* 1989**

Holy Father,
your Son was saved from the slaughter of infants
at the hand of Herod;
grant that we may never be indifferent
to the sufferings of your children,
but may bring them help and compassion in your unfailing love,
now and for ever.

***An Anglican Prayer Book* 1989**
Church of the Province of Southern Africa

Heavenly Father
children suffered at the hands of Herod
though they had done no wrong:
give us grace not to be indifferent
in the face of cruelty or oppression
but to defend the weak
from the tyranny of the strong;
through Jesus Christ our Lord.

***Common Worship* 2000**
Church of England

Heavenly Father,
whose children suffered at the hands of Herod,
though they had done no wrong:
by the suffering of your Son
and by the innocence of our lives
frustrate all evil designs
and establish your reign of justice and peace;
through Jesus Christ your Son our Lord. . . .

and Patrick, Brigid, and Columba in Ireland, are also classed as major feasts. Several calendars now include a Thanksgiving for the Institution of the Eucharist (Corpus Christi) on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday. The Canadian calendar also has the Beheading of St John the Baptist (29 August) as a holy day. Among these recent additions, designating of 15 August as St Mary's Day was sometimes controversial, because it is the day Roman Catholics observe as the Feast of the Assumption. In fact, *Common Worship* offers 8 September (the traditional date of her birth) as a possible alternative. This was the date in earlier versions of the English calendar, going back to 1560. Most calendars adopted 15 August, the traditional date of St Mary's death, on the grounds that the 'heavenly birthday' is the traditional day to commemorate a saint.

Liturgical celebration of minor holy days began officially in the 1920s in England and many other provinces of the Anglican Communion, though not until the 1960s in the United States. It is now almost universal, and most calendars include many post–

Reformation commemorations, not all of them of Anglicans. In 1988 the Lambeth Conference officially recognized this practice by asserting that 'the Anglican Communion should recognise men and women who have lived godly lives as saints by including them in the calendars of the Churches for remembrance'. The observance of these days is optional. They are further divided into lesser festivals and commemorations, following the recommendation of the 1958 Lambeth Conference: 'The Conference recommends that the Church should continue to commemorate the saints in three ways: by Red Letter days, Black Letter days, or a memorial collect alone.'

Each province has its own list of minor festivals, but many are held in common. Most calendars include a core of patristic and medieval saints, especially those identified with Britain, along with a number of more local celebrations. In addition to listing the black-letter days in the Prayer Book calendar, the Episcopal Church in the United States has published and authorized a supplementary book, *Lesser Feasts and Fasts*, containing proper collects and readings for all the lesser feasts, and readings for all of the weekdays of the Christian year. The Anglican Church of Canada has published a similar but larger volume, *For All the Saints. Lesser Feasts and Fasts* also contains guidelines for adding names to the calendar, and many have been added since 1979. The guidelines call for (1) heroic faith, (2) love, (3) goodness of life, (4) joyousness, (5) service to others for Christ's sake, (6) devotion, (7) recognition by the faithful, and (8) historical perspective. They expect that local and regional commemoration normally will occur for many years prior to national recognition, as recommended by the 1958 Lambeth Conference. Realizing, moreover, that the saints currently commemorated are overwhelmingly clerical, male, and Anglo-Saxon, efforts are being made to add women, lay people, and members of diverse ethnic groups.

Many post-Reformation names, both Anglican and non-Anglican, from all over the world are included in the *sanctorale* of *Common Worship*. Uncommon entries include John Bunyan, Vincent de Paul, John Calvin, William and Catherine Booth (founders of the Salvation Army), Charles Gore, William Temple, and Janani Luwum. The Church of Ireland's calendar includes only saints connected with Irish dioceses. The only post-Reformation entries are Jeremy Taylor, an Irish Caroline bishop and divine, and Charles Inglis, the Irish-born first bishop of Nova Scotia. Non-Anglicans commemorated in various other Anglican calendars include John XXIII, Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Maximilien Kolbe, John of the Cross, John Wyclif and Jan Hus, Martin Luther King Jr., Ignatius of Loyola, Oscar Romero, Maria Skobtsova, Francis Xavier, and Teresa of Avila. Although Martin Luther and John Calvin are found in many calendars, Reformation Sunday or Reformation Day (31 October) does not appear. It is apparently the witness of the reformers rather than the Reformation *per se* that is celebrated.

The Canadian *sanctorale* contains not only Canadian Anglican pioneers and missionaries but also the saints and martyrs of seventeenth-century New France, such as Marguerite Bourgeoys Marie de l'Incarnation, Jean de Brèbeuf, and Isaac Jogues. Commemoration of the first Anglican Eucharist in Canada in 1578 and of 'Founders, Benefactors and Missionaries of the Anglican Church of Canada' are among the distinctive entries. New Zealand commemorates those who have built up the 'Church of this Province', and includes both a Regional Commemoration for the saints and martyrs of other parts of the world, and a substantial number of New Zealand and Pacific heroes. The lesser festivals of *A Prayer Book for Australia* include a number of contemporary entries, including pioneers of the church in Australia, such as James Noble, 'first indigenous Australian ordained'. The French ecumenist Paul Couturier is a unique entry. In the American Prayer Book the national festivals of Independence Day and Thanksgiving Day have been red-letter days since 1789. Specifically American commemorations include Martin Luther King Jr., Jonathan Daniels, Constance and her Companions, 'The Martyrs of Memphis', Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky, the consecration of Samuel Seabury, and Kamehameha and Emma, King and Queen of Hawaii. Since 1979, a substantial number of post-biblical women saints have

been added, among them Florence Li Tim-Oi, whose ordination as the first woman priest in the Anglican Communion is commemorated, as well as Evelyn Underhill, Clare of Assisi, Florence Nightingale, and Hildegard of Bingen.

By contrast, *Our Modern Services* of the Anglican Church of Kenya follows the *temporale* of *Common Worship* and the commonly accepted list of red-letter days, but does not include any post-biblical saints or any black-letter days. *The Book of Common Prayer for use in the Church in Wales* (1984) keeps a modestly updated version of the 1662 calendar, with the addition of David, Mary Magdalene, the Transfiguration, and the Blessed Virgin Mary as red-letter days. It also contains several black-letter days, many of them red-letter days in other modern calendars, as well as a number of Welsh, British, and patristic-era saints.

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Rites of Initiation

Ruth A. Meyers

Rites of Christian initiation vary widely across the Anglican Communion today. In some provinces, patterns handed down from the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century reforms remain largely unchanged; elsewhere, twentieth-century developments have led to radical innovation. Anglican reformers in the sixteenth century continued the pattern of initiation inherited from the medieval western church while vastly simplifying the rites. By the end of the Middle Ages, initiation ordinarily began with baptism in early infancy, continued with confirmation, usually at the age of reason (seven or eight), and culminated with admission to communion. To this, the reformers added instruction prior to confirmation. In the first Prayer Book confirmation began with a 'catechism for children', and before they could be confirmed, children were required to learn the answers to this catechism along with the Apostles' Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments. At the end of confirmation, a rubric that came to be known as the 'confirmation rubric' stipulated that 'there shall none be admitted to the holy communion until such time as he be confirmed'.

A few significant changes were introduced in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. The emergence of traditions practising believers' baptism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries resulted in an occasional need for adult baptism, and colonialism also brought contact with unbaptized slaves and indigenous people on other continents. Consequently, a rite of baptism 'to such as are of Riper Years', an adaptation of the rite for infant baptism, was added to the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. Only in the twentieth century did Anglican provinces begin to introduce a single baptismal rite for use with infants or adults.

The 1662 Book of Common Prayer gave new emphasis to confirmands' ratification of the promises made for them by their godparents at baptism. In the revised confirmation rite, the bishop asked candidates to renew the vow made in their name at baptism, 'ratifying and confirming the same in your own persons'. The rite continued with a prayer for strengthening with the sevenfold gift of the Spirit, followed by laying-on of hands by the bishop. Anglicans came to understand confirmation as having a twofold action: God confirmed the candidates in the fulfilment of their baptismal promises, and the candidates confirmed the baptismal promises made on their behalf.

There was a further purpose to confirmation: it served as a rite of admission to communion. The 1662 Book of Common Prayer qualified the confirmation rubric to allow those who were 'ready and desirous to be confirmed' also to receive communion, making provision for situations where baptized persons did not have ready access to the ministry of a bishop. However, because instruction was required prior to confirmation, Anglicans came to view instruction as a prerequisite to communion.

Twentieth-Century Developments

Beginning in the late nineteenth century and continuing for much of the twentieth, Anglicans debated the meaning of confirmation in relation to baptism. What is the nature of the gift of the Holy Spirit in these rites? Is the Spirit bestowed at baptism, or at confirmation, or

in both rites? Some Anglicans, among them A. J. Mason and Gregory Dix, argued that baptism effects only cleansing from sin and so is incomplete without the indwelling gift of the Spirit given in confirmation. Others, such as Geoffrey Lampe, using many of the same texts from scripture and early church writings, countered that in the waters of baptism the indwelling presence of the Spirit is fully bestowed.

The understanding and practice of baptism and confirmation have significant implications for Christian living. Early in the twentieth century, Anglicans began to describe confirmation as 'ordination of the laity', empowering people for Christian ministry in the world. As debate about the work of the Spirit continued, some Anglicans asserted that baptism, not confirmation, is the sacrament of ministry in the world because baptism is the basis of full participation in the body of Christ.

A lively faith commitment manifest in daily living, whether empowered chiefly by baptism or by confirmation, became increasingly important in Anglican provinces where the church was established or part of a majority Christian faith. As these churches experienced the crumbling of Christendom during the twentieth century, growing numbers of members were baptized but never returned for confirmation, or else they were confirmed but immediately left the church. In response, Anglicans began to discuss how initiatory practices might better lead to active participation in the church.

These discussions were informed by developments in liturgical scholarship. As documents from the early centuries of the church were discovered and translated, liturgical scholars began to develop a clearer picture of the historical development of Christian initiation. From the origins of Christianity and continuing for several centuries, initiation occurred through a single rite. Administration of water, usually by full immersion and accompanied by a profession of faith, was the central ritual act. The rite might also include anointing, before baptism or afterwards or both, consignation, and imposition of hands; the details varied in different historical periods and locations. Following these initiatory acts, the newly baptized joined the worshipping assembly for intercessory prayer, exchange of the peace, and celebration of the Eucharist. As the church grew and bishops could no longer be present everywhere to preside over the entire rite, a separate rite of confirmation developed gradually in the medieval West. Once the rite emerged, theological reflection followed. Medieval theologians described confirmation as an increase of grace, strengthening Christians for spiritual warfare and bestowing spiritual maturity.

In light of these new historical understandings, Anglicans began to consider a practice of adult initiation that included baptism, confirmation, and admission to communion, all on the same occasion. Such an approach was proposed in *Prayer Book Studies* 1, issued by the Standing Liturgical Commission of the Episcopal Church in the United States in 1950, and in *Baptism and Confirmation To-day*, the 1954 report of the Joint Committees [of the Convocations of Canterbury and York] on Baptism, Confirmation, and Holy Communion in the Church of England. The 1958 Lambeth Conference committee that studied the Book of Common Prayer recommended that adult baptism be combined with confirmation and first communion, so that 'the three stages may be seen to be one process of initiation'; and the 1962 Canadian Book of Common Prayer provides for (but does not require) administering baptism and confirmation to adults at the same service.

While there was growing consensus about adult initiation, there continued to be various opinions about the meaning and practice of full Christian initiation for those baptized as infants. How is the Spirit operative in the baptism of infants and at their subsequent confirmation? How might those baptized as infants be encouraged to make a mature response of faith and continue an active Christian life?

The 1968 Lambeth Conference

The 1968 Lambeth Conference took up the question of Christian initiation from the perspective of empowering and supporting lay ministry. Concerned about the lack of a form

for commissioning laity for their work, the conference asked each province to explore the theology of baptism and confirmation and to experiment. The conference report (Section II: The Renewal of the Church in Ministry) commended two alternatives. In the first, admission to Holy Communion and confirmation are separated, and when baptized children are of 'appropriate age' they are admitted to Holy Communion after instruction. Confirmation is delayed until young adults wish to be commissioned for the 'task of being a Christian in society'. In the second, infant baptism and confirmation are administered together, followed by admission to Holy Communion at an early age after 'appropriate instruction'. Commissioning by the bishop comes later. The first alternative views confirmation through the Reformation lens of ratification of baptismal vows. In contrast, the second views confirmation as integral to baptism, akin to the early church's practice of a single initiatory rite. Both options retain the Reformation requirement of instruction before admission to communion.

The provinces of the Anglican Communion responded in various ways to the Lambeth resolution. The 1979 Book of Common Prayer of the Episcopal Church in the United States and the 1985 Canadian *Book of Alternative Services* implicitly allow the newly baptized, whatever their age, to receive communion at their baptism. In New Zealand, an 'alternative practice' introduced in 1970 permitted children to begin receiving communion at age eight, after instruction. Some provinces permitted local diocesan decisions about whether to admit unconfirmed children to communion, while others studied the question, and still others took no action.

International Anglican Liturgical Consultations

The Anglican Consultative Council meeting in 1984 encouraged provinces to address the question of admission of children to communion, and in 1985 the first International Anglican Liturgical Consultation (IALC) studied the matter and issued a report. The consultation's recommendations emphasize that baptism is full sacramental initiation; hence all baptized persons should be admitted to communion. They go on to specify that confirmation is not a rite of admission to communion, nor is it necessary for full church membership. Six years later, the fourth IALC built upon the work of the first, affirming the recommendations of its predecessor and producing its own recommendations on 'Principles of Christian Initiation'. These begin by affirming that liturgical texts for baptism should point beyond the church's own life, to God's mission in the world, of which a renewal of baptismal practice is an integral part. Baptism itself is for adults and infants alike – complete sacramental initiation which is unrepeatable and which leads to participation in the Eucharist. Thus, while confirmation and cognate rites of affirmation have a role in the renewal of faith, they do not complete baptism or qualify the baptized to receive communion; and the bishop may delegate the rite of confirmation to a presbyter. The principles include a recognition of the catechumenate, with many local variations, as a model for preparation and formation prior to baptism. They also emphasize the naming of God as Father, Son, and Spirit both in the profession of faith and in the baptismal formula itself.

These recommendations reflect remarkable consensus among the liturgical scholars and representatives of Anglican provinces gathered for the consultation. Rather than continuing the century-long Anglican debate about the work of the Spirit in initiation, they concurred that baptism bestows the gift of the Spirit. Moreover, they affirmed the centrality of water, avoiding any hint that the Spirit is bestowed through consignation or imposition of hands rather than the administration of water. Confirmation, according to the consultation, is a pastoral rite, allowing those baptized as infants to make promises for themselves when they are able. Moreover, the consultation suggested that the same rite, with imposition of hands and prayer for the strengthening gift of the Spirit, might also be used in response to other pastoral needs for affirmation of one's baptismal commitment.

Some provinces had revised their liturgical books prior to the 1991 Anglican liturgical consultation, and many more have done so since then. Many features of rites introduced before 1991 anticipate the recommendations of the consultation, not altogether surprisingly, given that these rites and the consultation were both influenced by contemporary liturgical scholarship and by the twentieth-century Liturgical Movement. In the revisions since 1991, the recommendations of the consultation are evident to varying degrees, and material introducing some of these rites refers to the consultation as an important source for the revision committee.

Features of Contemporary Anglican Initiatory Rites

Candidates for Baptism

Most Anglican Prayer Books revised during the past three decades provide one rite of baptism. The Episcopal Church in the United States had already introduced a single form in its 1928 Book of Common Prayer to simplify administration of the rite when infants and adults were baptized at the same service. Late twentieth-century revisers have been more cognizant of the theological significance of one baptism. For example, the introduction to the Melanesian *Revised Order of Service for Holy Baptism* states, 'The existence of several rites for infants and adults is confusing theologically, possibly suggesting that there are three different kinds of Baptism.'

Exceptions to the introduction of one rite for infants and adults include Tanzania, the West Indies, Papua New Guinea, and Wales. In Wales, both the 1984 Book of Common Prayer and the 1991 *Alternative Order* retained the seventeenth-century pattern of separate services for infant and adult baptism, although a new, single initiatory rite for candidates of any age is expected.

Because infants and young children are unable to respond verbally, the Prayer Books that provide a single baptismal rite, as well as most books with different rites for infants and adults, include questions addressed to parents and godparents of infants and young children, inquiring whether the adults will nurture and support the children in their life in Christ. These questions typically follow the presentation of the candidates, in contrast to the historic Anglican Prayer Books, in which infant baptism concluded with an exhortation to the godparents, charging them to raise the child to lead a Christian life and see that the child learned the essentials of Christian faith. The Tanzanian Prayer Book has retained the concluding exhortation and does not introduce questions about supporting the child.

Immediately following the questions to parents and godparents, most contemporary rites address questions of renunciation and affirmation of faith simultaneously to adult candidates and to the parents and godparents of infant candidates. The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Prayer Books required godparents to respond to similar questions 'in the name of this child', and the responses were made in the first person: 'I renounce', 'I believe'. Most contemporary Anglican rites likewise require parents and godparents to respond on behalf of infant candidates. Some indicate this in a rubric, while in others the minister points this out in a brief preface to the baptismal interrogations. Two of the most recent rites—*Our Modern Services* from the Church of Kenya and the 2004 Book of Common Prayer for the Church of Ireland—ask parents and godparents whether they will answer on behalf of the children.

In recent decades some Anglicans have questioned whether it is appropriate to ask parents and godparents to speak in the name of or on behalf of an infant. The baptismal rite in *A New Zealand Prayer Book* never requires parents and godparents to speak in the name of their child. After the presentation, adult candidates reply, 'I hear God's call and *come* for baptism', while parents and godparents state, 'We hear God's call and *ask* for baptism' [*italics mine*]. The parents and godparents join adult candidates in stating that they renounce evil, but nowhere does the rite specify that they do so on behalf of infant candidates. To a

question calling for profession of faith, adult candidates, parents, and godparents all respond, 'In faith I turn to Christ', and parents and godparents continue, 'as I care for this child'. In a similar fashion, the rubrics of the 1998 baptismal rite of the Scottish Episcopal Church call for the minister to address 'the candidates, or, at the baptism of infants, the sponsors', without specifying that sponsors speak in the name of the child. When asked whether he or she accepts the call to be baptized, a candidate replies, 'I hear and accept God's call. I ask for baptism', whereas sponsors of infants say, 'We hear and accept God's call to us and to this child. We ask for baptism'.

Other contemporary rites ask parents and godparents to respond both on behalf of the child and on their own behalf. The 1991 rite of the Church in Wales adds a renewal of baptismal promises by parents and godparents just prior to a series of questions in which they make promises on behalf of the child. In two other rites – the Prayer Books from Southern Africa and the West Indies – the priest tells the parents and godparents that they answer not only for their child but also for themselves. The Church of England introduced a similar practice in its 1980 *Alternative Service Book*. Some, however, objected that the commitment by the parents obscured the commitment made on behalf of the child. Others pointed out that many parents are nearer to the inquiry stage of faith when they present their child for baptism, and the rite might demand too much, asking them to make statements for which they were not yet prepared. Consequently, the initiatory materials in *Common Worship* have eliminated the expectation that parents will respond on their own behalf. The 2004 Book of Common Prayer of the Church of Ireland approaches parental faith by addressing the renunciation and allegiance to parents and godparents, and then later in the rite (just before the interrogatory creed) asking them whether they believe and accept the Christian faith into which the child will be baptized.

The Relation between Baptism and Confirmation

Contemporary baptismal theology insists that baptism provides full initiation into the church, rooting this claim in the new awareness that for several centuries initiation was effected through a single rite that culminated with Eucharist. The 1979 Book of Common Prayer of the Episcopal Church in the United States is explicit about this: 'Holy Baptism is full initiation by water and the Holy Spirit into Christ's Body the Church'; similar statements are found in liturgical materials and commentary from other provinces, including the Canadian *Book of Alternative Services*, the 1999 Book of Common Prayer of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines, and the 2001 Melanesian baptismal rite.

To underscore that baptism is complete, the 1979 American rite includes the prayer for the sevenfold gift of the Spirit (drawing upon the enumeration of gifts in Isaiah 11:2) that has been part of confirmation in medieval western rites as well as historic Anglican rites. In this baptismal rite, the prayer follows the administration of water, and immediately thereafter the bishop or priest lays a hand upon the candidate's head and makes the sign of the cross ('consignation'), using chrism if desired, while saying, 'You are sealed by the Holy Spirit in Baptism and marked as Christ's own for ever.' This liturgical action has been interpreted variously: as a distinct sacramental action, that is, as restoring the content of medieval confirmation to its original context of baptism; or as an explanatory rite, giving further expression to the theological richness of baptism.

Only three other Anglican provinces have followed the lead of the Episcopal Church in this aspect of initiation. *The Book of Alternative Services* of the Anglican Church of Canada and the Melanesian rite, following the Canadian rite, reverse the order of the prayer and the action (an option permitted by the rubrics of the American book) and include it with the administration of water under the heading 'The Baptism'. This order (water, signing, prayer) and the formula 'I sign you with the cross' (rather than 'sealed by the Holy Spirit') suggest that consignation is an explanatory rite rather than a distinct sacramental bestowal of the

Spirit. In contrast, the consignation in the Book of Common Prayer of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines is more readily interpreted as a separate sacramental action. In this rite, the administration of water may be followed by clothing with white garments or the giving of a lighted candle or both, and these appear to be explanatory rites. Next comes the prayer for the sevenfold gift of the Spirit, followed by the signing, using chrism and the formula from the 1979 Book of Common Prayer.

Even if consignation is seen as a separate sacramental action, its inclusion in baptism along with the prayer for the sevenfold gift of the Spirit effectively creates a unified initiatory rite. However, the American Prayer Book implicitly calls into question the sufficiency of baptism with this rubric regarding confirmation: 'Those baptized as adults, unless baptized with laying on of hands by a bishop, are also expected to make a public affirmation of their faith and commitment to the responsibilities of their Baptism in the presence of a bishop and to receive the laying on of hands.' This rubric, added at the eleventh hour at the General Convention when the proposed Book of Common Prayer was presented for approval, suggests that baptism is not full Christian initiation unless an individual receives the imposition of hands by a bishop. Here the Philippine Book of Common Prayer (as it does in many other places) adopts the language of the American rite. The Canadian book, on the other hand, lacks this rubric and describes confirmation as a 'mode of response to baptism' without adding any expectation for participation in that subsequent rite. In effect it presents baptism as truly full Christian initiation. In Melanesia, because the canons require confirmation before communion, the baptismal rite adds a laying-on of hands in confirmation at the font immediately following the baptism.

Other contemporary Anglican Prayer Books retain in confirmation the prayer for the sevenfold gift of the Spirit (except the church in Brazil, which has eliminated this prayer entirely) and require confirmation for adults as well as children. For adult initiates, most of these books encourage or require that baptism, confirmation, and Eucharist form a single rite. The need for confirmation suggests that baptism is not full initiation.

Admission to Communion

Increasingly, churches throughout the Anglican Communion are admitting baptized persons to communion before confirmation. *Common Worship*, from the Church of England, suggests that an adult baptized by the parish priest could be admitted to communion at baptism on the basis of the 'ready and desirous' clause in the confirmation rubric. Other provinces have eliminated the confirmation rubric altogether. The Canadian *Book of Alternative Services* has moved the furthest from historic Anglican practice, allowing adults and children to be baptized and admitted to communion in a single rite, and omitting any further requirement for confirmation.

Although the confirmation rubric may be done away with, and adults may be admitted to communion at their baptism, most Anglican provinces have found it difficult to relinquish *instruction* for children prior to admission to communion. In the Episcopal Church in the United States, after the 1970 General Convention had authorized admission of children to communion before confirmation, the House of Bishops in 1971 recommended that children be instructed in the meaning of the sacrament before being admitted to communion. Practice varied widely, with some clergy urging that children might never remember a time when they were not fed at the table. Over the next decade and a half, younger and younger children were admitted to communion, and the House of Bishops in 1988 acknowledged that those baptized in infancy might begin receiving communion at the time of their baptism, although subsequent instruction is essential.

Other churches in the Anglican Communion have had similar experiences as they have considered the possibility of communion before confirmation. Some decisions are made in synod at the provincial level, but sometimes diocesan bishops issue guidelines, and there are

places where parish clergy introduce changes in practice. No contemporary Anglican Prayer Book explicitly states that all the baptized, including infants, are admitted to communion at baptism, although only a few preclude such a practice. In New Zealand, 1990 guidelines for Christian initiation allow anyone to receive communion from the time of baptism, regardless of aged, while acknowledging variations in pastoral practice. In contrast, guidelines issued by the Welsh bishops in 1991 permit pilot schemes to introduce communion for children aged seven and older after instruction. A few provinces, including Southern Africa, England, and Kenya, have developed rites for admitting baptized children to communion before confirmation, and some parishes and dioceses have done likewise.

All told, Anglican initiatory rites and practice manifest theological contradictions. The seventeenth-century rubric permitting the communion of unconfirmed persons who are 'ready and desirous' of confirmation introduced the possibility of a change in the historic Anglican initiatory sequence of baptism, confirmation, and admission to communion, although the normative pattern in most provinces continued to place communion as the culmination of the initiatory sequence. Today, this sequence is being reordered in a number of provinces, suggesting that confirmation is not a sacrament of initiation into the church. Yet the ritual texts of Anglican provinces other than Canada continue either to expect confirmation (United States, Brazil, the Philippines) or to require it, calling into question the meaning of confirmation in relation to baptism.

Confirmation and Other Rites of Reaffirmation

Most contemporary revisions have situated confirmation in the context of baptism, in many cases using identical texts for the candidates' profession of faith even when confirmation is administered separately. The Episcopal Church in the United States, in its 1979 Book of Common Prayer, introduced a new approach, adding to the confirmation rite forms for reception into the Anglican Communion and for reaffirmation of baptismal vows, both administered by the bishop. These additional forms recognize that there are multiple occasions in the Christian life that may call for formal public reaffirmation of one's baptismal faith–for example, an experience of renewed or deepened faith, perhaps a 'baptism in the Spirit', or a return to the faith community after lapsing. Individuals are presented specifically for confirmation, reception into the Anglican Communion, or reaffirmation of baptismal vows; and there are different formulas said by the bishop. The remainder of the rite–examination of the candidates, baptismal covenant, and prayers for the candidates, as well as the liturgy of the table–does not distinguish these various purposes from each other. Several provinces of the Anglican Communion, including Canada, New Zealand, Brazil, Australia, the West Indies, Melanesia, England, the Philippines, and Ireland, have introduced similar rites. In 1998, the Scottish Episcopal Church introduced 'The Liturgy of Laying-on of Hands in Affirmation of Baptism', in which the term 'confirmation' never appears, although the rite includes the traditional prayer for the sevenfold gift of the Spirit.

The question of reception into the Anglican Communion is convoluted. Since at least the nineteenth century, it has been common for Anglicans to receive without further confirmation those who have been confirmed in a tradition that has maintained the historic episcopate, but to require confirmation of baptized persons who have been communicants of other churches, including those such as Lutherans who have been confirmed after extensive catechesis. Determining who has been episcopally confirmed, however, is increasingly problematic. Anglicans have viewed baptismal chrismation in Eastern Orthodoxy as the equivalent of confirmation, even though a priest administers this chrismation using chrism blessed by a bishop. With regard to Roman Catholics, confirmation by a bishop has been the norm for many centuries, but the post–Vatican II reforms allow priests to confirm adult initiates when they are baptized at the Easter Vigil. As Anglican provinces enter into full communion agreements with Lutheran churches, they are faced with the question of how to receive

Lutherans who are confirmed by presbyters rather than bishops. The commentary in the Church of England's *Common Worship* acknowledges these complications but refuses to resolve the question of who can be considered 'episcopally confirmed'. Instead, it refers to the canon requiring episcopal confirmation and states that the rite of reception is provided for 'those who are judged to be episcopally confirmed'.

Contemporary Anglican rites approach reception in different ways, and in some cases canons clarify what is not explicit in the rites or limit the possibilities for ritual expression of reception. The Prayer Books of the American Episcopal Church, Canada, Brazil, Melanesia, and the Philippines do not specify who may be received. In the Episcopal Church practice has varied from diocese to diocese and has changed since the Prayer Book was adopted; current canons allow those who have made a mature public affirmation of faith in another church to be received, with laying-on of hands by a bishop, rather than confirmed. In the Brazilian rite, the bishop extends the 'right hand of fellowship' (Galatians 2:9). *A Prayer Book for Australia* allows Christians who have been 'fully initiated' in another tradition to be admitted to communicant membership through a rite of reception that includes the right hand of fellowship administered by a bishop. Other provinces, including England, the West Indies, and Southern Africa, provide a ritual that includes the right hand of fellowship for those who have received episcopal confirmation in another tradition, but require confirmation for other baptized Christians. The West Indian Book of Common Prayer has both a rite for receiving those episcopally confirmed in a church with the historic episcopate, with the right hand of fellowship administered by a bishop, and also a different formula, identical to that of the 1979 American Book of Common Prayer, included in confirmation.

The continuing insistence on episcopal confirmation for those who have been communicant members of other traditions, whether stipulated by Prayer Book or by canon, suggests a reluctance to regard baptism as full Christian initiation. More than any other tradition, east or west, Anglicans value each communicant's liturgical contact with a bishop in a sacramental rite that includes imposition of hands and view this as an essential component of Christian initiation.

Who May Preside

Most recent Anglican liturgical revisions have not permitted a bishop to delegate confirmation to a presbyter. The single exception is the 1991 rite of the Church in Wales, which allows a bishop to delegate parts of the service to others, although there is no indication that this has actually happened. A few provinces have developed other rites of reaffirmation at which a presbyter may preside. The Anglican Church of Kenya provides a form for 'Admitting Christians from Other Churches' that is administered by the priest, including the right hand of fellowship; candidates who are not confirmed are admitted to communion and subsequently prepared and brought to the bishop for confirmation. In the rite of reception into the Church of England, the parish priest may preside; anyone received in this way must have already been 'episcopally confirmed'.

In its 1979 Book of Common Prayer, the Episcopal Church in the United States included a Form of Commitment to Christian Service. Originally introduced to replace confirmation, the rite requires the person making the commitment to develop a statement of intention or a series of questions and answers that includes reaffirmation of baptismal promises. At a celebration of the Eucharist, the individual comes forward for the 'Act of Commitment', followed by prayers said by the presider and the exchange of the peace. The Canadian *Book of Alternative Services*, which adapted many of the 1979 American rites, does not include this form, while the Philippine Book of Common Prayer does. The 'alternative order' for confirmation in the Church in Wales has a Form of Commitment to Christian Service that is even more modest: the individual comes forward at a Eucharist before the peace, and the priest says a single prayer.

While the rites from the United States, the Philippines, and Wales allow a priest to officiate at a rite of renewed commitment that is clearly distinguished from the confirmation and reaffirmation at which only a bishop may preside, other churches permit a priest to preside at a rite of reaffirmation that is nearly identical to confirmation. *An Anglican Prayer Book* of the Province of Southern Africa introduced a Renewal of Baptismal Promises administered by 'the priest or any other person duly authorized and instructed by him'. Ordinarily celebrated during public worship after due preparation on the part of the candidate(s), this rite includes the same renewal of baptismal vows used at confirmation, which in turn is based on the renunciation and allegiance from the baptismal rite. No ritual action, such as laying-on of hands, is directed; rather, the minister says a brief prayer for the candidate followed by a prayer 'for all Christian people' or 'for the Church's witness', both of which are optional at the conclusion of confirmation. A similar rite appears in the 1995 Book of Common Prayer of the Church in the West Indies; the only difference is the substitution of the questions and answers of renunciation and allegiance that form 'the baptismal vows' in the West Indian book. The Church of England's *Common Worship* also includes an 'Affirmation of Baptismal Faith' that is parallel to confirmation. In contrast to the forms from Southern Africa and the West Indies, this ritual may be presided over either by a priest or by a bishop.

The introduction of rites for reception and reaffirmation at which a priest may preside suggests that these are considered pastoral rites that are part of the ongoing rhythms of Christian life. Yet insistence upon confirmation by a bishop can give undue emphasis to this rite. Some Prayer Books have addressed this difficulty by identifying the bishop as the principal minister at baptism and developing rites that combine baptism and confirmation in a single service. Beginning with the 1978 *Australian Prayer Book* and the 1979 Book of Common Prayer of the Episcopal Church in the United States, several provinces have made provision for the bishop to preside at baptism: the United States, Canada, Brazil, New Zealand, Southern Africa, Australia (adult baptism only in 1978; in the 1995 book, the bishop presides when baptism and confirmation are administered in the same service), the West Indies (adult initiation only), Scotland (this rite expresses a preference for a bishop to preside at baptism but does not provide a combined rite of baptism and affirmation), the Philippines, England, Melanesia, and Papua New Guinea. The books of the American Episcopal Church, Canada, and the Philippines also state that baptism is especially appropriate when the bishop is present, highlighting the bishop as the chief baptismal minister in yet another way.

However, the practical reality is that priests rather than bishops most often preside at baptism. A rubric in the Southern Africa rite states: 'By virtue of his office, the Bishop is the minister of baptism in his diocese. Nevertheless the usual minister at Baptism when there is no Confirmation is the Priest to whom the Bishop has committed the cure of souls in the pastoral charge.' Similar language can be found in other Prayer Books. Recognizing the bishop's presidency at baptism, even if the bishop actually presides only infrequently, reshapes the bishop's ministry. Rather than limiting the bishop's liturgical role to one segment of the initiatory process and related rites, the bishop is the chief minister of the entirety of Christian initiation, giving new emphasis to the importance of baptism for Christian life and signifying the bishop's role as chief pastor and teacher.

Preparation for Baptism

The Prayer Books of the Reformation reflected a society in which everyone was presumed to be Christian. Hence the 1549 and 1552 books made no provision for preparation of parents and godparents; the parents were simply to notify the priest the night before or morning of the service. The contemporary context is quite different. In countries where Christianity has been an established or a predominant religion, indiscriminate baptism has become a concern. Individuals may be brought to baptism by parents who have little or no connection to a worshipping community, and consequently it is unlikely that the children will be raised in

the Christian faith. To address this problem, most contemporary rites include rubrics or commentary calling for preparation on the part of parents and godparents of infant candidates; in some provinces further requirements that concern preparation are included in canons. The baptismal rite in *Our Modern Services*, from the Anglican Church of Kenya, gives public attention to this preparation: after the candidates have been presented, the minister (if not the one who prepared the parents) asks the instructor, 'Have you sufficiently prepared the parents and godparents for the vows they are about to take on behalf of these children?' A few other churches have introduced or are developing forms of service that welcome and support parents around the time of the birth and baptism of their children.

For adults preparing for baptism, Prayer Books (beginning in 1662, when the rite was introduced) have always acknowledged a need for instruction and preparation, and in some places the canons include additional requirements. In many regions where the majority population has not been Christian, churches have made extensive use of catechists and developed forms to enrol people as catechumens. Most revised Prayer Books do not include catechumenal rites; rather, churches provide rites for admission to the catechumenate in supplemental books. An exception is the 1990 Book of Common Prayer of the church in Japan, which includes a 'fundamental acceptance of faith'. During the Sunday Eucharist, sponsors present the candidates, who then promise to follow the teaching of Christ and to practise the faith. After the congregation promises its prayer and support, the officiant prays and marks a cross on each candidate's forehead–the sign used in ancient rites to mark entry into the catechumenate.

The Church of England has introduced this remnant of ancient catechumenal rites in a different way. The baptismal rite in *Common Worship* places the signing near the beginning of the rite following 'The Decision', which comprises three questions of renunciation followed by three questions of allegiance to Christ. The commentary explains that this 'allows the Decision to be seen as the climax of a period of spiritual preparation'. The signing may include anointing with pure olive oil, also an ancient catechumenal ritual. Only the Tanzanian rite for infant baptism has a similar provision for consignation before the administration of water. In this rite, consignation and anointing may accompany the exorcism that follows the examination of the candidates. The Tanzanian rite of adult baptism, however, includes only a consignation after the administration of water.

Public Celebration of Baptism

Recent liturgical revisions in the Anglican Communion emphasize the centrality of baptism by calling for the celebration of baptism during the principal Sunday service, and most also express a preference that baptism occur in the context of the Eucharist. The connection between baptism and Eucharist is made even stronger in the liturgies of Canada and Scotland, which provide no alternative to concluding with the liturgy of the table, and a similar link is made in the West Indian and Papua New Guinea liturgies for adult initiation, which comprise baptism, confirmation, and Eucharist. Other books allow choices in addition to Eucharist: some offer a brief conclusion as an alternative to celebrating the Eucharist, and some allow baptism to be incorporated into Morning or Evening Prayer after the second lesson, as it is in the rubrics of the historic Anglican rites.

The rites of a few provinces–the United States, Canada, Brazil, Melanesia, and the Philippines–not only call for baptism at the principal Sunday Eucharist but also specify that baptism is particularly appropriate at the Easter Vigil and on Pentecost, All Saints' Day (or the Sunday following), and the Baptism of our Lord (the first Sunday after Epiphany). Identifying these feasts as baptismal days focuses the celebration of baptism on occasions which (except All Saints' Day) have historically been associated with baptism and allows the congregation to experience rich connections between the content of these feasts and baptism. The eucharistic context reflects the emphasis of the twentieth-century Liturgical Movement

on weekly celebration of communion. Moreover, in churches that admit all the baptized to communion, the celebration allows initiation to culminate in the reception of communion, marking the individual's full participation in the body of Christ.

The insistence on public celebration in the presence of the congregation indicates new emphasis on the communal aspect of baptism. As *A Prayer Book for Australia* puts it, 'Baptism is a community event, welcoming new members of Christ's flock, and providing an opportunity for all the baptised to renew their vows.' Contemporary rites ritualize congregational participation in several ways, in contrast to the silence of the congregation in the historic rites. For example, when asked to do so by the minister, the congregation may promise to support the candidates in their life of faith. The 1979 American Book of Common Prayer places such a question at the conclusion of the presentation and examination of the candidates, and the liturgies of Canada, Japan, Australia, Tanzania, Melanesia, the Philippines, and Ireland put it in a similar position. By contrast, in the English rite the question immediately follows the presentation of candidates, before any questions of renunciation and allegiance. *A New Zealand Prayer Book* includes a statement by the presider and a prayer by the congregation expressing willingness to nurture children who have been baptized, but there is no comparable text promising support for adult candidates. Most contemporary rites also ask the congregation to affirm their faith. The 1962 Canadian Book of Common Prayer and the 1978 *Australian Prayer Book* called for the whole congregation to join in reciting the Apostles' Creed, a provision modified in subsequent revisions in those provinces. The 1979 American Book of Common Prayer introduced a 'Baptismal Covenant' that includes an interrogatory form of the Apostles' Creed, followed by five questions regarding different aspects of the Christian life (*see* 'Baptismal Covenant, The Episcopal Church, U.S.A.'). The entire congregation joins the candidates and their sponsors in responding to the questions in this covenant. The rites from Canada (1985), Brazil, Scotland, Melanesia, and the Philippines likewise call for congregational response to an interrogatory creed and questions about Christian commitment. An interrogatory creed addressed to the congregation, without additional questions, is found in the rites of New Zealand, Ireland, and England.

By contrast, the rites of Southern Africa, Wales, and Australia (1995) address an interrogatory creed only to adult candidates and to parents and godparents of infant candidates. The congregation then affirms its faith in the statement, 'This is our faith . . . ', similar to the congregational affirmation of faith in the contemporary Roman Catholic rite of baptism for children. The West Indian Book of Common Prayer includes both congregational participation in the interrogatory creed and the statement 'This is our faith . . . '.

Ritualization of the congregation's participation can also take the form of welcoming the newly baptized. After the 1978 *Australian Prayer Book* and 1979 American Book of Common Prayer introduced a congregational statement of welcome, nearly every subsequent revision has included one. There are two principal forms, each modified slightly in different contemporary books. In the 1978 Australian text the priest begins: 'God has called you into his Church', and is joined by the congregation: 'We therefore receive and welcome you as a fellow member of the body of Christ, as a child of the same heavenly Father, and as an inheritor with us of the kingdom.' The American text is an exhortation: 'Confess the faith of Christ crucified, proclaim his resurrection, and share with us in his eternal priesthood.' Both forms draw upon images and phrases from the concluding prayers of the historic Anglican baptismal rites.

In some rites the congregation may make a ritual response to the consignation: presentation of a lighted candle, clothing with a white garment, or both. Perhaps the earliest such text is the use of Matthew 5:16 as a congregational response to the presentation of a lighted candle, which is found in the 1978 Australian rite (the presentation of the candle is optional, but the text is required). Many later rites have added responses to other ritual actions. There may also be congregational acclamations and responses to prayers. Thus the beginning of

Baptismal Covenant
The Episcopal Church, U. S. A.

In the 1979 rite of baptism, following the presentation and examination of the candidates, the celebrant invites the congregation to join with those who are committing themselves to Christ by renewing their own baptismal covenant, beginning with recitation of the three articles of the Apostles' Creed.

Celebrant	Do you believe in God the Father?
People	I believe in God, the Father almighty, creator of heaven and earth.
Celebrant	Do you believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of God?
People	I believe in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord. He was conceived . . .
Celebrant	Do you believe in God the Holy Spirit?
People	I believe in the Holy Spirit, the holy catholic Church . . .
Celebrant	Will you continue in the apostles' teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of bread, and in the prayers?
People	I will, with God's help.
Celebrant	Will you persevere in resisting evil, and, whenever you fall into sin, repent and return to the Lord?
People	I will, with God's help.
Celebrant	Will you proclaim by word and example the Good News of God in Christ?
People	I will, with God's help.
Celebrant	Will you seek and serve Christ in all persons, loving your neighbor as yourself?
People	I will, with God's help.
Celebrant	Will you strive for justice and peace among all people, and respect the dignity of every human being?
People	I will, with God's help.

the 1979 American baptismal liturgy includes two verses and responses based upon Ephesians 4:4–5. The Prayer Books of Canada, Australia, Melanesia, and the Philippines have adopted this text, which serves to focus attention on baptism from the outset of the rite. Several books include congregational responses to intercessions for the candidates. Some provide a text for a prayer over the water with congregational acclamations. All of these responses serve to underscore congregational participation in the baptismal liturgy, which in turn helps Christians to remember their own baptisms and to renew their baptismal commitment, implicitly if not explicitly.

Symbols

Most contemporary rites also emphasize the power of baptism through a rich use of symbol. Anglican Prayer Books have always called for baptism by 'dipping' or by pouring water, but in many places baptism was customarily administered by dribbling a few drops of water on the candidate's forehead. Recent revisions direct immersion or pouring, and accompanying commentary in many books emphasizes the importance of water; for example, this introduction to the Canadian rite:

> The symbolic aspects of water should be emphasized, not minimized. There should be water in quantity, enough for members of the congregation to see and hear when it

Thanksgiving over Water
A Prayer Book for Australia

We give you thanks that at the beginning of creation your Holy Spirit moved upon the waters to bring forth light and life. With water you cleanse and replenish the earth; you nourish and sustain all living things.

Thanks be to God.

We give you thanks that through the water of the Red Sea you led your people out of slavery into freedom, and brought them through the river Jordan to new life in the land of promise.

Thanks be to God.

We give you thanks for your Son Jesus Christ: for his baptism by John, for his anointing with the Holy Spirit.

Thanks be to God.

We give you thanks that through the deep waters of death Jesus delivered us from our sins and was raised to new life in triumph.

Thanks be to God.

We give you thanks for the grace of the Holy Spirit who forms us in the likeness of Christ and leads us to proclaim your kingdom.

Thanks be to God.

And now we give you thanks that you have called *name / these your servants* to new birth in your Church through the waters of baptism.

Pour out your Holy Spirit in blessing and sanctify this water so that those who are baptised in it may be made one with Christ in his death and resurrection. May they die to sin, rise to newness of life, and continue for ever in Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom we give you praise and honour in the unity of the Holy Spirit, now and for ever. **Amen.**

> is poured. An act of immersion would vividly express the Christian's participation in baptism, in the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ.

All contemporary Anglican rites enhance the symbolism of water through a thanksgiving or blessing over water that recalls significant events in salvation history, including creation, flood, Exodus, Jesus' baptism, and his death and resurrection. (*See* 'Thanksgiving over Water, *A Prayer Book for Australia*'.)

In addition to a generous use of water, most contemporary rites utilize other symbols, including oil, light, and clothing, which are found in ancient baptismal rites but were eliminated from Anglican rites at the Reformation. The American rite introduced the optional use of chrism (traditionally, olive oil to which a small amount of balsam or other fragrance has been added) at the consignation after the water, and most other Anglican provinces have followed suit, including England, Canada, Brazil, New Zealand, Wales, Australia, Melanesia, and Kenya; the rites of Scotland and the Philippines require the use of chrism. The Australian book explains:

> The optional use of oil (chrism) restores an ancient baptismal ceremony. It evokes a rich variety of biblical imagery: the anointing of kings (1 Samuel 16), the royal priesthood (1 Peter 2), the seal of the saints (Revelation 7) and is traditionally associated with the Holy Spirit. Its relationship with the name 'Christ', the anointed one, reminds us that each baptism is related to the baptism of Jesus.

Most Prayer Books stipulate that chrism is to be blessed by the bishop, in accord with ancient tradition; the Canadian book includes a rite for the blessing of oil in its section of 'Epis-

copal Services', and *An Anglican Prayer Book* from Southern Africa includes a chrism Eucharist to be celebrated on Maundy Thursday.

The formula used at chrismation takes two primary forms. In some books the text is explicitly pneumatic, as for example the American text: 'You are sealed by the Holy Spirit in Baptism and marked as Christ's own for ever.' A few texts speak only of Christ, for example, the New Zealand rite: 'We sign you with the cross, the sign of Christ.'

Although chrismation was originally a baptismal ceremony, it came to be used as well in medieval confirmation rites. Beginning in the nineteenth century, some Anglo-Catholic bishops began using chrism at confirmation; the contemporary books of Southern Africa, Tanzania, Papua New Guinea, and the West Indies allow this but do not call for chrism at baptism. The rites for Brazil and Melanesia permit it both at baptism and at confirmation; *Common Worship*, from the Church of England, also allows this but stipulates that chrism is not to be administered at baptism if confirmation follows immediately. Only the Japanese and Irish rites make no provision for the use of oil at either baptism or confirmation.

In addition to chrismation, many contemporary Anglican rites include the options of presenting a lighted candle to the newly baptized, and clothing in white garments. Clothing becomes a practical necessity when baptism is done by immersion, and as early as the fourth century, Christians attached theological significance to this action (Galatians 3:26; Revelation 7:13–14). The candle is typically lit from the paschal candle, drawing attention to the paschal dimension of baptism. *Common Worship* situates this action not immediately after the water, as is usually done, but at the very end of the rite, immediately prior to the dismissal, signifying that the newly baptized go forth to shine with Christ's light in the world. The Church of Ireland's Book of Common Prayer adopts the text but does not call for the presentation of a lighted candle.

The Ethical Implications of Baptism

A rich use of symbols and the public celebration of baptism with the congregation participating are both important aspects of the contemporary renewal of baptism. Equally significant is new attention to the ethical implications of baptism. The 1662 Book of Common Prayer introduced a single question following the interrogatory creed: 'Wilt thou then obediently keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of thy life?' Most contemporary rites have expressed a similar commitment in various ways. Under the title 'The Baptismal Covenant', the 1979 American Book of Common Prayer includes the interrogatory creed followed by five questions, asking the entire congregation about their willingness to continue in the apostles' teaching and fellowship, to persevere in resisting evil, to proclaim the good news of Christ, to seek and serve Christ in all persons, and to strive for justice and peace. Some form of this covenant appears in several other rites. The Canadian *Book of Alternative Services* includes an identical text, while the Philippine Book of Common Prayer adds a question about diligence in the study of scripture. The Brazilian, Papua New Guinea, and Scottish rites use some but not all of the questions; in the Scottish rite, the interrogatory creed is separated by title from the 'Commitment to Christian Life'. *Common Worship* places 'Commission' after the water and designates the five questions of the American Baptismal Covenant (with different wording for the final question) for use if the newly baptized are able to answer for themselves. If the newly baptized cannot answer for themselves, there is an exhortation to parents and godparents, and for children old enough to understand, a more simply worded text tells them in part, 'Together with all God's people you must explore the way of Jesus and grow in friendship with God, in love for his people, and in serving others.'

In contrast to these more extensive forms, the texts from Southern Africa, Japan, Tanzania, Australia, and Papua New Guinea include only a single question, in keeping with the historic Anglican rite, and the rites of the West Indies, Wales, Kenya, and Ireland do not ask

at all about the candidates' willingness to live a Christian life. The New Zealand rite also lacks an explicit commitment to living a Christian life. Moreover, in this rite alone the interrogatory creed comes at the end, long after the administration of water. Instead, water comes just after three questions, ascertaining desire to be baptized, renunciation of evil, and trust in Christ. The revisers intended this rite to be 'faith-based' rather than 'works-based', demonstrating by the sequence that even profession of faith is a response to God's grace, which in the rite is manifest in the administration of water. 'Commitment to Christian Service' appears as part of confirmation and renewal. Here *A New Zealand Prayer Book* provides the option of five questions adapted from the American baptismal covenant, or a statement by the candidate paraphrasing the questions.

Conclusion

The renewal of baptismal theology evident in contemporary Anglican rites reflects a growing understanding of the significance of baptism for all of Christian life. No longer is baptism principally a social rite marking physical birth, administered as soon as possible lest the child die unbaptized (although these expectations have not disappeared altogether). Rather, baptism is the rite of entrance into the Christian community, and the commitments made at baptism inform all Christian living. Anglicans have begun to encourage the bishop's participation in baptism, pointing to the primary significance of baptism in the Christian life. The faith professed at baptism is nourished through regular participation in the Eucharist, increasingly understood to be spiritual food for all the baptized, not just for those who have been confirmed.

Most contemporary Anglican Prayer Books continue to insist upon or expect confirmation as a rite of mature profession of faith and laying-on of hands by a bishop. In this respect they stand in tension with an understanding of baptism as full initiation. Anglicans have also come to understand that a profession of faith can be repeated at significant junctures in one's Christian journey, and so many provinces have developed additional rites of reaffirmation.

While confirmation continues to be a significant moment of commitment to Christian life, Anglicans increasingly understand baptism to be the primary locus of this commitment. The baptismal rites articulate the demands of Christian life in various ways: questions addressed to adult candidates, to parents and godparents of infant candidates, and sometimes to the entire congregation; intercessions for the candidates; statements at the presentation of a candle, a white garment, or both; and a congregational welcome. Thus these rites, particularly when celebrated in the context of the principal Eucharist on a Sunday or feast with a rich use of symbol, make clear to candidates and the entire congregation the power of baptism and its significance for their participation in God's mission in the world.

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Catechisms

James F. Turrell

A *catechism* has been defined as a manual of Christian doctrine, designed for a popular audience. Yet a catechism is much more than a statement of pure theology. The contents of catechisms, particularly in their English forms, have extended to pronouncements on morals, religious practice, and such like. At the same time, the format of these pronouncements is most often that of question-and-answer, rather than a series of declarative statements. Any catechism is, by definition, an exercise in simplification. It cannot aspire to convey the nuances or details of Christian theology. A catechism is, in effect, a compendium of the most important aspects of the Christian faith and life, in the eyes of its author or authors.

Catechizing, or the process of instruction in the basics of doctrine and practice, dates back to the early church. Newcomers to Christianity were labeled 'catechumens' and were given extensive instruction, sometimes as long as three years, as part of an overall process of instruction and oversight in which the newcomer had probationary status within the church. The overall process was called the 'catechumenate', a term revived in the twentieth century to describe a process of study, reflection, and mentoring used to nurture new Christians. By the end of the Middle Ages, the form used in oral instruction of neophytes was sometimes called a 'catechism'. The distinctive question-and-answer format was a product of the early modern period, popularized by Martin Luther's *Short Catechism* (1529), which was perhaps the most famous catechism of the continental Reformation. Some Protestant catechisms eschewed the simple question-and-answer pattern and instead used the form of a dialogue, with conversation between a teacher and student in the written text, but Luther's question-and-answer format soon became the predominant format.

English catechisms in the early modern period generally followed continental Protestant patterns: most used the question-and-answer format, although some used the dialogue form. Ian Green's research, published in *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England c. 1530–1740*, has revealed the vast number of English catechisms in use in the early modern period. The Catechism in the Book of Common Prayer was the basic text in the period, and additional catechisms served to expand on the Prayer Book Catechism's content and (it was hoped) to present the content in more effective language. Green's exhaustive analysis of catechetical content shows that for the most part there was a high degree of common ground among catechisms, and a moderate tone when addressing issues controversial among English Protestants, despite the sharp divisions in the church over matters such as predestination and church rituals.

The Prayer Book Catechism, then, was not the only English catechism in use, and it was not the only officially recognized catechism either – Alexander Nowell's catechism (1570) was a best-seller, and it had official status as well. The Prayer Book Catechism was, however, as close to a universal catechism as the Church of England had, by simple virtue of its inclusion in the Book of Common Prayer, which put it in the hands of many more people than it otherwise might. It was also reprinted in *The ABC with the Catechisme* (1551), a schoolbook for

children, and in *The Primer and Catechisme* (1570), a devotional book. Both of these were printed in large numbers over many years.

The Prayer Book Catechism had the virtue of brevity, something that Nowell's catechism lacked. The same pattern persisted in later periods: many other catechisms were used as supplements, such as the catechism published in Scotland by George Innes and reprinted by Samuel Seabury in Connecticut in 1791, or *The Church Teacher's Manual of Christian Instruction*, printed in London in 1873. Nevertheless, the Catechism printed in the Prayer Book was the most widespread.

The Catechism was printed in the very first Book of Common Prayer in 1549 under the title 'Confirmation, wherein is contained a Catechism for children'. The subheading before the Catechism itself described it as 'a Catechism, that is to say, an instruction to be learned of every child, before he be brought to be confirmed of the Bishop'. The content of the first Prayer Book Catechism included the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, together with explanatory material on each, much of it emphasizing the duty of obedience to temporal masters and the obligation to live a godly life. The 1552 Prayer Book revision added some scriptural material to the recitation of the Ten Commandments, expanding that section, and otherwise left the text intact. The 1604 revision added a section on the sacraments asserting, among other impeccably Reformed truths, the existence of but two (*see* 'Questions on the Eucharist'). The 1662 Prayer Book expanded and refined the answers in the section on the sacraments, made some stylistic changes elsewhere, and otherwise left the text largely intact. The Prayer Book Catechism thus survived without radical alteration from 1549 through the 1662 revision.

The Prayer Book Catechism has had a long history in global Anglicanism, from the first expansion of the Church of England into the North American colonies. Following independence, the 1662 Prayer Book Catechism remained a logical starting point for the development of local catechisms. The experience of the Episcopal Church in the United States serves as an example of this pattern. At first, the American church for the most part retained the 1662 version of the 1549 Catechism, making only a few alterations to it in the 1789 Prayer Book, which in turn was left largely untouched in the 1892 revision. Later revisions, though, made increasingly significant changes. The 1928 Prayer Book reworked the Catechism as the 'Offices of Instruction', adding prayers and responses to turn the straightforward question-and-answer format into a service of public worship. The 1928 revision also added new material on the nature of the church and on the orders of ministry. The straightforward question-and-answer format, minus this new material, was also retained near the end of the book, with the heading 'A Catechism, that is to say, an Instruction, to be Learned by Every Person before he be brought to be Confirmed by the Bishop'. The 1979 Prayer Book retitled the section as 'An Outline of the Faith', clearly separating the Catechism from confirmation. The Catechism in the 1979 book considerably revised the content of the previous catechisms and added much new material.

The inclusion of a catechism in a worship book on its face may seem a bit odd, to say the least, for a catechism is intended as an educational tool, while a prayer book is a collection of rituals used in worship. The pattern of use of the Catechism in England at least partially explains this juxtaposition. First, from the advent of the first Book of Common Prayer in 1549, catechizing was set as the required preparation for the ritual of confirmation, which in turn was, according to rubric, the necessary prerequisite for the reception of communion in the church. Second, catechizing itself very often took shape as a ritualized activity. For both reasons, the Catechism's inclusion in the Prayer Book made some sense.

From the first English Prayer Book in 1549, knowledge of the Catechism was demanded as the essential prerequisite for confirmation. This in turn should have made confirmation a normative part of each person's religious development, because confirmation was itself required before one could receive communion: from the 1549 Book of Common Prayer until the 1662 book, the rubrics stated, 'And there shall none be admitted to the holy communion

Questions on the Eucharist

Among the few changes in the Book of Common Prayer that were made in 1604 was the addition to the Catechism of a section on the sacraments. A number of recent Prayer Books have taken these questions as a basis for formulating their own Catechisms.

Book of Common Prayer, 1604	*An Anglican Prayer Book* Province of Southern Africa, 1989	*Our Modern Services* Anglican Church of Kenya, 2002
Why was the sacrament of the Lord's Supper ordained?	*What is the Holy Eucharist?*	*What is Holy Communion?*
For the continual remembrance of the Sacrifice of the death of Christ, and the benefits which we receive thereby.	The Holy Eucharist is the sacrament commanded by Christ for the continual remembrance of his life, death, and resurrection, until his coming again.	Holy Communion is the Sacrament in which, according to Christ's command, we make continual remembrance of him, his passion, death, and resurrection, until his coming again, and in which we thankfully receive the benefits of his sacrifice.
	Why is the Eucharist called a sacrifice?	
	Because the Eucharist, the Church's sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, is the way by which the sacrifice of Christ is made present, and in which he unites us to his one offering of himself.	
	By what other names is this service known?	
	The Holy Eucharist is called the Lord's Supper, and Holy Communion; it is also known as the Divine Liturgy, the Mass, and the Great Offering.	It is therefore called the Eucharist, the Church's sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; and also the Lord's Supper, the meal of fellowship which unites us to Christ and to the whole Church.
What is the outward part or sign of the Lord's Supper?	*What is the outward and visible sign in the Eucharist?*	*What is the outward and visible sign in Holy Communion?*
Bread and wine, which the Lord hath commanded to be received.	The outward and visible sign in the Eucharist is bread and wine, given and received according to Christ's command.	The outward and visible sign in Holy Communion is bread and wine given and received as the Lord commanded.
What is the inward part, or thing signified?	*What is the inward and spiritual grace given in the Eucharist?*	*What is the inward and spiritual gift in Holy Communion?*
The body and blood of Christ, which are verily, and indeed taken and received of the faithful in the Lord's Supper.	The inward and spiritual grace in the Holy Communion is the body and blood of Christ, given to his people, and received by faith.	The inward and spiritual gift in Holy Communion is the Body and Blood of Christ truly and indeed given by him and received by the faithful.
		What is meant by receiving the Body and Blood of Christ?
		Receiving the Body and Blood of Christ means receiving the life of Christ himself, who was crucified, died and rose again, and is now alive for ever more.

(continued)

What are the benefits whereof we are partakers thereby? The strengthening and refreshing of our souls by the body and blood of Christ, as our bodies are by the bread and wine.	*What are the benefits which we receive in the Lord's Supper?* The benefits we receive are the forgiveness of our sins, the strengthening of our union with Christ and one another, and the foretaste of the heavenly banquet which is our nourishment in eternal life.	*What are the benefits we receive in Holy Communion?* The benefits we receive are the strengthening of our union with Christ and his Church, the forgiveness of our sins, and the nourishing of ourselves for eternal life.
What is required of them which come to the Lord's Supper? To examine themselves, whether they repent them truly of their former sins, steadfastly purposing to lead a new life, have a lively faith in God's mercy through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of his death, and be in charity with all men.	*What is required of us when we come to the Eucharist?* It is required that we should examine our lives, repent of our sins, and be in love and charity with all people.	*What is required of those who come to Holy Communion?* It is required of those who come to Holy Communion that they have a living faith in God's mercy through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of his death and resurrection; that they repent truly of their sins, intending to lead the new life, and be in love with all people.

until such time as he be confirmed', with the 1552 and subsequent books adding the explicit requirement that one also be able to say the Catechism. This requirement persisted until the 1662 book added a loophole: 'or be ready and desirous to be confirmed'.

Nevertheless, the requirement of confirmation was only rarely enforced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A few bishops who were cronies of the ceremonialist Archbishop William Laud in the 1630s tried to enforce confirmation as a prerequisite for communion, and a few bishops tried to require clergy to bring candidates to regional confirmation sessions in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, but for the most part, the church hierarchy showed scant interest in enforcing confirmation as a prerequisite for communion.

Instead, knowledge of the Catechism was taken to be the essential prerequisite for the reception of communion. Bishops and diocesan officials used visitation articles–sets of queries designed to assess a parish's compliance (or noncompliance) with rubrics, canons, and royal and diocesan injunctions–to investigate whether any unfit persons were admitted to communion, and many sets of articles held knowledge of the Catechism as the crucial factor to decide if one was fit. The articles further underscored the importance of catechizing, asking whether clergy were diligent in catechizing the youth in their parish. Church courts investigated compliance and reprimanded or punished clergy who were negligent. The mechanisms of enforcement, which largely ignored confirmation, zealously sought out ministers who failed to catechize and sought to exclude from communion those who were uninstructed. Catechizing, and not confirmation, was the essential rite of passage into adult membership in the Church of England before the eighteenth century.

Much the same standard was used by Anglican clergy in the North American colonies. Because there was no bishop in the colonies, clergy could not require confirmation before communion, no matter what the Prayer Book rubrics might assert. Indeed, some New England missionaries from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel wrote to the bishop of London, who had oversight of the colonies, asking to omit the admonition to godparents at baptism requiring them to bring the child back for confirmation, with the remark that the local Congregationalists were laughing up their sleeves because the Prayer Book required the impossible. Instead, the missionaries and other clergy catechized the youth and through

that prepared them for adulthood in the church. It was not until the consecration of Samuel Seabury in 1784 (and his return to Connecticut in 1785) that it became possible to procure confirmation in North America, and while Seabury himself was quite diligent in confirming, not all early Episcopal bishops were. Whether in England or North America, Anglican confirmation was a rarity for most of the early modern period, and catechizing instead served as the rite of passage into adulthood.

The Prayer Book Catechism was used in the early modern period by clergy to instruct the youth of their parish in very public ways. Visitation returns – the reports sent in by clergy and churchwardens to the bishop in answer to visitation articles – reflect regular sessions of catechizing, generally on Sunday afternoons. Most clergy were diligent in their task, and most householders complied in sending their children and servants to the catechetical sessions. Catechizing was done publicly, in the church, sometimes with an audience present, since a rubric in the Prayer Books from 1549 until 1662 required that catechizing be done 'openly in the church' a half-hour before Evening Prayer.

In 1622, James I directed that the sermon at the evening service be on the headings of the Catechism, further increasing the public profile of the Catechism. In some cases in the 1630s, catechizing was done in the midst of Evening Prayer itself, in place of a sermon, as a series of episcopal visitation articles had demanded. The 1662 Prayer Book included this direction in a new rubric, specifying that catechizing was to be done openly in the church after the second lesson at Evening Prayer, not before the service. This guaranteed that a congregation would be present. Catechizing therefore was a public activity, followed a script (in the Catechism itself), and took place in proximity to the liturgy or within the liturgy itself – all marking it as a ritualized activity in its own right, quite apart from its associations with confirmation.

In later periods, similar patterns prevailed. Catechizing continued to be an important duty of the clergy, and public drill in the Prayer Book Catechism was commonplace, often in the Sunday schools that spread through England and America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. While catechizing did not happen during services in America, it still happened in public view: after instruction in ordinary Sunday school sessions, children were quizzed in the Catechism during public examinations that could occasionally attract a large audience. Simultaneously, family catechizing often took place, particularly in the evangelical revival in England in the nineteenth century, which emphasized the importance of religious instruction in the home.

Confirmation became increasingly important in the life of the church, now enforced as a prerequisite before one could receive communion. This change is observable from the first quarter of the eighteenth century in England and from the early nineteenth century in North America. It lasted until the 1970s, embraced by Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics alike, though each for different reasons. During this period, catechizing was generally subordinated to the rite of confirmation, particularly by Anglo-Catholics, and the Catechism – or the expanded and enriched manuals of instruction that built upon it – came to be used often in confirmation classes, instructional sessions over several weeks that were timed to conclude prior to the bishop's visitation. In the 1970s in the Episcopal Church in the United States and at the end of the twentieth century in the Church of England, both churches began to allow the reception of communion by the unconfirmed. By the end of the twentieth century, catechizing had been subordinated to confirmation, but confirmation itself was being marginalized in some of the churches, with the result that the Prayer Book Catechism was arguably less visible than it ever had been to the ordinary parishioner.

Contemporary prayer books across the Anglican Communion often, but not always, have included a catechism. Some catechisms, such as the 1962 *Revised Catechism* of the Church of England, have been printed separately, apart from Prayer Books or liturgical supplements, while most alternative or supplemental worship books, such as the 1993 *Alternative Occasional Services* book of the Church of Ireland and the 2000 *Common Worship* series of

the Church of England, have omitted a catechism entirely. The effect in some cases has been to leave in place a very old catechism, even as worship forms have been thoroughly revised and modernized. Such a decision implicitly denigrates the idea of placing a catechism in a worship book, as the older book fades into disuse while the newer, alternative book has no catechism.

Some contemporary prayer books reprint very old catechisms, sometimes with additions to make them more useful as a teaching tool. The 1978 *Australian Prayer Book* retains the Catechism from the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, without substantial modification. The Church of Ireland, in its 2004 Book of Common Prayer, also elected to retain an older catechism, in this case the 1878 Church Catechism. This catechism is in essence the 1662 Catechism, with a few minor changes in wording (for example, substituting 'spiritual' for 'ghostly') and with one significant addition. In the section discussing the Eucharist, the Irish catechism inserts the statement that the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper are received 'only after a heavenly and spiritual manner', by means of faith. In doing so, it rules out transubstantiation and makes belief in a real presence of Christ in the eucharistic elements more difficult to hold. The 1962 Book of Common Prayer of the Anglican Church of Canada (largely replaced in use, but not in official status, by the 1985 *Book of Alternative Services*) similarly retained the 1662 Catechism, though with considerable additional material. Small modifications to the 1662 material identified baptized persons as members of 'Christ's holy Catholic Church', indicated that the Ten Commandments are to be understood by Christians 'according to their spirit and purpose, as our Lord teaches us in the Gospel', and asserted that infants were properly baptized so that they might be raised 'in the household of faith'. Addressing the logical difficulties of infant baptism, in which godparents make binding promises on behalf of infants, the Catechism further states that the children 'take this promise upon themselves . . . when they are confirmed by the Bishop and, through prayer and the laying on of hands, are strengthened by the Holy Spirit'. This is one of the few rationales for confirmation included in older catechisms. The Canadian Prayer Book Catechism also adds material about the appropriate observance of Sunday: one is bound, it notes, to 'abstain from unnecessary work' and to attend church. But the Catechism's chief additions are in a separate section, subtitled 'A Supplementary Instruction' and explicitly described as something separate from 'the Church Catechism' but suitable for confirmation preparation. This text discussed the nature of the church as one, holy, catholic, and apostolic; the mission of the church in the world; the orders of ministry; and the Bible. The combination made for a far more useful instructional tool and served as a more satisfactory solution to the retention of the 1662 Catechism than that exercised by the 1978 Australian book.

The decision to retain an older catechism would, on its face, appear to impose some limitations, first, in the general brevity of the older catechisms, which do not address many of the important topics in Christian theology; second, in the archaic style of these catechisms, which do not speak in contemporary idiom; third, in the older catechisms' silence on emergent issues of modern life that older generations could not anticipate. This latter point is perhaps the most serious.

A more popular alternative to retaining an older catechism, with all its limitations, has been to create an entirely new one, adopting the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century format of question-and-answer, but abandoning the 1549/1662 text in favour of new answers and additional subjects. This approach was adopted by the 1979 American Book of Common Prayer, the 1984 Book of Common Prayer used by the Church in Wales, the 1989 *Anglican Prayer Book* used by the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, the 1989 *New Zealand Prayer Book*, and the 2002 *Our Modern Services* used by the Anglican Church of Kenya.

These catechisms have different intentions. The American and New Zealand books explicitly state that they are not exhaustive statements of doctrine, but outlines of belief to be used by teachers as points of departure and by inquirers who pick up a Prayer Book as an introduction to the church's faith. An American Episcopalian or New Zealand Anglican might

Angels

These six questions form a section of the Catechism in the 1996 Book of Common Prayer of The Church of Nigeria (Anglican Communion).

What is an angel?
An angel is a spiritual creature and part of God's great unseen world. The word angel means messenger.

Why are angels important to us?
Beyond being messengers of God they are guardians to human beings against danger and temptations, and they watch over children. They remind us that we are part of a great spiritual world that is bound up with our material world.

Is belief in angels scriptural?
Yes. Mention of angels is found frequently in both the Old and the New Testaments. The Bible refers to cherubim, seraphim, archangels and guardian angels. Angels played a significant role in the life and teaching of Jesus Christ.

Are all angels good?
All angels were created good by God but some rebelled against him and became his enemies. These are called demons and their leader is Satan or the devil.

Have demons power to harm Christians?
The power of God is always stronger than the power of demons. Those who trust in God and call on Jesus as Lord and Saviour have the victory.

What is the Church called to do for people who are afflicted or possessed by evil spirits?
In the power of Jesus the Church can put to flight all forces that enslave people, so that peace and health can be fully established in people and places. The individual Christian is called to trust at all times in the protection of the blood of Jesus.

never be made to learn the precise content of their catechisms. By contrast, the Kenyan and Welsh churches want their members to be put in direct contact with their catechisms. The Kenyan catechism states, in a series of detailed directions, that it is to be learned by all candidates for confirmation. In its directions, the Welsh catechism itself does not require such instruction, but a rubric in the confirmation rite demands that the catechism be learned by all candidates. In one sense, the Welsh and Kenyan Prayer Books appear to value the catechism more highly by requiring such learning. On the other hand, the New Zealand and American Prayer Books recognize the limitations of the catechetical format and attempt to compensate by encouraging the teacher to expand on the text of the catechism.

The modern catechisms share some similarities in structure and theme. Each uses topical headings and is typically far more ambitious in scope than the 1549 Prayer Book Catechism or its progeny. The 1979 American book's topical headings reveal a much larger scope for this catechism than that of its 1928 predecessor or the 1662 Catechism on which it was based: human nature, God the Father, the Old Covenant, the Ten Commandments, sin and redemption, God the Son, the New Covenant, the creeds, the Holy Spirit, the Holy Scriptures, the church, the ministry, prayer and worship, the sacraments, Holy Baptism, the Holy Eucharist, other sacramental rites, and the Christian hope. This influential text was written chiefly by the Revd Robert H. Greenfield, and it was largely appropriated by other Anglican provinces. The same topics, in the same order, are covered by the Southern Africa book of 1989, with the additions of sections addressing stewardship, fasting, and angels. The Welsh catechism addresses topics very close to those of the 1979 American book, though with somewhat different headings: the call of God, the Christian belief (a section largely concerned with the creeds), the church and ministry, Christian obedience, and the Holy Spirit in the Church (discussing grace, worship and prayer, the sacraments–defined as Baptism and

Eucharist–confirmation, ordination, matrimony, absolution, and healing), and the Christian hope. The New Zealand catechism similarly addresses human nature, God, God as Father, God the Son, the Holy Spirit, the Bible, the church, the ministry, the sacraments, prayer, and the Christian hope. The New Zealand catechism also adds distinctive sections on the Anglican Church, describing the Anglican Communion (and its views of modern science, secular philosophies, and multiculturalism; *see* 'The Anglican Communion'), and on the Christian lifestyle and moral conduct. The Kenyan Prayer Book catechism has a compressed list of headings addressing many of the same topics as the other modern catechisms: the call of God and the Christian answer, Christian belief, the church and ministry, Christian obedience, the Holy Spirit in the church, and the Christian hope.

These general similarities belie some important differences in content among the modern catechisms. For example, the Welsh and Southern Africa catechisms essentially follow the American catechism in describing confirmation as 'the rite in which we express a mature commitment to Christ, and receive strength from the Holy Spirit through prayer and the laying on of hands by a bishop'. The New Zealand book describes confirmation as a 'sacramental action' that is a 'commissioning for Christian witness and service'. The Kenyan catechism, by contrast, defines confirmation as 'the ministry by which, through prayer with the laying on of hands by the Bishop, the Holy Spirit is received to complete what he began in Baptism and to give strength for the Christian service and witness'. These different definitions in the catechism reflect larger debates about the nature of baptism and confirmation: the American church, among others, asserts that baptism is full initiation into the church and that confirmation completes nothing, while the Kenyan church adheres to an older view that confirmation is the necessary completion of the initiatory process (and by implication that baptism is incomplete).

Similarly, the modern catechisms reflect differences in theology concerning the Bible.

The Anglican Communion

The Catechisms of several recent Prayer Books have a section on the Anglican Communion and the province for which the book is authorized. These are the first five questions in the Catechism of the 1989 *New Zealand Prayer Book.*

What is the Anglican Communion?
It is a world-wide fellowship of self-governing churches holding the doctrine and ministry of the one, holy, catholic and apostolic church, and in communion with the Archbishop of Canterbury. It initially grew from the historic faith of the English speaking peoples but is now present in many different cultures and languages.

What part of the Anglican Communion is this Church?
It is the Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand, and Polynesia / te Haahi Mihinare, made up of Te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa, the dioceses in New Zealand, and the Diocese of Polynesia. In character this Church is multi-racial and multi-cultural.

How does the Anglican Church in New Zealand understand the relationship between Maori and Pakeha?
The Church recognises a special bi-cultural partnership, founded upon the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, and seeks to express this in its life.

How does the Anglican Church regard other Christians?
Anglicans see other Christians as sisters and brothers in Christ, and pray and work for the unity which is Christ's will for the Church.

How does the Anglican Church regard members of other faiths?
Anglicans believe that all people are created in God's image and need to find meaning and purpose beyond themselves. All living faiths witness in some way to the reality of God, but in Jesus Christ God's revelation is unique.

The Kenyan and Welsh catechisms assert that the Bible was 'given to us by the Holy Spirit who first inspired and guided the writers', while the American and Southern Africa catechisms, in describing the Holy Scriptures, assert that 'God inspired their human authors'. The New Zealand book uses almost the same formulation as the American and Southern Africa books, substituting 'Holy Spirit' for 'God'. The use of 'guided' implies a more directive role than that of simple inspiration. Further, the American and Southern Africa catechisms assert that the Spirit 'guides the Church in the true interpretation of the Scriptures', while the New Zealand catechism says substantially the same thing. These catechisms emphasize the importance of interpretation in reading the scriptures and give the institution of the church a large role in this process. The Welsh and Kenyan catechisms give a different view: persons are to 'read the Bible with desire and prayer that through it God will speak to us by his Holy Spirit, and enable us to know him and do his will'. At the very least, these latter two catechisms can be read to suggest that the church is cut out of the interpretive process and that the individual is guided in reading directly by the Spirit. In a different light, the Welsh and Kenyan catechisms could be taken to imply no work of interpretation at all and to endorse a literalist reading of the Bible, something that the American, New Zealand, and Southern Africa catechisms squarely reject.

These differences in the catechisms both reflect and reinforce the divergences among the churches in the Anglican Communion. A catechism, much like the liturgy itself, both is shaped by and shapes those who use it. These catechisms reflect the contexts in which they originated: national churches that either used inherited forms, devised their own new forms, or occasionally borrowed another national church's contemporary form, and then put their own mark on each form. But the catechisms in turn have the capacity to shape future generations of church members, whether they encounter the catechism directly, in the sort of rote instruction envisioned by the Kenyan catechism, or indirectly, when the catechism serves as a guide or launching point for an instructor, as the American and New Zealand catechisms intend.

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Marriage

Gillian Varcoe

Unlike rites of initiation, daily services of prayer, or celebrations of the Eucharist, marriage liturgies arise from the natural physical needs and activities common to all humans. For millennia, couples have been making arrangements, with the blessing of their families of origin, for the sharing of love and mutual support and the care of children. Throughout most of history and in most societies, cohabitation constituted marriage. The involvement of civic and religious authorities came later, as the need to avoid property disputes and to protect dependents made it prudent for marriage to be legally ordered and regulated. But marriage and the customs surrounding it are essentially domestic.

Modern marriages in the West still involve practices that were current in ancient Rome, such as the joining of hands, sacrifice at the family altar, a wedding banquet and cake, and rites around the wedding bed, all of which took place in the home. The early church encouraged Christians not to marry outsiders, but did not involve itself in domestic nuptial arrangements beyond substituting a Eucharist for animal sacrifices and Christian blessings for pagan ones. It has been argued that the major role in conducting weddings which the church later came to have was an accidental development. In the Middle Ages, the clergy were often the only literate persons available to provide written records of marriage contracts, a need which arose in response to the problem of secret marriages with their consequent arguments over the acknowledgement of offspring and inheritance issues.

The liturgies we have from history do not tell us very much about the actual practice of marriage among the majority of people, reflecting as they do the needs of the wealthy and powerful where contracts were made and money exchanged along with the bride. Indeed, much of the traditional language of marriage rites is legal in origin: 'to have and to hold', for example, still refers to the legal possession of property. Customary practices, such as the 'giving away' of the bride, are also concerned with property rights and legal authority and control. Ownership and control of the bride passed from her father or other senior male to her husband. Many early liturgies involved prayers and blessings for the bride only. Among the wealthy, property and alliance issues were paramount. It is likely, however, that a majority of unions took place without the intervention of either clergy or the state – as is once more the norm in many places.

It is not surprising, then, that there is no settled agreement on a Christian theology of marriage. Genesis 1 and 2 suggest God's blessing of this human activity, and the Hebrew scriptures contain many stories about marriages. From the prophets to St Paul, marriage provided vivid metaphors for the covenant relationship between God and God's people. Christian liturgies of marriage make reference to these biblical antecedents – the marriages of Israel's patriarchs and matriarchs, Jesus' presence at the wedding at Cana, Paul's metaphor of marriage and the mystery of the relationship of Christ and the church. In Latin, the Greek word for 'mystery' became 'sacrament', so that with the support of God's command in Genesis 1 and Jesus' miracle at Cana, marriage came to be added to the list of the sacraments of the church.

With the exception of some radical Protestants, for whom marriage once more became a civil ceremony in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, arguments over whether marriage is a sacrament produced those few changes in the traditional services which Reformation theologians thought necessary. In England, the giving of the marriage ring was objected to by the Puritans, but though this ceremony was done away with it often found its way back into the services. The cultural nature of marriage traditions makes them very resistant to purely theological change. Modern brides still often insist on being 'given away'. Conversely, cultural influence has driven reform. Variations in marriage liturgies over the centuries reflect changes in secular mores much more strongly than do other services. In particular, changes in the status of women have significantly affected marriage rites, as has the decline in Christian influence over attitudes to sex. Thus marriage rites rarely now require women to be obedient, and marriage is no longer characterized as primarily a means of providing for children or avoiding sexual sin.

The Classical Book of Common Prayer

The marriage service of the first Book of Common Prayer was based on the Sarum order, itself a synthesis of a long history of theological, liturgical, and cultural influences. It amounts to an attenuated form of the older stages of marriage: the rites of betrothal, followed by those of espousal in the wedding itself, which heralded the beginning of married life. Cranmer moved all the action into the church, whereas previously part of the ceremony took place at the church door. Earlier still these celebrations had been domestic in nature, and took place in the home. The long exhortation added at the beginning of the rite gave three 'causes for the which matrimony was ordained': first, 'the procreation of children, to be brought up in the fear and nurture of the Lord, and praise of God'; next, 'to avoid fornication, that such persons as be married, might live chastely in matrimony, and keep themselves undefiled members of Christ's body'; and finally, 'for the mutual society, help and comfort, that the one ought to have of the other, both in prosperity and adversity' (*see* 'The Nature and Purposes of Marriage'). The continental reformer Martin Bucer, who wrote a thorough critique of the whole 1549 Book of Common Prayer, generally approved of the marriage service but noted that the 'causes' are in the wrong order. His response has important consequences for later theologies of marriage. Companionship and mutual support, he urged, come before procreation and the regulation of sex; if it were otherwise, then Christian marriage would not be available to those unable, for whatever reason, to bear children.

Cranmer's liturgy puts the regulation of sex in an entirely negative way that owes more to Augustine of Hippo than to scripture or to emerging Reformation theologies of the vocation to the married state. Along with its positive references to paradise, Cana, and Paul's judgement that marriage is to be commended as honorable, the service reflects a history of Christian suspicion of the body and of sexual expression, and a concomitant elevation of celibacy as more holy than marriage. But the Reformation influence appears in the reference to marriage as 'God's holy ordinance': no longer a sacrament ordered by the church, but a human practice ordained by God at creation. For similar reasons, there is no blessing of the ring; it is a token of the pledge between the couple. At the declaration of the marriage Matthew 19:5 is quoted: 'Those whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.' The Lutheran original is more accurate – 'what' rather than 'those whom' – but in the Prayer Book, Christ's statement about marriage itself becomes particular and personal, applied to the couple being married rather than to the institution of marriage.

The 1549 Book of Common Prayer required the newly married couple to receive Holy Communion on the same day as their marriage, but the link with the Eucharist was weakened, in line with actual marriage practice, and in the 1662 book 'must' has become 'it is convenient'. Marriage was now an 'occasional office', a private arrangement before family,

friends, and the priest rather than in the presence of the worshipping congregation. In a sense, this is what marriage has always been: the intervention of state and church in people's domestic arrangements is the anomaly. Thus in the 1662 rite, which became the norm for Anglicanism everywhere, the service begins not with a greeting of the people or an invocation of God, but with an exhortation that states the purpose of the gathering, deals with the possibility of legal impediment, and then proceeds directly to the consents, the marriage vows, blessing and giving of a ring, and the declaration of the marriage and its blessing. Only then are there psalms, prayers, and – in case a sermon has not been preached – a set discourse on the duties of marriage.

The only significant alteration of this pattern in the three hundred years that followed was in the newly organized American Episcopal Church's 1789 Book of Common Prayer, which dropped any statement of 'causes' from the exhortation, leaving the references to the sacredness of marriage as instituted by God, signifying the mystical union that is between Christ and his church, blessed by Christ's presence at the wedding at Cana, endorsed in Holy Scripture. The consents and vows follow. The Lord's Prayer is placed immediately after the ring-giving, as close to the vows as possible. Then follow prayers, the Matthew 19 statement, and the declaration of the wedding and the blessing. This simplicity and the positive tone would influence later revisions across the Anglican Communion.

Modern Developments: The First Round

No official revisions of the marriage service took place in England between 1662 and the latter part of the twentieth century. The Proposed Book of 1928, however, although it failed to win Parliamentary approval, was widely used, with episcopal sanction. Its marriage rite dealt with cultural changes that had occurred since the seventeenth century: references to sexual matters are more 'delicately' treated, the woman no longer promises to obey, the prayers are modernized, and a nuptial Eucharist may follow. The long ending of the Book of Common Prayer service is also much reduced, as had happened in America in the eighteenth century. The shape, however, remained the same.

The impetus for major revision of Prayer Books throughout the Anglican Communion came from several directions. The Liturgical Movement, endorsed and implemented by the Second Vatican Council, was a strong influence. Increasingly critical secular cultures demanded that the church adjust language and style to make worship more relevant. The Church of England in Australia began its process of revision as soon as it legally could: it did not have its own Constitution and General Synod until 1962. The work of liturgical commissions in many provinces resulted in *An Australian Prayer Book* in 1978, the American Book of Common Prayer in 1979, and the English *Alternative Service Book* in 1980.

The English and Australian revisions are conservative. In Australia, a strong evangelical tradition militated against such radical moves as the complete omission of the 'obey' clause. There are consequently two marriage rites. The first follows the 1662 Book of Common Prayer in form and content, with modernized language and less straightforward references to the risks of sin around sexual matters. The bride promises to obey. The second keeps the traditional shape but makes the vows the same for both bride and groom. It is clear that the compilers were conscious of the abrupt beginning of this shape and its separation from other acts of worship. The appended notes for the celebration of the Holy Communion allow for considerable variety, but suggest incorporation of the marriage service within the Communion service after the gospel and sermon.

The English revision faced the same problems. The rite in the *Alternative Service Book 1980* could now begin with a collect. The readings could either follow immediately or come later, but must come in the early position if there was to be a Eucharist. This change in sequence is probably the result of Roman Catholic and American influences, and makes sound liturgical sense. The pattern of gathering, Ministry of the Word, other activities such as marriage or

baptism, prayer, communion, and dismissal has become the norm for worship ecumenically. The English revision also makes the wife's promise of obedience optional.

In the United States, where the 1979 Book of Common Prayer remains the authorized Prayer Book, the service still begins abruptly with the exhortation, followed immediately by the declaration of consent – the bride, uniquely, giving hers first. There is a third declaration, 'We will', in response to the question, 'Will all of you witnessing these promises do all in your power to support these two persons in their marriage?' The Ministry of the Word intervenes between these consents and the marriage vows. These are followed by the blessing and exchange of rings, the pronouncement of marriage, the prayers and marriage blessing, the greeting of peace, and then either the offertory of a eucharistic celebration or the departure of the wedding party. Also provided are a service for 'The Blessing of a Civil Marriage' and, critical for future developments, 'An Order for Marriage' in which the *only* prescribed text are the vows. The words and ceremonies, within the boundaries of a set structure, are determined by the couple and their community.

Revisions of the 1980s

Other revisions across the Anglican Communion took place during the 1980s. Chronologically they belong in the first round, but liturgically they moved forward and strongly influenced the second-round revisions which took place in Australia, England, Ireland, and elsewhere in the 1990s and early part of the twenty-first century.

The Canadian *Book of Alternative Services* was published in 1985. Here, for the first time, the shape of the marriage rite is specifically eucharistic, as the major headings make clear: Gathering of the Community, Proclamation of the Word, the Wedding with prayers and blessing of the marriage, and the Liturgy of the Eucharist. Rather than the bride being given away, members of the family are asked to give their blessing and the gathered witnesses are asked for their support. The exhortation emphasizes the loving union of the couple 'as Christ is united with his Church', their mutual comfort and support, and the formation of new community. The vows are the same for both wife and husband and take the traditional form of 'I *N* take you *N*'. The wording of the consents, however, changes from 'will you take *N*' to 'will you give yourself to *N*'.

New Zealand's revision, *A New Zealand Prayer Book / He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa*, published in 1989, is very flexible. Couples are explicitly encouraged to choose what suits them best. The book provides three forms, all of which reflect a modern approach to marriage, with no unease about the goodness of sex, and all are couched in ordinary language. In the first order, for example, the reference to Matthew 19:5 becomes 'Let no one come between those whom God has joined together'; in the second, it is 'God so join you together that nothing shall ever part you'. The tone of the rites is personal and warm. In the second order, the introduction emphasizes the importance and power of prayer, and the need for forgiveness and reconciliation. The consents are simple: 'I love *N*, and I want to marry him/her.' Parents are asked for their acceptance and support and children are asked for their help. There is no explicit statement that this form is suitable for a second marriage after the breakdown of the first, but the intention is clear. The third form allows the couple to choose the wording paragraph by paragraph. In all three orders the position of the Ministry of the Word may vary considerably, allowing for the pattern of the 1979 American Prayer Book (between the consents and the vows), or a traditional-marriage position, after the vows or before the prayers, or a 'eucharistic position' after the introduction. The nuptial blessing comes after the vows and before the prayers.

In 1989 the Province of Southern Africa also published its revision, *An Anglican Prayer Book,* which replaced a fairly conservative revision of 1954. This also allows for the traditional or a eucharistic shape. As in the American book, the nuptial blessing comes at the end of the service. Wifely obedience is optional.

Declarations of Consent

Book of Common Prayer 1549, 1552, 1662	*A New Zealand Prayer Book* 1989	Book of Common Prayer, Church of Nigeria 1996
. . . then shall the Curate say unto the Man,	*The priest asks the bridegroom*	*The Minister's questions to the Groom:*
N. wilt thou have this woman to thy wedded wife, to live together after God's ordinance in the holy estate of Matrimony? Wilt thou love her, comfort her, honour, and keep her, in sickness and in health; and, forsaking all other, keep thee only unto her, so long as ye both shall live?	*N*, do you love and trust *N* and want to be her husband? *The bridegroom answers* Yes, I do. *The priest asks the bridegroom* Will you stand by her no matter what happens, respecting her as a person, understanding her needs and enjoying her love until death parts you?	Will you, N . . . take N . . . as your wife, loving what you know of her and trusting the unknown? Will you share with her the joys and sorrows of life and bring her into the very depths of your being? Will you honour her, trust her, respect her individuality and integrity and love her uniquely in all the world as long as you both shall live?
The Man shall answer,	*The bridegroom answers*	*The bridegroom answers:*
I will.	Yes, I will.	I will.
Then shall the Priest say unto the Woman,	*The priest asks the bride*	*The Minister's questions to the Bride:*
N. wilt thou have this man to thy wedded husband, to live together after God's ordinance in the holy estate of Matrimony? Wilt thou obey him, and serve him, love, honour, and keep him, in sickness and in health; and, forsaking all other, keep thee only unto him, so long as ye both shall live?	*N*, do you love and trust *N* and want to be his wife? *The bride answers* Yes, I do. *The priest asks the bride* Will you stand by him no matter what happens, respecting him as a person, understanding his needs and enjoying his love until death parts you?	Will you, N . . . take N . . . as your husband, loving what you know of him and trusting the unknown? Will you share with him the joys and sorrows of life and bring him into the very depths of your being? Will you honour him, trust him, respect his individuality and integrity and love him uniquely in all the world as long as you both shall live?
The Woman shall answer,	*The bride answers*	*The bride answers:*
I will.	Yes, I will.	I will.

The Second-Round Revisions: The 1990s and 2000s

Australia's first revision had always been intended as an interim measure, and the one that followed it was again the first in a 'second round' of changes. Following publication and use of trial services, *A Prayer Book for Australia* was authorized by General Synod and published in 1995. Initially the intention was that there should be only one marriage order. Since the 1978 *Australian Prayer Book* and the 1662 Book of Common Prayer were both to remain authorized, the rites they provided would always be available for use. Again, however, conservative pressures brought about the inclusion of both a traditional first order and a more modern second order.

Fierce debate within the Liturgical Commission itself occurred around the wording of

the exhortation in the second order. Would a reference to Ephesians 5's wifely submission be included or not? Consensus was reached on almost every other occasion; this time a vote decided the outcome.

> Marriage is a gift of God our creator.
> It is a symbol of God's unending love for his people,
> and of the union between Christ and his Church.
> Christ loved his bride the Church,
> and gave himself for her.
> As he has called N and N to marriage,
> so he draws their differing gifts and hopes
> into a unity of love and service.

The General Synod left it alone. It is a clear example of the historical tendency of marriage liturgies to be responsive to cultural change, and of the conflict between the demands of modern cultures and those within which the Christian tradition was formed. During the Synod debates there was strong pressure, strongly resisted, to retain the bride's promise of obedience in the first order. The result was the peculiar wording of that order: the man promises 'to love and to cherish' his wife; she promises 'to love, honour, and cherish' her husband. In the consents, however, and the giving of the ring, the husband promises also to 'honour' his wife. The second order for marriage in the newest Australian Prayer Book follows the Canadian pattern of gathering, word, marriage prayers, and Eucharist. The collect which ends the opening exhortation is in the form of a blessing, the nuptial blessing follows the marriage, and a general blessing of the couple and the congregation ends the service, thus surrounding the whole with blessings. The wording of the consents and vows is the same for both husband and wife. The prefatory material and one of the prayers include references to sex as a positive good. The first order rite reverts to the Lutheran form of Matthew 19:5, 'What God has joined together, let no one separate.' The motivation was to quote accurately rather than to be faithful to the reformer, but the substitution of 'what' for 'those whom' does avoid placing on the couple being married the whole weight of the gospel's support for the indissolubility of marriage.

During this period the Church of England also undertook its second revision. Its 2000 book, *Common Worship: Services and Prayers for the Church of England*, provides two services, the second in the context of a Eucharist: gathering, word, marriage, liturgy of the sacrament, and dismissal. The nuptial blessing may take place after the proclamation of the marriage or between the Lord's Prayer at the end of the eucharistic prayer and the breaking of the bread. Another North American influence is the placing of the consents immediately after the declarations that there is no impediment to the marriage, with the Ministry of the Word separating them from the wedding vows. The preface continues the move towards a positive statement of the purposes of marriage and, like the Australian service, refers to sex as a positive good: 'The gift of marriage brings husband and wife together in the delight and tenderness of sexual union and joyful commitment to the end of their lives.'

The Church of Ireland has also produced a Prayer Book, in 2004. A first order of marriage (The Form of Solemnization of Matrimony) is a traditional reworking of the 1662 rite, with even the 'causes' in the Book of Common Prayer order. Its second order (The Marriage Service) follows the recent trends in both order and emphasis, with mutual support first in the purposes of marriage, positive reference to sex, and procreation and care of children last. (*See* 'The Nature and Purposes of Marriage'.) The book also provides a Form of Prayer and Dedication after a Civil Marriage.

In the Anglican Church of Kenya's *Our Modern Services,* published in 2002, the Wedding Service (Holy Matrimony) begins with a greeting, a preface referring to the positive scriptural support for marriage, a call for fidelity, and references to fulfillment of emotional and

The Nature and Purposes of Marriage

First Book of Common Prayer (1549)

Dearly beloved friends, we are gathered together here in the sight of God, and in the face of his congregation, to join together this man, and this woman, in holy Matrimony: which is an honourable estate instituted of God in Paradise, in the time of man's innocency, signifying unto us the mystical union that is betwixt Christ and his church: which holy estate, Christ adorned and beautified with his presence, and first miracle that he wrought, in Cana of Galilee, and is commended of Saint Paul to be honourable among all men, and therefore is not to be enterprised, nor taken in hand unadvisedly, lightly, or wantonly, to satisfy men's carnal lusts and appetites, like brute beastes that have no understanding: but reverently, discreetly, advisedly, soberly, and in the fear of God: duly considering the causes for the which Matrimony was ordained.

One cause was the procreation of children, to be brought up in the fear and nurture of the Lord, and praise of God.

Secondly it was ordained for a remedy against sin, and to avoid fornication, that such persons as be married, might live chastely in Matrimony, and keep themselves undefiled members of Christ's body.

Thirdly for the mutual society, help and comfort, that the one ought to have of the other, both in prosperity and adversity.

Into which holy estate these two persons present, come now to be joined. Therefore if any man can show any just cause why they may not lawfully be joined so together: let him now speak, or else hereafter for ever hold his peace.

Church of Ireland
Book of Common Prayer (2004)

We have come together in the presence of God
to witness the marriage of ___ and ___,
to ask his blessing on them
and to share in their joy.
Our Lord Jesus Christ was himself a guest
at a wedding at Cana of Galilee,
and through his Spirit he is with us now.

The scriptures set before us marriage as part of God's creation
and a holy mystery
in which man and woman become one flesh.
It is God's purpose that, as husband and wife
give themselves to each other
in love throughout their lives,
they shall be united in that love
as Christ is united with his Church.

Marriage was ordained that husband and wife
may comfort and help each other,
living faithfully together in plenty and in need,
in sorrow and in joy.

It is intended that with delight and tenderness
they may know each other in love,
and through the joy of their bodily union
they may strengthen the union of their hearts and lives.

It is intended that they may be blessed
in the children they may have,
in caring for them and in bringing them up
in accordance with God's will
to his praise and glory.

In marriage husband and wife begin a new life together in the community.
It is a permanent commitment that all should honour.
It must not be undertaken carelessly, lightly or selfishly,
but by God's help, with reverence, responsibility,
respect and the promise to be faithful.

This is a way of life, created and hallowed by God,
that ___ and ___, are now about to begin.
They will each give their consent to the other;
they will join hands and exchange solemn vows,
and in token of this they will give and receive a ring.
Therefore on this their wedding day we pray with them,
that, strengthened and guided by God,
they may fulfil his purpose
for the whole of their earthly life together.

physical needs and to the care of children. Then follow the declarations that there is no impediment to the marriage. Interestingly, the Kenyan church still makes provision–dropped from recent Prayer Books outside Great Britain and Eire–for the publication of the banns of marriage on three successive Sundays prior to the service. Following the declarations are 'Making Promises' then 'Making Vows' in the traditional forms, but with groom and bride making the same promises. Then follow an innovative blessing litany, a prayer and nuptial blessing, the Lord's Prayer, psalms, the Ministry of the Word and sermon, a prayer for the blessing of children, a general blessing, and the sharing of the peace.

A second service called 'Blessing of Marriage' is intended 'for Christian couples who may have been married either through customary or civil arrangements, and now wish to have their marriage blessed in church'. An optional prayer, oddly provided for this service only, refers to Ephesians 5 in these terms: 'May this man love his wife completely and selflessly, and may this woman reciprocate the love with submission and reverence.' A third service provides for the 'Reaffirmation of Marriage Vows'. An important feature of these services is their explicit provision for particular cultural variations, including alternatives to the exchange of rings and celebratory responses such as ululation.

Conclusion

The history of Prayer Book revisions so far as marriage is concerned reflects cultural pressures and a nuanced response from different parts of the Anglican Communion. Trends towards normative cohabitation before legal marriage for most people in most societies, towards 'serial monogamy' with 'easier' (in a legal sense) divorce and for legalization of same-gender partnerships have produced both defensive reaction and accommodation from the church. Few Anglican Christians would now hold that celibacy is a holier state than marriage or that sex is intrinsically bad. The church's response to the freedoms encouraged by easily available and safe contraception has been confused, and the literature abounds with fears about the sanctity of marriage. Conversation with couples coming to be married, however, ought to reassure. In general, marriage is for them about commitment and its celebration, and the desire to have and care for children. It is also connected with people's desire for secure community and for 'mutual support and care'.

Sacramental views of marriage in the West have always avoided a view that the church or the celebrant is the 'maker' of the marriage. It is the couple who are the celebrants. The Kenyan service for blessing a civil or customary marriage suggests this strongly: two people 'make' the marriage, over the course of their life together, and the church blesses their promises to 'make' it. An interesting parallel is in the American service for the adoption of a child: 'Do you take this woman as your mother? Do you take this man as your father?' Families–daughtership, sonship, fatherhood, motherhood–are constituted by the pledges and promises involved, just as marriages are.

The fact that customary marriages fall under the Kenya provision also suggests that the alliance of ecclesiastical and civil authorities, so evident in the classical Prayer Book liturgies, is not essential to what the service is all about. What the church 'adds' to civil and/or customary unions–what it expects of those life-partnerships which it blesses liturgically–belongs not to the making of liturgy but to the theology of marriage, on which there is no present agreement. Among areas of disagreement is what counts as a 'blessable union'; this ongoing discussion can be expected to influence future liturgies.

As far as the liturgy itself is concerned, it seems likely that the marriage service, like the Eucharist, will move in the direction of multiple options, as already provided for in the American and New Zealand Prayer Books. The emphasis falls on what the two people involved are doing, deciding for, and committing themselves to, on marriage as the grass-roots activity of individuals and families and communities, rather than the hierarchical imposition of norms. In the composition of such liturgy there is indeed the risk of sentimental trivial-

ization; but it can also be the occasion of serious pastoral and theological discernment. And that is what liturgy is for.

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Funeral Rites

Trevor Lloyd

FUNERAL SERVICES ACROSS the Anglican Communion today all trace their origins back to Cranmer's burial services of 1549 and 1552, but to understand what Cranmer did we need to go further back, to the early Roman rites of burial. The structure of the funeral, whether secular or Christian, was largely determined by the movement of the body and of the mourners from place to place. So the early Roman Christian rites (for example, in the Rheinau Sacramentary of 800) followed the pattern of the Roman secular funeral, a pattern that persists in the later medieval liturgy. The funeral rite is a continuum, broken by movements from place to place. The expectation was that as people were dying they would have family or friends around them, with a priest to say prayers with and for them, administering the last rites. Ministry to the sick moved into ministry to the dying and then to the corpse and the mourners. The pattern and structure of what followed was partly determined by the necessary movements from one location to another, from home to church to place of burial, and back home again.

In taking over the secular funeral pattern Christians infused it with hope and expectation, with psalms and prayers as the body was prepared for burial, with the wearing of white clothes instead of the black *lugubria*, with the singing of hymns and psalms in the funeral procession held in daylight and not at night, and with a Eucharist instead of the funeral feast at the tomb. Augustine's account of the funeral of his mother Monica in 387 says, 'Nor did we think fit to celebrate that funeral with weeping and loud-voiced cries, because with such demonstrations of sorrow men are wont to lament who think on death as a misery or even as utter destruction. . . . And behold, the corpse was carried forth, we both went and returned without tears.' This indicates not only the change in atmosphere from a pagan funeral devoid of hope, but also the stages and locations of the funeral. In the early Roman and western medieval pattern we have ministry at death and the preparation of the body, at home, followed by a move with psalms and prayers to church for the office of the dead, the Eucharist and prayers, then another move, again with psalms, to the place of burial and returning home.

This pattern was severely truncated by Cranmer and the reformers, in their reaction against the doctrine of purgatory. In the later medieval period this doctrine had not only undermined the assurance and joy of the early church's hope, but also opened the door to a range of financial abuses, with payments for indulgences, prayers, Eucharists, and memorials for the dead. In sweeping all this away, Cranmer squeezed the pattern into a short service with two locations, the office in church and the burial at the grave. This is the pattern of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer and of most of the Prayer Books of the Communion until recently. Throughout the latest range of revisions of the Prayer Book, there has been some effort to incorporate elements of the medieval pattern. Why has this happened? From the mid-twentieth century onwards a number of cultural factors have influenced the liturgy.

First, the change in the size of families in most western cultures and the growth of the 'nuclear family' means that far fewer people had the experience of caring for someone who was dying, or of being in attendance at the death of an immediate member of the family.

The great fall in child mortality rates led in the same direction. At the same time, increasing mobility cut the ties with the locality; the rise in popularity of cremation meant there was no grave to care for or remind people of death, and both death and disposal became more clean and clinical. Improvements in medical care and surgical skill led not only to the postponement of death but also to the removal of the dying process to hospital. By the mid-twentieth century death had become a taboo subject, referred to only in euphemisms, and handled with as little pain as possible for both the dying and the bereaved. The removal of dying from the home meant that control over the process passed from the family to the professionals–hospitals, residential homes, funeral directors–with clergy increasingly uncertain as to their role.

Second, this change went hand in hand not only with increasing professionalism but with increasing commercialization. The main liturgical consequence here is–apart from pressure to hold funeral services in funeral homes or crematoria rather than in church to ease time and transport constraints–the expectation that whatever liturgy is provided must take no more than twenty minutes at the crematorium. As we shall see, most of the provinces in the Communion have complied with this demand, agreeing implicitly with the funeral directors that what almost every deceased person would have wanted–and what their families need–is something short, not elaborate or fussy, with no extra ceremonies and the briefest of addresses.

Finally, the last thirty years of the twentieth century saw a reaction against the mass-produced commercial funeral and against the commercialization and de-humanization of the process of dying and bereavement. The hospice movement and the growth in understanding of bereavement each contributed to this shift. So in some cultures control over the process of mourning was gradually returned to the family and to the mourners, with the provision of more opportunities for personal choice in the funeral service itself. The extent of the influence of this on Anglican funeral liturgies is largely determined by the date of the last revision in relation to the beginnings of this movement in the late 1960s. The 1979 Book of Common Prayer of the Episcopal Church in the United States came too soon to take on these insights, while the 2000 Church of England *Common Worship* services take full advantage of them. This is also one of the many areas where there are cultural differences between those provinces in the 'developed' West and those, for instance in Africa, where there are different cultural expectations surrounding death.

When we come to compare the rites of the individual provinces in the Communion we find that they fall into two groups: those authorized before the mid-1980s, and those authorized when the insights of Elisabeth Kübler-Ross and others on the stages of grief began to find their way into liturgical texts. We could simply look at the point at which personalization becomes possible. The 1662 burial service does not even have space to mention the name of the dead person, and the Melanesian rite of 1965, revised in 1985, is typical of many in following 1662: the only variation is between 'brother' and 'sister'. Mentioning the person's name may have happened informally, but '*N*' is only written into rites in the last third of the twentieth century, in the 1965 rites of the Church of England and the American Episcopal Church's 1979 Prayer Book. There is some distance between that simple insertion of the name and the encouragement to celebrate the humanity of the dead person. In the Prayer Books of England, Ireland, and Kenya, provision is made for tributes at an early point in the service, distinct from the Ministry of the Word. *Common Worship* distinguishes tribute from sermon ('The purpose of the sermon is to proclaim the gospel in the context of the death of this particular person'), encourages 'remembering and honouring the life of the person who has died' in the earlier part of the service, and provides for it to be done in conjunction with placing symbols of the person's life and faith, with family members or friends taking part.

We will consider three possible indicators of how different rites across the Anglican Communion acknowledge grief: the use of pastoral introductions, the words (if any) setting out the aims and agenda of the rite, and the use of words acknowledging grief.

Both *A New Zealand Prayer Book* and the Church of England's *Common Worship* provide half a page of pastoral introduction for the congregation to read before the service. Both acknowledge grief and the part the service plays in the process: 'Grief is like a wound which requires time and care if it is to heal' (New Zealand). The American 1979 Book of Common Prayer, the Canadian *Book of Alternative Services*, *A New Zealand Prayer Book, A Prayer Book for Australia*, *Common Worship,* and *Our Modern Services* from the Anglican Church of Kenya all have significant sets of notes, some of which touch on this area. For example, the 1979 American Prayer Book prints this note: 'The liturgy for the dead is an Easter liturgy. It finds all its meaning in the resurrection. Because Jesus was raised from the dead, we, too, shall be raised. The liturgy, therefore is characterized by joy. . . . This joy, however, does not make human grief unchristian. The very love we have for each other brings deep sorrow when we are parted by death.' *Common Worship,* the *New Zealand Prayer Book,* and the *Book of Alternative Services* have general introductions which mention the process of grieving, of which the *Book of Alternative Services* is the most extensive, with over four pages: 'It is entirely fitting that Christian funerals reflect . . . various dimensions of the experience of death. Faith is not only belief: faith embraces even its own shadow, which is doubt. Liturgical expressions of faith and hope in the face of death should consequently leave room for the radical sense of anxiety and loss which the mourners experience. They should also enable, rather than deny, the grief process about which so much has been learned in recent years.'

The second indicator, words about agenda and purpose, can be seen in the written introductions to services, where compilers set out their understanding of its purpose. Most have not moved far from Richard Hooker's classic description: 'First to shew that love towards the party deceased which nature requireth; then to do him that honour which is fit both generally for man and particularly for the quality of his person; last of all to testify the care which the Church hath to comfort the living, and the hope which we all have concerning the resurrection of the dead.' For example, the Church of England Liturgical Commission wrote in the introduction to the proposed burial service in 1964 that the purpose was to 'secure the reverent disposal of the corpse; commend the deceased to the care of our heavenly Father; to proclaim the glory of our risen life in Christ here and hereafter; to remind us of the awful certainty of our own coming death and judgement; and to make plain the eternal unity of Christian people, living and departed, in the risen and ascended Christ'.

The introduction to the 1987 rite in Scotland sets out the opportunities for pastoral care at three different levels: 'First there is the ministry to those who are directly involved. Secondly there are many people who attend a funeral with little or no church connection, but, at a moment of some significance, may be helped or challenged by what the Gospel has to say about death and eternal life. Third, a funeral service is a statement to the whole of our society of the way in which the Christian faith gives meaning to life and to its conclusion in death. To fulfil this task, the funeral rites must both speak of God's love, forgiveness and promise of resurrection and relate these to the immediate human experience of death and mourning. The truth of the human feelings must be acknowledged in order that the theological truth can become an effective communication.'

But the incorporation of such ideas into the liturgy as a 'gathering' text—despite the long-standing obvious parallel with 'Dearly beloved, we are gathered here in the sight of God to . . . ' of the marriage service—comes in comparatively few Anglican liturgies, such as in the Prayer Books of Ireland, Australia, and New Zealand and in *Common Worship:*

> We have come here today
> to remember before God our *brother/sister N*;
> to give thanks for *his/her* life;
> to commend *him/her* to God our merciful redeemer and judge;
> to commit *his/her* body to be *buried/cremated,*
> and to comfort one another in our grief.

The third indicator, words about grief, though not present in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, is there in the 1928 Proposed Book in the shape of the prayer 'Almighty God, Father of all mercies and giver of all comfort, deal graciously, we pray thee, with those who mourn . . . '. The 1979 American Book of Common Prayer moves on to prayers such as 'Lord, you consoled Martha and Mary in their distress. . . . You wept at the grave of Lazarus, your friend; comfort us in our sorrow.' But it is only in the last fifteen years of the twentieth century that we find more intense expressions of grief, sometimes echoing the insights of the successors of Kübler-Ross:

> . . . when we are angry at the loss we have sustained (Scotland);
>
> We confess that we are slow to accept death (Australia)
>
> . . . in our grief and shock contain and comfort us (*Common Worship*)
>
> Heal the memories of hurt and failure (*Common Worship*).

The same broad differences can be found when we turn to look at the structure of the funeral services across the Communion. The earlier rites broadly follow the (somewhat truncated) pattern of 1662, as we noted earlier. The service opens with sentences of scripture, following 1662, in the United States, Scotland, Southern Africa, and Kenya, but with a greeting and words of welcome in Australia, New Zealand, *Common Worship,* and Ireland. In the Canadian *Book of Alternative Services* there are three forms, one of which follows the traditional pattern; the second, beginning in church with a greeting and penitence, leads into Holy Communion. This more eucharistic pattern was deliberately followed by *Common Worship,* not only because penitence (expressing sorrow for the things we have left unsaid, for instance) fits naturally into place, but also because, even when no Eucharist follows, the progression of the service is in a heavenward direction, as the introduction makes clear. 'The Funeral Service itself moves from the human to the divine, from earth to heaven, beginning by recognising different groups of people who come to mourn, and giving an opportunity for the celebration of the earthly life of the person who has died, before moving heavenwards with the reading of scripture and prayer and climaxing in the commendation and the committal.'

Most rites now provide a collect at some point before the psalm(s) and readings; *Common Worship* has moved away from the *Alternative Service Book* pattern of having a boldly affirming collect at the start of the service, said by all ('Heavenly Father, in your son Jesus Christ you have given us a true faith and a sure hope . . . '), though Australia has a congregational prayer which successfully picks up the gathering theme:

> Loving God, you alone are the source of life
> May your life-giving Spirit flow through us,
> and fill us with compassion, one for another.
> In our sorrow give us the calm of your peace.

A wide variety of readings is available in most services, and a sermon is mandatory in many places, including England, Scotland, Kenya, and Australia. In Southern Africa it is optional, but where one is preached it must be 'in exposition of the Scripture reading'. The Apostles' Creed is provided in the 1979 American Prayer Book and the Canadian *Book of Alternative Services,* part of the *Te Deum* (following the *Alternative Service Book*) and the Easter Anthems in Australia.

The wealth of intercessory provision seemed to grow through the 1990s and the early 2000s, the most prolific examples being Australia and *Common Worship* (*see* 'Intercessions, *Common Worship,* Church of England'), with Scotland, Ireland, and Wales being more reticent. Kenya instructs: 'The minister may prayerfully lead the mourners in a memorial prayer, mentioning some of the significant things about the departed' and Scotland has a helpful (but

Intercessions
1998 Swahili Prayer Book,
Democratic Republic of the Congo

Minister Father, we are here before you in sorrow, but trusting in your love for N and for us. We know that death can not separate us from your care for us through Christ Jesus.
This is our faith.
All **Lord, increase our faith.**

Minister Father, your Son Jesus shed tears beside the grave of Lazarus. We believe that you share in our grief, even as you give us strength to stand firm at this time.
This is our faith.
All **Lord, increase our faith.**

Minister Father, your Son died that we might be forgiven. We trust in your forgiveness for N and for ourselves.
This is our faith.
All **Lord, increase our faith.**

Minister Father, we read that you offered your only Son, so that anyone who believes in him should not be lost, but have eternal life.
This is our faith.
All **Lord, increase our faith.**

Minister This indeed is the faith of the Church, on earth and in heaven. The name of the Lord be praised: Alleluia!
All **Amen!**

lengthy) model farewell prayer for a relative to adapt. Many expect some prayer to be extempore or specially composed with or by the family, sometimes said by them. We will note later how this relates to the increasing culture of involvement in the rites by the congregation.

The prayers normally lead into the commendation and committal, followed by the dismissal in the more recent eucharistically-based rites. The 1662 service ends simply with the grace, and the Scottish Prayer Book with an ascription ('To the one who is able to keep you from falling'), but others are more elaborate. *Our Modern Services* has a selection of blessings as well as the grace, after the filling of the grave and (optional) erection of the cross. *Common Worship* provides a dismissal which may include the Lord's Prayer, *Nunc dimittis,* other suitable prayers, and an ending, and may be used in whole or in part earlier in the service to accommodate a private committal. The *Book of Alternative Services* and the 1979 American Prayer Book use the Easter blessing, the latter preceding it with the Easter dismissal:

Alleluia. Christ is risen.
The Lord is risen indeed. Alleluia.
Let us go forth in the name of Christ.
Thanks be to God.

The words for the committal, almost always preceded by the *Media vitae* ('In the midst of life we are in death'), are very similar across the Communion, apart from *Common Worship*. It regards only committal to the earth (and therefore the burial of ashes) as committal and provides a different form for the crematorium ('and now, in preparation for burial, we give *his/her* body to be cremated'). This is different from Scotland's stark committal 'to the fire',

Intercessions
Common Worship, Church of England

God of mercy, Lord of life,
you have made us in your image
to reflect your truth and light:
we give you thanks for N,
for the grace and mercy he/she received from you,
for all that was good in his/her life,
for the memories we treasure today.
[Especially we thank you . . .]

Silence

Lord, in your mercy
hear our prayer.

You promised eternal life to those who believe.
Remember for good this your servant N
as we also remember him/her.
Bring all who rest in Christ
into the fullness of your kingdom
where sins have been forgiven
and death is no more.

Silence

Lord, in your mercy
hear our prayer.

Your mighty power brings joy out of grief
and life out of death.
Look in mercy on [. . . and] all who mourn.
Give them patient faith in times of darkness.
Strengthen them with the knowledge of your love.

Silence

Lord, in your mercy
hear our prayer.

You are tender towards your children
and your mercy is over all your works.
Heal the memories of hurt and failure.
Give us the wisdom and grace to use aright
the time that is left to us here on earth,
to turn to Christ and follow in his steps
in the way that leads to everlasting life.

Silence

Lord, in your mercy
hear our prayer.

God of mercy,
entrusting into your hands all that you have made
and rejoicing in our communion with all your faithful people,
we make our prayers through Jesus Christ our Saviour. **Amen**.

followed by the usual 'ashes to ashes' words. But it is in the commendation, as well as in some of the surrounding prayers, that the theological differences between the provinces of the Communion emerge, over the historically divisive issue of prayer and the departed. The 1979 American Book of Common Prayer and the *Book of Alternative Services* allow for the current Anglo-Catholic practice of using the *kontakion* for the departed from the Orthodox liturgy ('Give rest, O Christ, to your servants . . . ') and the prayer 'Acknowledge, we pray, a sheep of your own fold'. The rites end with:

> Rest eternal grant to *him,* O Lord;
> *And let light perpetual shine upon* him.
> May *his* soul, and the souls of all the faithful departed,
> through the mercy of God, rest in peace. *Amen.*

Scotland has the *kontakion* and 'Go forth upon your journey . . . '. Kenya uses either the *kontakion* or 'May the angels lead you into paradise . . . ' and the words at the graveside ('we give the spirit of our *brother* . . . into the everlasting arms of God to take *him* to himself') are followed by reading Revelation 7:15–17 ('They are before the throne of God and serve him day and night'). New Zealand has a form of 'Go forth . . . ' (*see* 'A Commendation, *A New Zealand Prayer Book*') but neither there nor in Australia or Ireland is there anything which might be construed as prayer for the departed. Ireland, like Australia, calls the commendation 'The Farewell' and uses a prayer originally written for *Common Worship,* slightly amended:

> God our creator and redeemer,
> by your power Christ conquered death and entered into glory.
> Confident of his victory
> and claiming his promises,
> we now leave your servant . . . in your gracious keeping.

A Commendation
A New Zealand Prayer Book

God alone is holy and just and good.
In that confidence, therefore,
we commend you, *N,*
to God's judgment and mercy,
to God's forgiveness and love.
Blessed be God the Father,
who has caused the light of Christ
to shine upon you.

Go forth from this world:
in the love of God the Father
who created you,
in the mercy of Jesus Christ
who redeemed you,
in the power of the Holy Spirit
who strengthens you.
In communion with all the faithful,
may you dwell this day in peace.
Amen.

Common Worship calls it 'Commendation and Farewell' and uses the same prayer with 'we entrust *N* to your mercy' but also provides seven other prayers of entrusting and commending later in the book; these are followed by a subsection 'At the time of death' which includes the *kontakion* for the departed, 'Acknowledge, we pray', and two versions of 'Go forth'. The Church of England's Liturgical Commission took the view that prayers commending the person to God, which are completely acceptable while the person is alive – for example, in Ministry at the Time of Death – and completely unacceptable to some a few days later, may well be necessary for some of the mourners for whom the early part of the service is a catching up, a recapitulation of those stages since the death in which they have not been able to participate. This understanding of the service based on the different thoughts people have about time was overwhelmingly supported.

Outline orders for funerals, which are less prescriptive and can more easily be adapted to local circumstances, are provided in the 1979 American Prayer Book, the *Book of Alternative Services,* and *Common Worship.*

Though Scotland, Ireland, Kenya and New Zealand follow 1662 in making no explicit provision in terms of text for a Eucharist associated with the funeral (New Zealand provides a two-line rubric), it is now common for the rites to provide material for such a celebration, ranging from a proper preface and post-communion prayer (1979 American Prayer Book) and a full eucharistic prayer (*Book of Alternative Services*) to complete eucharistic rites (Australia and *Common Worship,* for example). *Common Worship* provides gospel acclamations ('God so loved the world that he gave his only Son' or 'Blessed are those who die in the Lord . . . ') and three prefaces. The texts have the effect of lifting the focus from the coffin to the empty tomb and the heavenly banquet:

> In him who rose from the dead
> our hope of resurrection dawned.
> The sting of death has been removed
> by the glorious promise of his risen life.

And

> The joy of resurrection fills the universe,
> and so we join with angels and archangels. . . .

The Church of England's volume of Pastoral Services says in its introduction: 'The Funeral Service is both the end of the human journey and a whole series of journeys in itself. . . . As grieving is a process marked by different stages, we believe that one helpful contribution the Church can make pastorally is to have a series of services and resources in which some of these different stages can be recognized, spoken of in advance or recapitulated.'

In *Common Worship,* in addition to the funeral itself, the journey provides for Ministry to the Sick, moving into Ministry at the Time of Death, through the possibility of prayers in the house after someone has died, prayers in church or at home before the funeral, through the journey to church with a service for receiving the coffin, and a vigil (with seven sets of psalms, prayers, and readings), and then some prayers at home after the funeral, a full service for the Burial of Ashes, a later Memorial Service and the provision for annual memorials. The bereaved need to be able to say different things to God and to one another at each of these different stages. Recognition of this journey or process in stages also enables the services to echo some of the process thinking about grieving. While this is perhaps the most explicit rationale for the ancillary services, most of the other provinces have some of these. The United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Southern Africa all have rites for ministering at the time of death, and all of these (apart from the United States) make provision for some prayers before the funeral, with the *Book*

Prayer after a Difficult Death
The Scottish Episcopal Church

Gentle Lord,
your servant has come
by a hard and painful road
into the valley of death.
Lead him/her now into the place
where there is no more pain.
Lord, in your mercy,
Hear our prayer.

of Alternative Services form also doubling as a service for receiving the body into church. The 1979 American book has a separate service for this, with a litany provided for a vigil. Scotland has prayers at home, on leaving the house, and at the closing of the coffin:

Father, your servant's eyes have closed
in the final sleep of death,
eyes that laughed, eyes that shed tears.
Let them wake to the full vision of your glory. . . .

Ireland provides one service for use in the home, funeral home, or mortuary. Local custom and cultural differences emerge, for instance in the New Zealand provision, following Maori custom, of 'Prayers in a House after Death', with the expectation that every room will be prayed in: 'We sprinkle this place to wash away the effects of all evil, whether of people, or of spiritual powers . . . ' (*see* p. 272). A similar service in *Common Worship* is more concerned with the relocation aspect of bereavement: 'bring your peace and joy to each place which stirs the memory'. The notes to the Kenyan service sound another cultural warning: 'The Synod of the Anglican Church of Kenya has advised that the whole burial service should not exceed two hours; feeding should be very minimal, if any.' This is a warning against the prevailing secular expectation in parts of Africa of providing large banquets for guests, which can have the effect of impoverishing a family.

A separate service for the burial of ashes is fairly common, for example in Southern Africa, the *Book of Alternative Services,* New Zealand, and Australia. *Common Worship* provides an explicit link back to the funeral: 'At *his/her* funeral we commended *N* into the hands of almighty God. As we prepare to commit the remains of *N* to the earth, we entrust ourselves and all who love God to his loving care.' New Zealand takes it further, with a service for the placing and dedication of a memorial stone – 'a symbol of a new beginning'. Services for the funerals of children are also common, some with explicit provision (*Common Worship,* Australia) for neonatal death. Less common is a separate service for those who have committed suicide (Kenya) (*see* 'Prayer at the Grave of One Who Has Committed Suicide, *Our Modern Services,* Kenya'). Though the 1662 Prayer Book introduced in the opening rubric a ban on the use of the burial service for those who 'have laid violent hands upon themselves', most provinces now think it right to use the normal service, but provide special prayers. Equally uncommon is a service for those who do not profess the Christian faith (the American Episcopal Church's *Book of Occasional Services*) or who are unbaptized (Kenya).

We have noted some of the theological and cultural influences that have resulted in changes in the funeral services in many provinces of the Anglican Communion – the recovery of confidence in talking about death and dying, a renewed boldness in some places

Prayer at the Grave of One Who Has Committed Suicide
***Our Modern Services,* Kenya**

The coffin is lowered into the grave. The minister says:

Bless this place, O Lord, where we now put N's body to rest. And because it is only you, Loving Father, who truly understand us inwardly, let your will be done on the spirit of N, as we commit his body to the soil: *(he casts earth on the body)* earth to earth, dust to dust, ashes to ashes.

The grave is filled.

about speaking of resurrection and heaven, the exploration of how rites break into stages. There has also been a recovery of the importance of the theology of the church: the ecclesial community is the 'family' place for the Christian funeral. Furthermore, many families increasingly expect not only to be consulted but to participate as well. *Common Worship* and Australia encourage the placing of symbols by family members, New Zealand the offering of flowers by children. The *Book of Alternative Services* introduction rightly notes that this is a theological and ecclesiological question as well as a cultural one: 'An effect of the consignment of the rites of the family to the care of the larger Christian community was the gradual withdrawal of responsibility from the immediate family and friends of the dead person. . . . It is important to note that funerals are the property of neither undertakers nor clergy. They belong to the circle of family and friends of the person who has died, and when that circle is Christian, they find an appropriate setting in the larger Christian fellowship.'

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Anglican Ordinals

Richard Geoffrey Leggett

While the Anglican tradition teaches that all Christians share in the royal priesthood of Christ by virtue of their baptism, Anglicans recognize that some Christians are called to exercise public ministry as bishops, presbyters, and deacons. Article XXIII 'Of Ministering in the Congregation' establishes the principle that these specific ministries are conferred by the church through its canonical and customary processes.

The rites for ordaining bishops, presbyters, and deacons are contained in a distinct collection of rites known as the ordinal. Although the ordinal has come to be bound together with those rites and materials we know as the Prayer Book, the ordinal has its own integrity. Given that Anglicans understand the ordained ministry as an 'instrument of unity' within the Communion, a natural conservatism has governed attitudes towards the revision of the ordinal. For this reason the 1662 ordinal remained the norm for Anglican ordination rites until the second half of the twentieth century.

The most recent ordination rites have been affected by the same factors that influenced revision of other Prayer Book services: research into the history of liturgical development, ecumenical rapprochement, decolonization, and the implementation of the Second Vatican Council's directives. The Lambeth Conference of 1958 devoted a significant portion of its work to the subject of Prayer Book revision, especially the ordinal, given the number of church union schemes then in play. With the publication of the ordinal of the Church of South India (1962) and the (failed) Anglican-Methodist ordinal of 1968 the stage was set for subsequent revision. From these roots sprang the ordinals in the 1979 American Book of Common Prayer and the Church of England's *Alternative Service Book 1980*, which in their turn influenced the revision of ordination rites in Scotland (1984), Wales (1984), Canada (1985), New Zealand (1989), Southern Africa (1989), Australia (1995), and Nigeria (1996). Further reflection gave rise to the newest generation of ordinals in Kenya (2002) and Ireland (2004) as well as the 2005 revision of the 1980 Church of England ordinal for the new *Common Worship.* The rites of these provinces will be surveyed here.

From the Preface to the First Anglican Ordinal, 1550

It is evident unto all men, diligently reading holy scripture, and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there hath been these orders of Ministers in Christ's church; Bishops, Priests, and Deacons: which Offices were evermore had in such reverent estimation, that no man by his own private authority might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as were requisite for the same; and also, by public prayer, with imposition of hands, approved, and admitted thereunto. And therefore, to the intent these orders should be continued, and reverently used, and esteemed, in this Church of England, it is requisite, that no man (not being at this present Bishop, Priest, nor Deacon) shall execute any of them, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted, according to the form hereafter following.

Structure of Anglican Ordination Rites

The ordination rites bequeathed to the English reformers by the late Middle Ages were the result of conflating Roman and Gallican rites with local additions and variations. As a result of their complicated ancestry, various elements were distributed throughout the ordination Mass. Often they had no clear association with related texts or liturgical actions. For example, when presbyters were ordained, the bishop laid hands on the candidates twice, once in silence, followed by the Roman ordination prayers, then a second time, later in the rite, with the bishop reciting the formula, *'Accipe Spiritum Sanctum: quorum peccata . . . '* ('Receive the Holy Spirit: whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven'). Similar duplications were present in the rites for deacons and bishops. The first English ordinal (1550) simplified much of the medieval complexity, but retained a medieval attitude towards structure. The elements that the reformers regarded as necessary to ordination were simply interpolated into the eucharistic liturgy. Both then and in subsequent revisions, concerns about actions and texts received more attention than the internal coherence and integrity of the rites to which they were added. The result is shown in the table 'Structure of Rites in the First Anglican Ordinal'. Notice that in each of the three rites the elements specific to ordination are placed differently with respect to other elements in the sequence of the Eucharist, such as the readings and the creed.

Structure of Rites in the First Anglican Ordinal

The Form and Manner of Making Deacons	The Form and Manner of Ordering Priests	The Form of Ordering or Consecrating of an Archbishop or Bishop
Morning Prayer	Morning Prayer	Morning Prayer
Sermon or exhortation	Sermon or exhortation	
		Proper collect
		Epistle
		Gospel
		Nicene Creed
Presentation of the candidates	***Presentation of the candidates***	***Presentation of the bishop-elect***
Opportunity for objections	Opportunity for objections	Reading of the royal mandate
		Oath of the King's Supremacy
		Oath of Obedience to Archbishop
Litany, with special suffrages and collect	Litany, with special suffrages and collect	Litany, with special suffrages and collect
Epistle	Epistle	
	Gospel	
Oath of the King's Supremacy	Oath of the King's Supremacy	
Examination of the candidates	***Examination of the candidates***	***Examination of bishop-elect***
	Silent prayer	Vesting of the bishop-elect
	Veni Creator Spiritus	*Veni Creator Spiritus*
	Ordination prayer	Ordination prayer
Laying-on of hands with proper formula	***Laying-on of hands with proper formula***	***Laying-on of hands with proper formula***
Delivery of New Testament	Delivery of the Bible	Delivery of the Bible
Gospel		
Nicene Creed (Eucharist resumes)	Nicene Creed (Eucharist resumes)	Offertory (Eucharist resumes)
Proper postcommunion collect	Proper postcommunion collect	Proper postcommunion collect

It was in this shape that the Anglican ordination rites travelled with the missionaries of the Church of England. Until the middle of the twentieth century, the ordinals of other Anglican churches replicated the traditional pattern. Beginning late in the nineteenth century, however, liturgical scholarship had shed new light on the development of Christian ordination rites and the interrelationship of their various parts, and in this light revisions were undertaken in several provinces. The results are broadly similar, with two exceptions: the Australian rite of 1978, which followed the 1662 pattern closely, and the Kenyan rite of 2002, which is unique in the way it interpolates the ordination elements into the eucharistic liturgy. The elements common to the most recent Anglican ordination rites, and the order in which they occur, are as follows:

presentation of the candidates, including the opportunity to voice objections, acclamation, or both;
proper scripture readings;
examination of the candidates;
public prayer with laying-on of hands;
explanatory rites such as vesting, giving the symbols of office, and/or participation of the newly ordained in the Communion rite.

From the standpoint of their structure, the most recent ordination rites follow either a 'dispersed' or a 'concentrated' model, depending on whether these five elements are separated within the larger context of the eucharistic rite, or instead constitute a single 'block'.

The 'dispersed' model has affinities with the traditional 1662 pattern. It was pioneered by the South Indian ordinal of 1962. Here all three rites have a parallel structure: the presentation of the candidates occurs at the end of the gathering of the community, and the remaining elements proper to ordination follow the proclamation of the word. The South Indian *Book of Common Worship* states that the presentation of candidates is 'the last step in the process of choice of [the candidates] by the Church' and as such is separated from the other elements of the ordination rite. Similarly, the American revisers understood the ordination liturgy to be the concluding act in the process leading to the exercise of ordained ministry, not merely as the celebration of an accomplished fact. Thus in the 1979 Book of Common Prayer, following the lead of South India, the presentation, with its opportunity to voice objections or impediments and to obtain the people's assent, was placed at the end of the gathering of the community. The remaining elements of the ordination, with the exception of the litany, are interpolated after the readings. Among more recent ordinals, the 'distributed' structure is found in Southern Africa (1989), New Zealand (1989), and Ireland (2004). It was also recommended by the English liturgical commission for the ordinal in *Common Worship.*

The second, 'concentrated' model puts all the liturgical elements proper to ordination together, following the proclamation of the word. The first exemplar of this structural pattern is found in the ordination rites of *The Alternative Service Book 1980* of the Church of England. Since the revisers felt that the opportunity to voice objections at the ordination was 'never used' and that 'it would be a great pity to spoil the atmosphere of the service' by including it, the liturgical rite in the *Alternative Service Book* celebrates the culmination of a multi-year process during which the church has had ample opportunity to review the fitness of the candidates. The influence of this English pattern has been felt widely, finding a place in Wales (1984), Scotland (1984), Canada (1985), Ireland (1993), Australia (1995), and Nigeria (1996).

At this juncture a more detailed examination of the revision of the liturgical elements proper to ordination is appropriate.

Presentation of the Candidates

In the English rite of 1662 the archdeacon or his deputy was responsible for presenting candidates for the diaconate and the presbyterate to the ordaining bishop, while two bishops

presented the bishop-elect to the archbishop. This tradition of exclusively ordained presenters continues in the *Alternative Service Book 1980* and Southern Africa (1989). Other Anglican ordinals have sought to reflect a broader spectrum of the church's ministry by including laity among the presenters. Two of these (Canada and Australia) specify that deacons be among the presenters for bishops, and one (Scotland) that a deacon be the ordained presenter for a candidate for the diaconate. The ordination rites included in *Common Worship* likewise include lay presenters.

The traditional ordinal requires the archdeacon to assure the ordaining bishop that candidates for the diaconate and presbyterate are 'apt and meet, for their learning and godly conversation, to exercise their Ministry duly, to the honour of God, and the edifying of his Church'. In the case of bishops the assurance required is that the bishop-elect has been duly selected. Recent ordinals have tended to focus on formation, character, and due process in the questions asked of the presenters. Some ordinals, including the American and Canadian, as well as *Common Worship*, require that candidates for all three orders make public promises of conformity to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the church or else that the presenters confirm that such required oaths have been taken and declarations made. Others make such stipulations only at the ordination of a bishop, whose ministry as chief pastor is associated with the maintenance of the church's doctrine, discipline, and worship: *Alternative Service Book 1980,* Australia (1995), and Ireland (2004). The *Alternative Service Book* requires that the presenters name the place where the candidates for the diaconate and the presbyterate are to serve, a feature adopted by the newest Welsh and Southern African ordinals, and maintained in *Common Worship*.

Ordination, as Anglicans have come to understand it, is the act of the whole church; the bishop who is presiding acts on behalf of the gathered community. Consequently Anglican rites have maintained a role for the people in the presentation. In the 1662 rite opportunity is given to voice any impediments or crimes that might prevent the ordination of a candidate to the diaconate or presbyterate, and that provision continues in most contemporary ordinals. With the exception of Southern Africa, all contemporary Anglican ordinals have adopted or adapted the South Indian practice of giving the people an opportunity to voice their assent to and support of the candidates being ordained. In the *Common Worship* ordinal this affirmation occurs after the examination of the candidates, rather than in the presentation.

Readings

Whereas the English rite of 1662 had fixed readings for each of the three rites, some recent Anglican ordinals (United States, Scotland, Canada, *Common Worship*) permit the use of the readings of the day as well as provide a list of readings appropriate for the ordination of deacons, presbyters, and bishops. The others either specify the readings, depending on which order is being conferred, or provide a list from which readings may be chosen. However they are specified, the readings for Anglican ordinations tend to belong to two of the ways of using scripture in liturgy that have been identified by Paul Bradshaw. They are either *anamnetic* or *parenetic.* The anamnetic approach associates the present liturgical action with a scriptural antecedent, while the parenetic invokes attitudes or qualities that are appropriate for the rite being celebrated.

In the 1662 ordinal the anamnetic approach is evident in the choice of 1 Timothy 3:8–13 and Acts 6:2–7 in the rite for deacons; Ephesians 4:7–13, Matthew 9:36–38, and John 10:1–16 in the rite for presbyters; and 1 Timothy 3:1–6, Acts 20:17–35, John 20:19–23, and Matthew 28:18–20 in the rite for bishops. Two readings, Luke 12:35–38 for deacons and John 21:15–17 for bishops, have anamnetic qualities but are more parenetic in spirit, one describing the qualities desirable in Christ's servants, the other the responsibilities of Christ's shepherds.

In late twentieth-century ordinals, certain passages seem to have emerged as anamnetic

texts more frequently associated with the offices of bishop, presbyter, and deacon than others. In the case of bishops, Numbers 27 (the appointment of Joshua), Isaiah 42 (the first Servant Song), Ezekiel 34 (God as shepherd), John 21 (the risen Jesus with Peter), and 1 Timothy 3 (the appointment of bishops) are seen as relating most clearly to the ministry to be undertaken by the bishop-elect. For presbyters, Numbers 11 (the appointment of the seventy elders), Ezekiel 33 (God's sentinels), Matthew 9 (labourers for the harvest), John 10 (the good shepherd), John 20 (the authority to forgive sins), 2 Corinthians 5 (the ministry of reconciliation), Ephesians (varieties of ministries), and 1 Peter 5 (the role of elders) come quickly to the collective mind of the Communion as illustrative of presbyteral ministry. When it comes to the ministry of deacons, Jeremiah 1 (the call of Jeremiah), Mark 10 (to serve not to be served), Luke 12 (the alert slaves), Acts 6 (the appointment of the Seven), Romans 12 (varieties of ministries), and 1 Timothy 3 (the appointment of deacons) are thought appropriate. A few parenetic texts have emerged that are occasionally suggested for all three orders of ministry. Two texts from Isaiah, the prophet's call in chapter 6 and the proclamation of the good news of the kingdom in chapter 61, can be found appointed for bishop, presbyter, or deacon. Paul's description of the ministers of the gospel as earthen vessels (2 Corinthians 4) also finds its place in rites for all three orders.

Medieval theologians debated whether the episcopate was a distinct order or a specialized exercise of presbyterate. This debate also found its way into the Anglican reformation, and the 1662 ordinal was an attempt to end the debate in favour of the distinctiveness of the two orders. It is therefore interesting to note that, in a few cases, Peter's admonition as an elder (*presbyteros*) to elders (*presbyteroi*) is appointed in some places for the ordination of a bishop. Likewise John 20, frequently associated with the presbyterate, is sometimes appointed for episcopal ordinations.

Examination of the Candidates

All Anglican ordinals require that the candidates for the episcopate, presbyterate, and diaconate respond to a series of questions relating to the exercise of the ministry to which they are to be ordained. The rubric in the 1662 rite for deacons states that the bishop shall 'examine every one of them that are to be Ordered, in the presence of the people'. This rubric has given rise to the traditional title for these questions, the 'Examination'. While some ordinals have retained this title, others have chosen different titles such as 'declaration', 'commitment', or simply 'questions' to describe this liturgical unit. By whatever name, the examination typically begins with a charge by the bishop who is presiding that describes the nature of the order to which the candidate is to be ordained. A theme found frequently in charges to the bishop-elect is the responsibility of bishops to guard the faith, unity, and discipline of the church, to be faithful pastors to the people and clergy of the diocese, and to further the church's apostolic mission.

> As chief pastors they share with their fellow bishops a special responsibility to maintain and further the unity of the Church, to uphold its discipline, to guard its faith and to promote its mission throughout the world. (Ireland, 2004)

For presbyters the emphasis is on the stewardship of the sacraments and the word of God, as well as on the faithful care and building up of the Christian community.

> In all that you do, you are to nourish Christ's people from the riches of his grace, and strengthen them to glorify God in this life and in the life to come. (Canada, 1985)

Servanthood characterizes the charges made to deacons, but this is a servanthood of empowerment and agency as well as humble service.

Charge to a Bishop-Elect

In the *New Zealand Prayer Book* rite for episcopal ordination, the bishop who presides asks the bishop-elect for a declaration of commitment to Christ and the church, in a series of questions which is followed by this charge.

N, we praise God for your commitment
to serve Christ as a bishop in the Church.
A bishop is given authority to speak and act
as the Church's representative,
to be a focus of unity for the diocese.

Remember, the work to which we are called is God's work.
It is in God's hand, and it is done in God's name to God's glory.
We must serve humbly and cheerfully.

People look to us as bishops to make decisions and to speak with authority, whether or not we can do so. In the exercise of your office do not be arrogant or overbearing.
Let us have the same mind as Christ Jesus.

N, do not allow the burdens and anxieties of your office to blunt your purpose or cloud your vision, but strive always to be pure in heart, to be Christ's servant, to follow Jesus.

May the vision of God enlighten your understanding.
May God's continuing call sustain your walk with Christ,
and keep you joyful.

Proclaim the good news of God's love,
so that many may be moved to faith and repentance,
and hearts be opened to do justice,
love mercy, and walk humbly in the presence of God. (Australia, 1995)

The charge is generally followed by a series of questions. Often these begin by asking for an affirmation of the candidate's conviction of being called to the order about to be conferred. Later questions elaborate on themes set out in the charge, including the candidate's willingness to obey lawful authority, to pray and study, to work collaboratively and collegially with other ordained and lay ministers, and to exercise faithfully the particular tasks of the order. At the end of the questions, the bishop will often offer a brief petition that God's grace will enable the candidate to fulfill the promises that have just been made.

Public Prayer with the Laying-on of Hands

Paul Bradshaw has argued that for Thomas Cranmer the essential elements of the ordination rite were the litany, with its special suffrage and collect, and the laying-on of hands. This suffrage is significant as an explicit petition for the gift of the Holy Spirit and common to all three rites:

> That it may please thee to bless these thy servants, now admitted to the Order of Deacons, [*or Priests,*] and to pour thy grace upon them; that they may duly execute their Office, to the edifying of thy Church, and the glory of thy holy Name.
>
> That it may please thee to bless this our brother elected and to send thy grace upon him, that he may duly execute the office whereunto he is called, to the edifying of thy church and to the honour, praise and glory of thy Name.

Conversely, the singing of the *Veni Creator Spiritus* and the two prayers that precede the laying-on of hands for presbyters and bishops in the 1662 ordinal are elaborations rather than essential elements. These elements do not appear in the ordination of deacons, because the reformers regarded the church as the source of diaconal authority, whereas the Holy Spirit was regarded as the source of the power conferred on presbyters, bishops being presbyters commissioned for a particular function.

The South Indian ordinal of 1962 departed from the 1662 structure and content by introducing a parallel structure and content for all three rites. After the bishop and people join in a period of silent prayer, the hymn 'Come, Holy Ghost' is sung. Then the bishop recites a tripartite ordination prayer consisting of thanksgiving to God, laying-on of hands with invocation of the Holy Spirit for the office and work being conferred, and concluding petitions for the ministry of the ordinands. There is no litany. This focus is on the presidential prayer, coming to South India by way of the *Euchologion* of the Church Service Society of the Scottish Presbyterian church and harking back to the practice of the early church, caused a significant shift in Anglican thinking. Throughout the Communion new ordinals appeared with tripartite presidential prayers for all three rites–with various consequences for the litany. The 1989 New Zealand rite makes no provision for a litany at all, and in the Scottish rite of 1984 the litany is optional. Some other recent ordinals, however, have retained the litany, placing it before the scripture readings and examination (United States [1979], Southern Africa [1989], Australia [1995], Kenya [2002]), while others put it at the beginning of a liturgical unit that continues with a hymn invoking the Spirit, silent prayer, and an ordination prayer incorporating the laying-on of hands (*ASB 1980,* Canada [1985], Wales [1984], Nigeria [1996], Ireland [2004], and *Common Worship*). Many rites have replaced lengthy litanies with shorter ones that focus on the ministry of the whole church.

The singing of the *Veni Creator Spiritus,* most often in Bishop Cosin's translation, 'Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire', is firmly associated with ordination in the Anglican mind. The South Indian ordinal had appointed it for the ordination of deacons as well as those of presbyters and bishops, and the majority of Anglican ordinals do the same. A few of them permit the use of other hymns invoking the Holy Spirit. Only one, Wales (1984), makes no reference to any such hymn.

With the exception of Kenya (2002) and Nigeria (1996) (at a diaconal ordination), all recent Anglican ordinals incorporate a tripartite presidential prayer consisting of thanksgiving to God, invocation of the Holy Spirit with the laying-on of hands, and petitions for the ordinands. New Zealand (1989) introduced the practice of the concluding paragraph being recited by the entire congregation. Ireland (2004) and the *Common Worship* ordinal make provision for the ordination prayer to include responses by the congregation. In keeping with the emphasis first expressed in the 1662 ordination rites for presbyters and bishops, most recent Anglican ordination prayers for these two orders use Ephesians 4 as the basis for the opening thanksgiving. The American rite for episcopal ordination adapts a prayer found in the so-called *Apostolic Tradition* attributed to Hippolytus. The opening section of the prayer for deacons tends to use Mark 10:35–45 and the servant hymn of Philippians 2. Regarding the language to be used at the laying-on of hands, no consensus has been reached. Usually a transitional passage makes it clear that the Holy Spirit is the gift of God and not of the ordaining bishop. But the subsequent formulas use a variety of verbs, which suggest correspondingly different understandings of how the Spirit is active at this moment in the rite.

> Therefore, Father, through Jesus Christ your Son, give your Holy Spirit to *N.*; fill *him* with grace and power, and make *him* a priest/deacon in your Church. (1979 US BCP)

> Send down the Holy Spirit upon your servant *N* for the office and work of a deacon/priest in your Church. (*ASB 1980*).

God of grace, through your Holy Spirit,
gentle as a dove, living, burning as fire,
empower your servant N
for the office and work of a deacon/priest/bishop in the Church.
(New Zealand, 1989)

In the 1996 Nigerian Prayer Book, which retains the older wording 'Receive the Holy Spirit' at the laying-on of hands, the bishop who presides goes on to anoint the head of the new presbyter or bishop. At an episcopal ordination the formula is, 'May you be consecrated and hallowed for the work of the Pontifical Order by this anointing with the Holy Chrism of Sanctification.' These examples illustrate the spectrum of theological opinion within the Communion as to whether ordination confers a function, empowers existing charisms, accomplishes an ontological change, or has some combination of these effects.

The Kenyan rite of 2002 is unique among recent Anglican revisions. The ordination prayer for deacons consists of a prayer recited by the bishop with his arm outstretched over the candidates. After the prayer is concluded, each ordinand comes forward and kneels before the bishop, who lays his hand on the candidate and recites a formula. At the ordination of presbyters the bishop, or a presbyter he invites, either prays extemporaneously or uses a form provided. This prayer is followed by the *Veni Creator Spiritus* or some other hymn. Then the candidates come forward individually and kneel before the bishop, who lays his hands on the candidate's head and recites a formula. Following this the bishop stretches his arm over all the ordinands and prays that the Holy Spirit will descend upon them. Only the ordination prayer for a bishop resembles the pattern of the majority of ordinals. The text is based upon the *Alternative Service Book 1980,* but is divided into two sections by an 'Amen' before the laying-on of hands and another 'Amen' at the conclusion of the invocation of the Holy Spirit.

Explanatory Rites

Two auxiliary, symbolic rites are often included, sometimes optionally, in recent Anglican ordinals: the clothing of the newly ordained in vestments appropriate to their order, and the delivery to them of symbols associated with their new ministry. In addition, the newly ordained usually exercise some aspect of their ministry in the preparation and distribution of communion as well as in the sending forth of the congregation.

The ordinal of 1662 required candidates for the diaconate and presbyterate to be 'decently habited' at the beginning of the liturgy, but did not otherwise prescribe their vesture. A bishop-elect was to wear the rochet, and to put on the 'rest of the episcopal habit' before the ordination prayer. Recent Anglican ordinals prescribe somewhat different practices. In the *Alternative Service Book 1980,* ordinands are vested after the examination and before the ordination prayers, following the ancient Roman pattern. A number of other rites locate the vesting after the ordination prayer and laying-on of hands, as a visible sign of what has just been accomplished. This pattern appears in the Church of Ireland's 2004 Book of Common Prayer, which also permits the vesting to take place before the rite begins. *Common Worship* proposes that the ordinands be vested when they enter the service, or after the peace as they prepare to exercise their ministry for the first time.

The first Anglican ordinal retained the medieval 'tradition of the instruments', a chalice being delivered to new presbyters and a pastoral staff to new bishops, but since 1552 the primary symbol of office given to the newly ordained has traditionally been the New Testament for deacons and a Bible for both presbyters and bishops. As Anglicans maintain that the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments contain all things necessary to salvation, the giving of a Bible is a concrete symbol of this foundation for mission and ministry. But a

growing number of rites now permit, as well, the delivery of other symbols of office to the newly ordained, especially those which had been traditional before the Reformation.

Since ordination occurs within the context of the Eucharist, it has been the practice that the ordinands remain to receive communion with the bishop who presides. Contemporary Anglican ordinals now expect that the newly ordained will also exercise some liturgical function appropriate to their new order in the continuation of the rite that follows their ordination. For deacons these functions may include preparing the gifts, distributing communion, and giving the dismissal. Newly ordained presbyters may join the bishop at the holy table for the eucharistic prayer, or distribute communion, or, in certain rites, give the final blessing. Newly ordained bishops may join the bishop presiding at the holy table for the eucharistic prayer, or assume the presidential role, distribute communion, and, in some rites, give the final blessing.

Conclusion

In 2001 the International Anglican Liturgical Consultation (IALC) made a series of recommendations which address liturgical and theological issues bearing on the further revision of ordinals that were prepared in the 1970s and 1980s. Among these were the following.

Presenters should have a significant relationship to the process by which the ordinand was selected and formed.

The readings of the day are preferable to readings that focus narrowly on the order being conferred.

Continuity between the prayer of the people, whether a litany, silent prayer or both, and the presidential prayer with the laying-on of hands should be sought.

The congregation should adopt the posture of the bishop as he or she recites the presidential prayer with the laying-on of hands as a sign of the ecclesial character of the action.

The newly ordained should not be welcomed into their new ministry in a manner that perpetuates a clericalized model of the church.

Among the theological emphases of the Consultation's statement the following merit particular attention.

Baptism is the foundation of Christian ministry and ordination rites must be set within a baptismal ecclesiology.

The full participation of all the church's ministers, lay and ordained, is to be realized.

Ordination rites need to reflect the cultural environment in which the particular church realizes its ministry.

A common thread that links these recommendations is baptism as the foundational sacrament of ministry. Rites, ceremonies, and gestures that obscure ordination as an act of the entire church gathered and active in its various orders undermine this baptismal foundation. The IALC's recommendations provide an agenda for the ongoing revision of ordination rites in the spirit of this baptismal ecclesiology.

One topic as yet untouched is the question of direct ordination to the episcopate, presbyterate, and diaconate. Although there are examples in Anglican history of direct ordination of presbyters to the episcopate who were never ordained deacon, the universal practice continues to be ordination to the (transitional) diaconate, then the presbyterate, and, if duly elected, to the episcopate. Direct ordination, however, was the practice of the church for many centuries; sequential ordination only became the norm in the medieval period. With the restoration of the diaconate and the renewal of a baptismal

ecclesiology the time has come for Anglicans to re-appraise the practice of sequential ordination.

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PART SEVEN

The Future of the Book of Common Prayer

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The Book of Common Prayer and Technology

Donald Kraus

A Glance Back

The Book of Common Prayer was created in a culture already some decades into the technological revolution brought about by the invention of printing from moveable type. Printing had been instrumental in spreading both the ideas of the continental Reformation and vernacular translations of the Bible. It was a technology that enabled the wide dissemination of identical texts, two factors that were often in tension. In the case of the Prayer Book, the wide dissemination was part of a larger cultural change towards a more literate, and therefore potentially more questioning, population. The identity of texts, on the other hand, meant a great increase in the power of centralized control.

The Book of Common Prayer of 1549 used the new technology to establish a standard liturgy throughout a specific geographic area. Although the Prayer Book itself was revised during the succeeding decades, at any given time within England there was one standard, and one only, for authorized liturgy. This practice then spread as Anglican churches were established in other parts of the world. For four hundred years Anglican liturgy was an essentially unvarying form of words. Wherever one went in the world, in any Anglican church the forms of prayer, and the words of those forms, would have been, with slight variations, essentially the same. There were Prayer Books in languages other than English, but they were primarily translations of English-language texts, not newly created liturgies. In 1950, just past the Prayer Book's four hundredth anniversary, anyone entering any Anglican church for a regular service would have known what words to expect.

In this set form of liturgy the service proceeded along familiar lines, and almost everyone knew what was next. In his *Letters to Malcolm* C. S. Lewis summarized its advantages:

> Every service is a structure of acts and words through which we receive a sacrament, or repent, or supplicate, or adore. And it enables us to do these things best–if you like, it 'works' best–when, through long familiarity, we don't have to think about it. As long as you notice, and have to count, the steps, you are not yet dancing but only learning to dance. . . . The perfect church service would be one we were almost unaware of; our attention would have been on God. (ch. 1)

With one's mind free from having to follow along in an unfamiliar text, one could concentrate on prayer. There was no doubt where the service was going, and therefore no surprise to interfere with one's meditation. The service was largely 'vertical', fixing one's mind on God in relation to oneself; other worshippers, by and large, were peripheral. One did not have to worry whether one agreed with what was coming next. Such a liturgy provided a platform for devotion, and the affection among long-time worshippers for it was very real and powerful.

The disadvantages were more obvious to the outsider. For one unfamiliar with the service, the lack of cues could be disconcerting. All around one, people were moving or speaking in unison, according to some script that was not always obvious. Prudent newcomers sat

well in back, so that they could at least rise, sit, and kneel at the appropriate times. Occasionally someone would point out the correct page in the Prayer Book, but if the service skipped around it was easy to get lost again. For insiders, the disadvantages could be more insidious. The comforting repetition of familiar phrases, and the antique language, could keep religion in a safe, separate compartment, nicely aesthetic and apart from the conflicts of daily life. Instead of concentrating on God while the words of the service went on, one could let one's mind wander. Many congregants can recall seeing and hearing a celebrant suddenly 'come to' and find his place again, clearly having been reciting the service in an automatic mode. Services could be, and sometimes were, perfunctory and badly conducted, with monotone prayers and no thought of the specific congregation's concerns: dry, abstract, and routine.

The Situation Today

At present we are in the early years of another technological revolution, one brought about by the spread of computers and digital texts. As with printing, this technology is spreading alongside other cultural changes, both enabling and feeding off them. One such change is the increasing emphasis on cultural distinctiveness, and on multiculturalism as the mode of accommodation in societies of many racial and ethnic groups. Another is greater international cooperation, and appreciation for cultures different from one's own. These forces are playing out their roles in the Anglican Communion, both as pressures that are moving us further apart and as tendencies that are bringing us closer together. Computer and digital technology contributes to both.

As our regular worship services are increasingly varied and variable, provinces are adapting liturgies or creating forms suited to their local cultural situations. Although it is merely accidental that variation and adaptation are occurring at the same historical period as the digital revolution, nevertheless the technology of digital texts and these developments are working hand in hand. Similarly, variety in liturgy is developing alongside a greater awareness of the variety of people worshipping in Anglican churches. In the larger cities of North America, Great Britain, and western Europe, Anglican liturgies are celebrated in many languages and express many cultural traditions.

Liturgists distinguish between a prayer book, worship book, or some other liturgical text that contains all of the words to be spoken in a given rite, and an *ordo*, directory, or outline that prescribes the kinds of prayers and other elements, and their order, but not their wording. In general, Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches and those of the Reformation's 'right wing'–Anglicans and Lutherans–have set liturgies; 'left wing' Reformation churches–descended from Anabaptist or Reformed traditions, like Baptists, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians–have directories. J. Neil Alexander identifies a 'middle' way, which is to 'establish clear liturgical structures and provide a wide variety of liturgical materials, all of which are in the best sense texts of the tradition, approved for use and carefully crafted to be used within those structures'. Increasingly, Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Lutheran liturgies tend to be varying but pre-existing prayers to be said within a set order. These are, in effect, modified directories.

The advantages of this modified directory form centre upon its greater adaptability. The celebrant can choose forms appropriate to the season, the day, or an event. The congregation has a much more unified, focused experience: the time of the year, the scriptural readings, the occasional prayers and prefaces, can contribute to the sense of the occasion, but so can the canticles, petitions, and canon of the Eucharist. In addition, many of the newer rites incorporate more involvement by lay people, and that also serves to focus the congregation's attention. Leaders can develop rites appropriate to teenagers and children, and use them in alternative settings, like campsites.

The disadvantages are primarily of two kinds. The first is that, for those unfamiliar with

the service, flipping through the Prayer Book becomes even more difficult than it was before. Services even on an ordinary Sunday can use materials from three or four different parts of the book; on special occasions, as during Holy Week, for instance, the different locations can exceed a half-dozen. For the visitor this can be daunting, and even for regular congregants the process of locating the separate parts of the service, plus the service music and hymns, can be the opposite of prayerful. Many congregations, therefore, print out the services, or large portions of them, thereby eliminating the use of the Prayer Book. If this is done imaginatively it can be a reasonable and flexible alternative, but the 'leaflet' may become the *de facto* fixed liturgy for a given congregation, and other variations may never be used.

The second disadvantage is that some variability encourages more variability. Tailored liturgies can incorporate prayers that have not been approved by the particular church of which the congregation is a part. As an occasional exercise this is usually not a problem, but when it becomes habitual a local congregation can gradually drift from the practices of its own diocese.

Looking Towards the Future: The Digital Revolution

Throughout the Anglican Communion, variation between Prayer Books and variation within Prayer Books have both become much more prevalent. To this development, already well underway, we now must add the impact of technology; specifically, the technology characteristic of the computer revolution and the development of the Internet and the World Wide Web.

A text printed in a book is a fixed sequence of letters on a page, but we are now in an era when it is rather a sequence of numbers held in electronic form, and moreover a sequence that, thanks to word processing programs and the World Wide Web, can be disseminated to and read at any point on the globe where someone has a computer and access to the Internet. But each text is also subject to revision where it can be downloaded. We therefore have another instance of the paradox of two-edged technology: Just at the point when an identical version of something can be, almost instantly, promulgated everywhere, it can also, just as instantly, be changed anywhere. Identical versions can become local variations in the blink of an eye.

As the following articles make clear, this has many implications for the development of Anglican liturgy in the future. As the preceding articles have also made clear, there is an ongoing tension within Anglicanism between a desire for a relatively stable, characteristic liturgy – the classical Prayer Book, in English or in translation – and the need for local adaptation to accommodate the Anglican principle of liturgies in the language of the people, taking 'language' to mean not just words but cultural ethos as well. These tendencies in liturgy will continue in tension, with the digital revolution generating forces that add strength to both sides.

Word processing makes it much easier to adapt texts to local circumstances. It is not just a matter of entering hymns and scripture readings, or of choosing among a menu of prayers; the actual words can be revised, for example in the direction of more gender-inclusive language or to take account of local cultural differences in titles of address for God. The 'Prayer Book' can become simply a starting point for innovation or improvisation, as needed. On the other hand, thanks to modern communications and the Internet, we are all much more aware of liturgies in use in other parts of the world, and many Anglican churches use prayers developed in cultures very different from their own.

The provision of books in the pews, already rendered optional by the service leaflet, is even less necessary. The order of service can be printed from the word-processing program that created it and photocopied. Even more likely in the future, however, is the lack of any individual printed copy at all. The service itself, or those parts of it that the congregation needs to see, will be projected onto a screen or an individual hand-held device. Each local

congregation could conceivably have its own 'private' liturgy. A countervailing tendency comes with the increasing mobility of priests and people throughout a particular diocese or a wider area: a new priest can bring in different liturgical practices, including new texts or revivals of old ones; new members of a congregation can bring with them liturgies that were important to them in their previous congregations. The forces of differentiation and the tendencies to uniformity will continue to contend with each other.

The identification of Anglicans with 'the' Book of Common Prayer has already become identification with a much more commodious, more loosely defined 'Prayer Book tradition'. As the digital revolution continues, and Prayer Book revisions, adaptations, and expansions proliferate, Anglicans will need to plan for them on an international level. Individual provinces already look to other Prayer Books as they revise their own. With the tools of digital texts enabling us to transmit proposed revisions among a wide array of reviewers and trial users, we can encourage forces that strengthen the bonds of tradition between provinces. We cannot return to the days of a 'single use', let alone a 'single book'; our world is wider than that vision. Nevertheless, amidst our multiplicities of use and our array of choices and traditions, we can continue to identify and disseminate those uses, choices, and traditions that effectively articulate the broad centre of our common life. A province can share what is best with others, and enrich the *oikoumene*, the 'whole inhabited world', with developments from each local habitation.

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The Prayer Book in Cyberspace

Clayton L. Morris

When the International Anglican Liturgical Consultation met in Dublin in 1995, it articulated the principle that Anglicanism in the future will find its liturgical unity 'not so much in uniform texts as in a common approach to eucharistic celebration and a structure which will ensure a balance of word, prayer, and sacrament'. The time of absolute uniformity of liturgy throughout the Anglican Communion, if it ever existed, has already passed. Ceremonial differences, cultural variations, local options, and different choices of prayers within many individual Prayer Books are already the norm. Churches within the Communion are adjusting to this new situation, as they have adjusted to changes in the past, and in the immediate future they will have to adjust to the next wave of change: the Book of Common Prayer in digital form. As in previous periods of change, Anglicans will rely on the *structural* similarities of their rites throughout the Communion even as the words and expressions differ from place to place.

As Anglicanism continues to develop within the cultures colonized by the British Empire, it has come to recognize the innate integrity of those cultures. The liturgy that serves as the standard must relate to the culture of the people using it. The example of the liturgy of New Zealand is instructive: *A New Zealand Prayer Book* is printed in a bilingual format to relate traditional Anglicanism to an aboriginal culture. It recognizes that Anglicanism in that particular place must address cultural sensibilities foreign to British Anglicanism. As such, this Prayer Book helped to break a conventional mould. Between the covers of a Book of Common Prayer, Anglicanism expressed itself as a faith embracing multiple cultural sensibilities. But the New Zealand Prayer Book also shows the increasing difficulty of providing printed liturgical resources in ever more complicated cultural circumstances.

Digitization and Electronic Innovation

The use of digital documents and images is increasing in all areas of life in the developed world and in many parts of the developing world. We can transport text and image to any location on the planet in an instant, and those who receive the transported digital file can reshape and rearrange it in any way they choose. With modern communication bringing everyone closer together, we are all increasingly aware of the many different races, cultures, geographies, and sensibilities that make up the context of our lives. As Christians the world over become more familiar with multiracial and multicultural constituencies, local adaptation becomes both easier and more necessary. Even though Anglicans have traditionally had a high regard for stability in liturgy, more and more bishops, pastors, and musicians are embracing innovation in order to communicate welcome and inclusivity. This emerging awareness of cultural diversity has at least three distinct effects on liturgical planning:

Liturgical leaders working in languages other than English, or in cultures that require liturgical and musical styles distinct from western European models, need both resources and strategies.

Leaders working in multi-ethnic communities must find ways to include materials from all cultures represented in the community.

Planners of national, regional, and diocesan events need materials to celebrate the diversity of the church's population when they design large events.

All three of these enterprises are enormously enhanced by the availability of digital resources that can be combined and adapted at the local level.

In this new world, many liturgical developments arise from local needs and at the initiative of local liturgists; one distant, central authority cannot meet all these needs. One of the frustrations faced by local liturgical innovators, however, is the isolation that is the consequence of their immersion in a particular culture. The Internet provides a very effective means of connecting them with colleagues in similar situations, and can also serve an editorial and developmental function as solutions to local liturgical problems are e-mailed, reedited for another local circumstance, and sent out again. In the future, those provinces of the Anglican Communion with the requisite money and technology may develop most of their new, revised, or renewed liturgical materials in cyberspace.

The personal computer combined with the availability of the World Wide Web has utterly revolutionized the way we manage text and image. The ability to store text, musical notation, and artistic images in digital files provides two possibilities that do not exist in the world of print. First, the material can be beamed instantly to any corner of the world. More significantly, perhaps, the digital file can be edited at any stage. Thus local liturgical planners are able to edit officially prepared and approved rites to meet local taste or a particular application. At the same time, however, liturgists, publishers, musicians, and scholars primarily accustomed to producing and distributing work in the print medium find the editorial possibilities of modern word and image processing both frightening and dangerous despite their usefulness. Once a document, image, or musical score is converted to a digital format, it is nearly impossible to protect it from editorial tinkering, authorized or not. We must acknowledge both the positive and negative potential of this new digital world and manage the inevitable transitions as carefully as possible, maximizing positive outcomes while minimizing negative ones.

For instance, in the training, formation, and education of leaders in the church, we need to take care to maintain respect for the tradition of the church and sufficient discipline to appreciate and communicate it. A far more sophisticated and informed attitude to liturgy is essential for a better-prepared clergy with enhanced abilities to shape liturgies in creative ways to meet the needs of diverse congregations. The tenure of a rector in the Episcopal Church in the United States is usually shorter than it was forty years ago, and in our mobile society congregations are constantly changing; consequently, most priests anticipate serving several congregations over the course of their careers, and their ability to adapt liturgies to the needs of different populations will be a significant factor in their success.

Another problem with liturgies in electronic form has to do with the congregational resources needed to obtain them. The poorer communities of the Anglican Communion are likely to lack the resources to access technological advances, but they may be equally unable to afford printed Prayer Books. Computer-generated worship resources might be less expensive over the long term, though more expensive to begin with.

A trend in the direction of the use of sophisticated technology in the course of managing the church's liturgical life can be seen in several provinces. As this is written, the Church of England, the Church of Ireland, the Episcopal Church in the U.S.A., and the churches of Australia and New Zealand have electronic products that make texts and music available to the local liturgical planner for developing weekly congregational leaflets containing all the printed materials needed for the liturgy. At least ten Anglican provinces also make liturgical texts available on the Internet.

Liturgical Planning in a Digital Environment

If we stop for a moment to consider the way we worship, we may recognize something obvious but profoundly true: people who worship regularly know what comes next. They have memorized the texts. They have in mind the shape of the eucharistic celebration. As we look at the need for a 'liturgical script' a bit more closely, we can see that, typically, the Sunday morning experience has two distinct parts.

In the Service of the Word, worshippers deal with a great deal of text, composed music in the form of hymns, chants, and perhaps canticles, as well as sermons. This is the part of the occasion that requires worshippers, at least those who are literate, to attend to a script. Therefore this is the portion of the liturgy during which some vehicle for presenting images in a visual form should be assumed. It can, of course, be a bound volume, but it might also be a projection on a screen. It could be a leaflet, created for the particular occasion, or in the not too distant future, the text, music, and images might be beamed to a hand-held screen.

Once the eucharistic liturgy moves through the passing of the peace towards the eucharistic prayer, however, a different sensibility emerges. Now the worshipper's attention focuses on what is happening at the holy table. Certainly language is still involved, but in this part of the experience, the sensory focus is more diverse as the worshipper watches the presider, listens to the prayer, perhaps smells the aroma of incense, or moves around the space as part of a procession or dance. In an ideal liturgical environment, the texts and tunes that accompany this portion of the rite should be held in memory, so that eyes, hands, and feet are free to participate in the liturgical action.

Some of the implications of the digital revolution for our liturgy are far-reaching, and the first of these has to do with the maintenance of orthodoxy. As catholic Christians, Anglicans understand the importance of paying careful attention to liturgical detail, and we use liturgical practice and behaviour to articulate a theological presence in the world. That is why attention to detail, observance of tradition, and devotion to scripture are all essential. Until technology made it possible to replace books, musical scores, and buildings with screens, recordings, and video images, the church used the stable media of the printed page and architectural edifice to help maintain orthodoxy. The virtual reality that characterizes contemporary culture makes it increasingly difficult for those stable artefacts to continue the work they have done in the past.

Before the advent of digitization, furthermore, the preparation of leaflets for specific liturgical occasions meant typing out an entire service and mimeographing it, a task only a competent typist could undertake. Later, with the spread of copying machines, it became possible to paste together photocopied pages from Prayer Books, Bibles, and hymnals to create a resource that could be easily read from front to back, but this was time-consuming and the result was often unprofessional. The user of word processing equipment can compose pages electronically, in a uniform style, and software that can use digitized graphics has made it possible to import musical scores and photo-images as well. With these electronic resources, even the smallest, most isolated congregation has the potential capacity to create a complete liturgical leaflet in the church office. Thus, the specific needs of a particular community can be met in a way that welcomes even those who are new to the tradition.

Electronic provision of all the texts in use in a particular liturgy can be a tremendous aid to worshippers. The changing aspects of the Service of the Word can easily be projected onto a screen, or printed in a throw-away leaflet; the set prayers of the Service of the Table can be provided, for newcomers and as reminders to regular worshippers, but in such a way as to be easily ignored when they are no longer necessary. The digital revolution will result in worship resources that are far more supple, and yet less obtrusive, than the classical printed texts.

Electronic innovation can also affect a parish's hospitality. Even when eucharistic worship only required the worshipper to move from Prayer Book to hymnal to leaflet, people

complained about the difficulty, especially for the visitor or newcomer, of having to juggle three documents. If the task of liturgical planning must expand to include a multiplicity of documents containing music, images, and language, a graceful coordination of so many separate sources of the text of a service is unimaginable. The alternative is embracing technology to make the broadest range of resources available to the largest number of worshippers in the easiest way possible.

The *New York Times*, in an article titled 'At the Ready, Sheet Music Minus the Sheets' (20 May 2004, G5), described a resource that is now available to performers of music. Instead of hauling around paper scores, musicians with this device can load digitized files into a computer small enough to fit on a music stand. It can hold enough music to keep a performer busy for weeks and even has a foot pedal to 'turn' the pages. It is also equipped for wireless downloading.

Imagine this application in a Sunday morning context. The parish secretary completes work on the Sunday leaflet, pushes a button, and the hand-held screens in the book racks are loaded with everything the worshipper needs in the course of the liturgy. The *Music Pad* at a retail price of $1,200 is far too expensive to be practical for liturgical use. But the price of electronic devices drops quickly. If churches are determined to appropriate technology of this type, it is not difficult to imagine prices reaching an affordable level. Hymnals and Prayer Books are not free, after all.

Some Practical Considerations

The coming digital revolution in the way we prepare and present our liturgical materials will have practical implications, both positive and negative, and will require new methods of making sure that abuses are kept to a minimum and that liturgical materials are always meant to enhance the worship of the ordinary parishioner. We must work to enhance the positive aspects and mitigate the potential for abuse.

Expansion of available texts: At present, the materials available for services are limited by the need to publish them in bound book form. A Prayer Book of one thousand pages or so is near the practical limit of what can fit into a pew or be held comfortably in the hand. With alternative means of presenting texts, however, there is no practical limit to the extent of texts that can be made available. This can lead to an enrichment of everyone's worship, when texts appropriate for greatly varied occasions can be found and provided; but it can also lead to bewilderment, constant change and experimentation, and continual distraction. Liturgical training and sensitivity to the pastoral needs of particular congregations will have to be the counterweights.

Public availability of texts: With a printed, authorized liturgy available to each worshipper, the leader cannot stray far from the text without notice. In the case of liturgies that a single liturgist creates, downloading them electronically, assembling them from disparate pieces, and perhaps editing them to meet the needs of a particular congregation, there is no available text for a worshipper to use as a comparison to what is being projected on a screen or printed out for a one-time use. The possibility of idiosyncratic liturgy is a possibility to be guarded against.

Technical problems: Any reliance on electronic equipment is subject to malfunction, faulty programming or data entry, and accident. Incorrect texts may be projected, or correct texts may show up at the wrong time; inappropriate music or images can appear. Power failures can occur, rendering equipment useless and forcing the celebrant and congregation to rely on obsolete texts or on memory. Expenditures on equipment will also have to include widespread training, not just of the celebrant but of a number of congregants so that someone will always be available to deal with problems during a service. In addition, congregations that have come to rely on technological assistance in their worship may find themselves limited in other ways: If they want to worship in a setting of great natural beauty, they may

have to forego their familiar screens and projectors. And more casual worship, for example with teenagers on a sleep-away camp retreat, may have to fall back on traditional resources like bound books. Flexibility in the use of new technologies must include the flexibility to dispense with them when necessary.

Personal styles and congregational desires: If each celebrant is expected to create his or her own liturgies, a change in clergy can mean a complete change in texts for a particular congregation. It will therefore be necessary, during interviews prior to calling a rector, to build in questions about preferred liturgies. Since this kind of question arises now about the appropriate liturgical style for a particular congregation, it should not be a difficult topic to explore, but it needs to be part of the process as liturgical texts become more varied.

Increasing variation from parish to parish: It is already the case that when travelling, even within the same country, one can encounter widely differing worship at different parishes. This tendency will be likely to increase as more texts are available and more opportunities arise to try new and different combinations. Countering this is the structure of the eucharistic liturgy which is commonly agreed among Anglicans. Congregants will be far less dependent on their own rector or vicar for liturgical information, and the rector or vicar, as well as the congregation, will have access to liturgies that are being used throughout the diocese or province. The tendency for each parish to go its own way, therefore, will be met with an opposite tendency, to use what has been successful somewhere else; extremes of diversity will tend to moderate and successful liturgies will be replicated elsewhere, though no doubt with local variation.

Theological Implications

Anglicans do their theology in the context of worship. Within all of the changes that are likely to take place in the experience of liturgy, there will be theological implications–some profound, some trivial–that will affect how Anglicans think about their faith.

Awareness and tolerance of diversity: Because of advances in communication technology, people are increasingly able to experience the diversity of human life in the world. Differences of language or culture become less intimidating when communication makes it possible for people at any point on the globe to experience something of other cultures that inhabit the planet. As we experience cultural diversity we see more clearly the extent to which typical liturgical style and practice is culture-bound. The joy of discovery across cultural boundaries is the realization that commonalities are more numerous than distinctions. Distinctions are, after all, worth learning about. It is only in the arena of open communication that this discovery is possible. On the negative side, greater awareness of diversity can cause some to cling more tenaciously to what makes them different, refusing any innovation for fear it will taint their ancestral tradition. Welcoming diversity must always guard against this reaction.

Adapting to ongoing change: The use of electronic media thrusts people accustomed to dealing with stable media into a world of fluidity. Everything can be moved and altered. Nothing is frozen in place. At first glance, this can seem dangerous. The stability of the printed text bound between covers creates the impression of durability. But that impression is illusory. In fact, regardless of the means by which a piece of text, image, or music is appropriated, it is edited as it is articulated, whether by presider, reader, or musician. A helpful conservative force operative in the liturgical life of a community is the sense in which it is tradition that brings people back, week by week, to the liturgical experience. While it is obvious that the tradition is always threatened by forces that would adapt it beyond recognition, the extent to which it represents truth and integrity will protect it. The faithful will correct the excesses.

The Incarnation in global context: The culture that produced the Book of Common Prayer in 1549 did not imagine the multicultural challenges of our era. The trajectory of reform

and renewal that seeks to incarnate the traditional vision of Anglican spirituality in a global context must take advantage of everything technology has to offer. If the Incarnate Word is addressed to all of humankind, then that Word must be expressed in the multitudes of human cultures that we see around us. The risk is that the differing expressions will meet one another in mutual incomprehensibility; the potential gain is that each one's experience of the Lord will be enriched by the expression of many others. Our sense of the Incarnation may be stretched in ways we cannot now imagine.

Liturgy in surprising forms: In earlier times, worshippers came to the Sunday morning experience expecting no surprises. They knew what they would see, hear, and feel. In an experience of worship that embodies this new vision of the Prayer Book, surprise is inevitable. Some are unnerved by the experience, but far more are drawn into it. If novelty can take place in the context of familiarity, it can augment worship and enrich reflection upon it.

Conclusion

People are eager to participate in the life of a community working towards a vision of wholeness for the world. Our mission and ministry to God's creation is at the core of life in the church. The world of digital editing and transmission of liturgical resources may lack the element of control and protection Anglicans value, but the church must take the risk. Bound volumes can no longer contain all that which the church needs to continue to live dynamically in the cosmos. And the lengthy process of revision for new books severely limits what they might contain. Beaming text, tune, and image around the globe will not help us to solve the knotty problems of maintaining the integrity of worship resources. It will not prevent enthusiasts from editing that which should be left alone. But in a world desperately in need of worship materials that speak to the dreams and aspirations of faithful Christians in a wild diversity of cultural circumstance, cyberspace is the best tool we have at hand.

The Future of Common Prayer

Pierre W. Whalon

Reading through all the essays in this volume should have already convinced the reader that the Book of Common Prayer does indeed have a future. Changes have been many, and sometimes drastic. There will be more of them. But the Prayer Book – more specifically, the Prayer Book tradition – will survive and probably continue to thrive.

To begin with a basic point, reading and writing will clearly be indispensable to humans for centuries to come, even as books themselves continue to evolve. Despite vast strides in computer technology that were hailed as harbingers of the 'paperless age', consumption of sheet paper has steadily increased with the growth of the Internet. People still like turning pages more than 'scrolling down'. Authors still like seeing prose in ink-on-paper rather than on a computer screen, for it feels more permanent. Certainly the use of various 'digital assistants' has also grown, and the availability of very flexible screens with computers built into them seems assured in the near term. One can imagine going to church, taking out a scroll-like computer from its inner pocket, unrolling it and thus turning it on, instantly downloading the liturgy complete with hymns and announcements from the church's wireless network, and following along. The cost of making and storing printed books will probably become prohibitive, making it necessary to rely on digital means of preserving and transmitting texts. All this is not to say that the use of books will cease, any more than handwriting died out because of moveable type. But it does require some focused thinking about what the text actually is.

For the text remains paramount, whatever its 'container'. A Prayer Book is above all a collection of authoritative texts, mostly texts to be recited aloud, whether they appear as markings on a paper page, or on a glowing screen, or projected on a wall. *Which* texts is an especially important question for Anglicans, whose identity *as* Anglicans has in the past been linked with the texts comprised in the Book of Common Prayer and its offshoots. As Christians, Anglicans are 'people of the Book', in the Qu'ran's phrase; but as Anglicans they are 'people of two books'. While the scriptures are the ultimate rule of faith for Anglicans, their faith takes its form from the collective and individual use of the Prayer Book which interprets the Bible. This has been clearly understood since the Lambeth Conference of 1878 (*see Encyclical Letter* 1:11–12), and has been reiterated in authoritative statements over and over since. Thus all the foundational documents of the Anglican Communion's provinces make reference to a Book of Common Prayer, whether the 1662 book or the individual province's own version or (in a few provinces outside the Church of England) both. And as parts five and six of this *Guide* show, these books display a family resemblance, along with many variations. Each has forms of prayer for daily and Sunday use; rites for sacraments; a calendar, catechism, lectionary, and Psalter. Each has rubrics, still printed in red or not, that give authoritative performance instructions.

Such has been the Anglican tradition of 'worship by the book'. It has never been a static tradition, although the pace of change has accelerated in the last half-century. When the Episcopal Church in the United States first circulated the proposals that became its current Book of Common Prayer (1979), the availability of eight eucharistic prayers, as well as the

carrying forward of both traditional and contemporary language, had some commentators complaining that this was no longer a book of common prayer but of common services. As various supplemental liturgies have been authorized for trial use, continuing what the process of revision began, the repertoire of texts has grown even further. Digital publishing now makes it easy to produce customized service booklets from these texts, as stored on the Internet or on a disk. The Church of England's *Common Worship* project actively encourages the use of this technique. Now that the digital text is becoming the critical medium in First World provinces, the question arises: what degree of uniformity will there be within a given province's worship that still makes it 'common prayer'? In the next order of magnitude, then, what will be the centre of unity of the Anglican Communion if all of its provinces begin to have such local and regional drift in their Prayer Book texts?

This is not an entirely new question. Local variations have always been allowed, and according to the thirty-fourth Article of Religion, regional 'uses' are to be expected as right and proper. Books like the *Anglican Missal*, which conflate extra-Anglican resources with the Prayer Book text, are still in use. Both the 1662 preface and the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral make clear that specific texts are in themselves matters indifferent, 'provided the substance of the Faith be kept entire', as the preface to the first American Book of Common Prayer says. Nevertheless, the combination of the digital revolution and the tremendous multiplication of liturgical texts across the world calls this 'blessed liberty' into question in unforeseen ways. In turn, this raises a more basic and more difficult question: who decides what the texts shall be? In so far as Anglicanism depends on texts that seem to be in a state of permanent flux, not only will the sources and criteria for channelling that flux be in question, but the very identity of Anglicanism itself.

Determining the Future of Liturgy

In an essay on 'Education for Liturgy', the late Urban T. Holmes claimed that the liturgists who composed the American Prayer Book of 1979 faced a theological crisis. Their response was to create liturgies which drew, ostensibly, on sources more ancient than the first Prayer Book of 1549. In fact, however, they were making a theological statement that was more in line with late twentieth-century thought than with 'Cranmer and the Tudor deity'. Whether this assessment (which has been bandied about in polemical writing ever since) is accurate or not, it does serve to raise the question of who controls the content of liturgies that come to be officially authorized. In so far as it is true—following the principle of *lex orandi lex credendi*—that Prayer Book texts are what ground, express, and carry forward the way of being Christian that is Anglicanism, it follows that liturgy-writers are making the theology of the Anglican churches. No one has made this point more forcefully, perhaps, than Stephen Sykes in *The Integrity of Anglicanism*. As more and more provinces revise their Prayer Books, this situation must be addressed. For one thing, liturgical scholarship is not theology as such, and liturgists, for all their important and admirable qualifications, are not always or necessarily systematic theologians. Furthermore, as Paul Avis notes in *Anglicanism and the Christian Church*, recent scholarship has debunked the Anglican penchant for looking back to a 'golden age', an undivided church and its (presumably) pristine liturgies—a penchant that has led to much liturgical confusion. Thus one of the pillars of the Liturgical Movement, the revival of ancient liturgical forms as superior to later liturgies, has become shaky. For instance, liturgies relying on the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus have been called into question as new scholarship discloses that there was no single source of this document. More generally, liturgical scholarship, by itself, cannot serve as a basis for revision.

From a constitutional standpoint, the canons and regulations of the various Anglican provinces enunciate the competent authorities for liturgical change. These documents, however, do not spell out the theological principles by which these authorities should be

guided. Now that the fluidity of Prayer Book texts over the centuries is being mightily accelerated by the information revolution, one might be tempted to appeal to Dom Gregory Dix's notion of the 'shape' of the liturgy as one such principle. Rather than worry first about particular verbal constructions, Dix argued that the theological content resides in the 'plot' of the liturgical performance. There is obviously some validity to this. The present writer's experiences of his first confirmations as bishop, which took place in an Anglican liturgy in Mandarin, and, more recently of taking part in an Armenian Orthodox liturgy, confirm that, despite not understanding one word in either liturgy, spoken or written, he could still follow the liturgy, and to a significant extent, worship with the congregation. Through visual and aural clues, the 'shape' of the liturgy could still be perceived.

If nothing else, Dix decisively made the point that where texts must occur in the 'plot' of the liturgy has significant theological import. Still, that import depends on a clear narrative trajectory. The Eucharist and the daily offices alike follow ancient patterns that have to be adhered to, irrespective of the wording of particular texts. Just as a fugue must have certain recognizable features in the flow of the music for it to be experienced as a fugue, so too must a liturgy. But although Dix strongly affirmed the continuity of such a 'shape' in the first centuries of the church, his affirmation is subject to revision or even refutation in the light of new historical research.

A somewhat different corrective to innovation, and a palliative of the new malleability of liturgical texts, lies in the fact that liturgy is enacted, performed, embodied in speech. This *orality* has itself a profound theological significance, which has yet to be given its due. One author who has explored this is Catherine Pickstock. In her seminal work *After Writing* she reaffirms a thesis, first articulated by Plato, that the only truly human attitude towards language is that it is doxological – in other words, liturgical, over against deconstructionists who claim that language is supreme in its written form, a form that ultimately dominates the human subject. Without such a liturgical attitude towards language and, by extension, life itself, humanity cannot but be subject to the de-humanizations so clearly delineated by deconstructionists like Jacques Derrida.

According to Pickstock, liturgy has, among its many other attributes, a threefold effect as both written and oral, which is peculiar to Christianity. The first effect is that the text is not in excess to its performance, but rather is encompassed by its recitation as an 'enclosed artefact'. By using the second person vocative to a One who is 'absent', 'the book returns our gaze', and draws the worshipper and everyone absent into dialogue with it. A second effect is to 'outwit' our tendency to split between exterior and interior lives. For the worshipper prays *to pray* – to pray worthily, with harmony between words spoken and desires of the heart. The significant distinction, Pickstock concludes, is not a distinction between orality and writing, but a distinction between language that is liturgical and language that is not, or, as she puts it, between erotic and *an*erotic expression. 'For that which is not "worthily" enunciated is language which has become monotonous, divorced from right desire' (Pickstock, 217). The third effect of the liturgy as oral and textual is its reordering of our sense of time. Liturgy confounds our tendency to see the passage of time as exterior to us, dragging us to personal degeneration and oblivion. Rather, 'the proclamation of the Gospel is continuous with the sacrifice it narrates', that is, it is happening now, not then. So we are caught up in the forwards and backwards motion of the text, which allows us to 'stand *expectantly*, in a position *prior* to the "making now" of what mundanely lies *behind* us'. Whether or not one accepts her argument in detail, Pickstock has established the vital theological importance of *reciting* a text, the effect this has on the worshipper and the worshipping community.

A further point, which complements Pickstock's thesis, is the *communal* character of worship. Liturgy is *common* prayer. In the first place, there is theological significance in the intersubjective power of experiencing corporately what is itself a profoundly unsettling text, reinforced by the emotive power of singing together. The fact that the liturgy has a

musical complement itself requires theological reflection. For music, like the liturgy, is what Suzanne Langer in *Feeling and Form* has called 'an articulate symbol', a series of meaningful signs that relate to one another. The peculiar power of music lies in its narrative-like nature, which in the liturgy is made to serve not only individual texts but also the liturgy's very shape, its narrative trajectory. Then, secondly, the liturgy's unsettling of selves opens those who worship to a communal experience of God: the Trinity is the original community *par excellence*, and therefore the image of God in humanity is primordially the community of women and men in which each dwells and without which they would all rapidly perish. Third, as important as the experience of being caught up in the life of the Trinity is to each individual, the community is the only place to express, test, and confirm that what has grasped the worshippers is indeed the Holy Spirit and not some other spirit. Reciting the liturgy together brings to light (if only partially, at best) the communion of saints and participation in it here and now.

Such are some of the theological questions that need to be addressed in the ongoing project of articulating a rationale for *lex orandi lex credendi*. The liturgy as oral recitation of a text needs further investigation, if its implications are to be taken into account by those who settle what words will be recited in Anglican common prayer.

Text and Translation

Not all the questions that bear on the future of the Prayer Book tradition are vast or philosophical. Besides the matter of who is to determine what is to be said, and how they are to determine it, there is also a series of very concrete issues that have to do with what the texts, once they have been determined, *mean*. These issues come to the fore whenever a Prayer Book text has to be translated from one language to another – as English is no longer the only language Anglicans use. The best way to indicate the problems is to give examples.

The Convocation of American Churches in Europe has published four bilingual selections of the current American Book of Common Prayer in Italian, French, Spanish, and most recently German. Each project had its own challenges for the translators (Spanish was the exception, the official Episcopal Church translation being used without modification). One example of these is in the French-English Book, where the word *si* ('if') had been used in the 1983 official translation to translate the word 'whenever' in this sentence from the baptismal covenant: 'Will you persevere in resisting evil, and, whenever you fall into sin, repent and return to the Lord?' As one goal of the French-English volume was to correct the spelling, grammatical, and translation errors of the 1983 text, this seemed an obvious place to make a change. Between '*if* you fall into sin' – perhaps, in the future – and '*whenever* you fall into sin' – as will surely happen – there is plainly a vast theological difference. Behind it lies a controversy regarding the early church's understanding of being 'unable' to sin after baptism (*see* 1 John 5:18 and Hebrews 6:4–6). On the one hand, there were those who believed that baptism should be delayed virtually until death, for to sin after baptism was unforgivable. On the other, there were those who thought that after baptism, one *could* no longer sin regardless of one's actions. The present understanding is, of course, that we do sin after baptism and that we need to repent of it – hence the use of 'whenever' in the baptism text. But in France it is a serious breach of etiquette to suggest that one is prone to error or evil, or to require that one admit fault. For French people, agreeing to repent 'if' they fall into sin clearly entails an admission that they have sinned and will sin again. An adequate translation, sensitive to cultural usage, calls for such a circumlocution. However, for the multitudes of the sixty-seven Francophone countries outside France (including the American church's largest diocese, Haiti), this cultural distinction is lost. Therefore the decision was to make a literal, not a cultural, translation.

The German text of the Convocation's *Selections of the Prayer Book* provides another practical example. Here the translators had to be especially sensitive to the German situation in which certain theological ideas that have standard English words to convey them are expressed differently in German by Lutherans as distinct from Roman Catholics. To use Lutheran language in Roman Catholic settings or vice versa is to tap into deep theological differences which were painful in the past and are still potentially divisive today. For example, translating the word 'catholic' itself required a decision: *allgemein*, the Lutheran (and Orthodox) preference, or *katholisch,* the word associated with Rome? Eventually the decision was for *katholisch*, as Anglicans are in full communion with the *Katholisches Bistum der Alt–Katholiken in Deutschland* (The Catholic Diocese of the Old Catholics in Germany). The Old Catholic bishop and the present writer are licensed as bishops in each other's jurisdictions. Making a translation for Germanophone Anglicans demanded therefore meticulous attention to these cultural and theological issues.

The Question of Authority

Great or small, these questions about texts, their function, and their meaning all have behind them the question of authority. While the various provincial books, taken on the whole, do resemble each other by reason of their common ancestry, there are differences as well. To include a rite, or a text, in a Book of Common Prayer or its functional equivalent is to make *de facto* a doctrinal statement. Not the least important meaning of a Prayer Book is that the province which authorizes it thereby affirms and exercises its identity *as* an autonomous province. The crisis in which, at the time of writing, the Anglican Communion finds itself embroiled is among other things a dispute about the limits of provincial authority. That dispute has a liturgical aspect as well. In the light of the rapid changes in the Communion, as continuing inculturation and digital publishing drive Prayer Book revision further and faster, the work of establishing basic theological principles that apply throughout the Anglican world can no longer be evaded.

In 1988 the Lambeth Conference passed a resolution adumbrating the creation of an advisory body for 'the task of offering encouragement, support and advice to Churches of the Communion in their work of liturgical revision as well as facilitating mutual consultation concerning, and review of, their Prayer Books'. This body would 'ensure' that future Prayer Books in the Communion would incorporate reading of scripture, sacraments, and creeds in their revisions, with an eye towards ecumenical developments that could be legitimately incorporated. As described elsewhere (*see* Buchanan, 'Change', pp. 235–36), it was the International Anglican Liturgical Consultation that came to be entrusted with this mandate. The value of the IALC's work is beyond question. Yet one may ask whether this body has the breadth of mandate and the depth of diverse membership that can authoritatively develop such principles as are required if the tradition of common prayer is to enter the future in continuity with its past. Beyond what has been accomplished, there is need for a theological rationale to require the inclusion in a Prayer Book of the reading of scriptures, use of the dominical sacraments, creeds, and ordinals that the Lambeth resolution called for. The Lambeth bishops felt perhaps that these elements were self-evident. They are not. And while liturgical specialists are indispensable for this work, they are not necessarily ecumenical theologians equipped to evaluate how other non-Anglican liturgical developments might be integrated.

Perhaps the way forward would be a commission, expanded in both membership and scope, widely representative of the whole Communion, and including not only liturgical scholars but also systematic theologians, linguists, digital publishing specialists, cultural anthropologists, parish priests, at least one church musician, and of course, 'ordinary people'. Such a commission could issues guidelines for creating and revising Prayer Books and their

components, as well as translations. All the provinces could agree to submit their proposed revisions to the commission for its judgement. While that judgement would not necessarily have the force of law (though that is not impossible), the commission would also develop its authority from the intrinsic excellence of its work. This in turn would stimulate provincial thinking about liturgical matters in general and Prayer Books in particular. While canon law will still presumably require that the clergy or licensed lay leaders use approved texts and observe rubrics in common prayer, one should expect significant latitude in actual practice, facilitated by digital publishing. Therefore the global and provincial work would also inform local practice, which is the only place that liturgy actually happens. In this understanding, the *sensus fidelium* would continue to provide the ultimate structure of Anglican liturgy, and thus of Anglican identity.

The theological questions that urgently call for consideration on a pan-Anglican basis are several. First, there is the fact that we use not only a text but also an orally-recited text. The liturgy as a perpetually re-created event has vast implications for its implicit theology, the *lex credendi* it expresses. It has deep ramifications not only for the individual worshipper but also in its re-creation of a worshipping community, a body that prays as one. The assembled community in the liturgy addresses not only each other but also those who are apparently 'absent', the Trinity and the communion of saints. In so doing, we are invited anew to repent and harmonize what we believe and how we act. Second, there is the question raised by post-modern thinkers of the 'text' as 'artefact'. The reading aloud of scripture in worship and its honouring by innumerable paraphrases throughout the pages of the Book of Common Prayer have themselves real theological import. The scriptures' transcendent referent in worship needs defending and elaborating, as well as the practice of reading the Bible *as prayer*. This apologia is necessary not just to turn aside charges of 'metaphysical domination' from deconstructionists, but also to inform our dialogues with ecumenical and interreligious partners. Third, the slogan *lex orandi lex credendi* needs constant unpacking, in a tradition defined by praying a book. Any expanded commission on Anglican common prayer would also have to consider how *lex credendi* should be determinative of *lex orandi*, in the context of diverse, evolving cultures. This, in turn, would entail an understanding of doctrinal development in Anglicanism. Fourth, there are many linguistic and rhetorical questions to consider, in light of inculturation. How do theological concepts expressed by prayer 'translate' in different cultures? What is the gauge of the fidelity of translation? What new insights are gleaned from particular cultural adaptations? How are they to be weighed by people in other cultures? What are the *adiaphora* in the Prayer Book tradition, the things that are not crucial, and what is an *articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiae*, something essential?

'There was never any thing by the wit of man so well devised, or so surely established, which (in continuance of time) hath not been corrupted.' So wrote Cranmer in the first Prayer Book. There will always be a need for consultation, collaboration, and conversation on the future of common prayer – always, until that time when the Book of Common Prayer will be no longer necessary. For Anglicans do well to anticipate the final disposition of their second Book, namely, the abandonment of it as Anglican tradition joins the traditions of the greater church. The magnificent phrase of the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral still rings strong: 'That in all things of human ordering or human choice, relating to modes of worship and discipline . . . this Church is ready in the spirit of love and humility to forego all preferences of her own.' As Michael Ramsey argued in *The Gospel and the Catholic Church*, such a willingness arises from a clear perception by Anglicans of our brokenness.

And that perception itself arises from the shared, regular experience of Prayer Book liturgy. In the same experience there is to be encountered not only brokenness, but also God's remedy and plan for it, through Jesus Christ in the Holy Spirit. This more than anything else is what the Anglican churches must bring to the future, carrying it forward in the Book of Common Prayer.

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CHRONOLOGY

1535		Coverdale's Bible (first English translation) published
1544		The English Litany published
1547		Death of Henry VIII Accession of Edward VI The first Book of Homilies
1548	*March*.	'The Order of the Communion'
1549	*January 21*. *March 7*.	First Act of Uniformity **First Book of Common Prayer**
1550		First English Ordinal *The Book of Common Prayer Noted,* by John Merbecke
1551		First translation of the Prayer Book (into Latin)
1552		**Second Book of Common Prayer** and second Act of Uniformity The Forty-two Articles promulgated
1553		Death of Edward VI Accession of Mary I Repeal of the 1552 Act of Uniformity The Prayer Book first translated into French
1556		Thomas Cranmer burned as a heretic
1558		Death of Mary I Accession of Elizabeth I
1559		Act of Supremacy declares Elizabeth 'Supreme Governor' **Third Book of Common Prayer** and third Act of Uniformity
1561		Revision of the Prayer Book calendar
1563		The Thirty-nine Articles issued by Convocation
1567		The Prayer Book first translated into Welsh
1571		The second Book of Homilies Puritans' first 'Admonition to Parliament'
1603		Death of Elizabeth I Accession of James I (James VI of Scotland) The Millenary Petition demanding reform of the church

1604		Hampton Court Conference **Fourth Book of Common Prayer** Committees appointed to revise the English Bible
1608		The Prayer Book first translated into Irish
1611		Authorized (King James) Version of the Bible
1625		Death of James I Accession of Charles I
1633		William Laud appointed Archbishop of Canterbury
1637		SCOTLAND: Book of Common Prayer ('Laud's Liturgy')
1638		Scottish National Covenant against the Prayer Book
1642		Beginning of the Civil War
1645		Prayer Book abolished by ordinance; Westminster Directory established
1649		Trial and execution of Charles I England becomes a Commonwealth
1660		Charles II recalled by Parliament Declaration of Breda Restoration of monarchy and episcopacy
1661	*April–July.* *December 20.*	Savoy Conference on Prayer Book revision Convocation adopts revised Prayer Book
1662		**Fifth Book of Common Prayer** and fourth Act of Uniformity
1665		IRELAND. Additions to the 1662 Book of Common Prayer
1685		Death of Charles II Accession of James II
1688	*November 4.*	William of Orange arrives in England
1689		William III and Mary II crowned joint sovereigns Abortive attempt at Prayer Book revision ('Liturgy of Comprehension') Establishment of Presbyterianism in the Church of Scotland Beginning of Nonjurors' schism in England and Scotland
1764		SCOTLAND. 'Received text' of the Scottish Communion Office
1784		Samuel Seabury, first American bishop, consecrated in Aberdeen, Scotland
1789		U.S.A. First American Book of Common Prayer
1867		First Lambeth Conference
1871		Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland
1872		'Shortened Services Act' amends the 1662 Act of Uniformity
1874		The Public Worship Regulation Act in England

1878	IRELAND. Book of Common Prayer
1879	JAPAN. *Sei Ko Kai Toh Bun* (Prayer Book of the Anglican Church)
1881	SPAIN. *Oficios divinos . . . en la iglesia española,* combining a translation of the 1662 Prayer Book with Mozarabic elements
1892	U.S.A. Book of Common Prayer (revised from 1789)
1894	MEXICO. *Oficios provisionales de la iglesia Episcopal anglicana ó iglesia de Jesús*
1906	Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline inaugurates Prayer Book revision in England
1912	SCOTLAND. Book of Common Prayer
1922	CANADA. Book of Common Prayer (final authorization)
1920	Disestablishment of the Welsh dioceses of the Church of England; inauguration of the Church in Wales
1926	IRELAND. Book of Common Prayer (revised from 1878)
1927	ENGLAND. Proposed revision of 1662 Prayer Book defeated in House of Commons
1928	ENGLAND. Proposed revision of 1662 Prayer Book defeated a second time U.S.A. Book of Common Prayer (revised from 1892)
1929	SCOTLAND. Book of Common Prayer (revised from 1912) SOUTH AFRICA. *The Alternative Form of the Order for the Administration of the Holy Communion* (final authorization)
1931	'Interim Rite' of Holy Communion proposed
1938	MELANESIA. *A Book of Common Prayer for Use in the Diocese of Melanesia*
1945	Gregory Dix publishes *The Shape of the Liturgy*
1950	Liturgy of the Church of South India
1954	SOUTH AFRICA. Book of Common Prayer (the 'South African Prayer Book')
1957	HONG KONG. Book of Common Prayer (Chinese)
1959	INDIA. Book of Common Prayer (Church in the Province of India, Pakistan, Burma, and Ceylon)
1960	JAPAN. Book of Common Prayer (Japanese)
1962	CANADA. Book of Common Prayer (revised from 1922)
1963	*Sacrosanctum Concilium,* the Second Vatican Council's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy
1964	*A Liturgy for Africa*
1965	KOREA. Book of Common Prayer (Korean)

1965	MELANESIA. *A Book of Common Prayer in Simple English;* later expanded and revised as *A Melanesian English Prayer Book*
1966	*A United Liturgy for East Africa*
1969	Formation of the International Consultation on English Texts (ICET)
1974	The Church of England (Worship and Doctrine) Measure regulating alternative services
1978	AUSTRALIA. *An Australian Prayer Book*
1979	U.S.A. Book of Common Prayer
1980	ENGLAND. *Alternative Service Book*
1984	WALES. *Y Llyfr Gweddi Gyffredin* / Book of Common Prayer
1985	CANADA. *Book of Alternative Services* Formation of the English Language Liturgical Consultation (ELLC) First meeting of the International Anglican Liturgical Consultation (IALC)
1989	NEW ZEALAND. *A New Zealand Prayer Book / He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa* SOUTHERN AFRICA. *An Anglican Prayer Book*
1990	JAPAN. Book of Common Prayer (Japanese)
1991	PAPUA NEW GUINEA. *Anglican Prayer Book* (the 'Centenary Prayer Book')
1992	The *Revised Common Lectionary*
1995	AUSTRALIA. *A Prayer Book for Australia*
1996	NIGERIA. Book of Common Prayer WEST INDIES. Book of Common Prayer
1998	CONGO. Book of Common Prayer (Swahili)
1999	PHILIPPINES. Book of Common Prayer
2000	ENGLAND. *Common Worship: Services and Prayers for the Church of England* (first of several volumes of *Common Worship*)
2001	MYANMAR. *The Order for Holy Communion*
2002	KENYA. *Our Modern Services*
2004	IRELAND. Book of Common Prayer KOREA. *Sung-Kong-Hoe Kee-Doh-Suh* (*The Holy Catholic Church* [*Anglican*] *Prayer Book*)

GLOSSARY

ablution A ceremonial washing. In many eucharistic rites there is an ablution of the CHALICE, and another of the CELEBRANT's fingers.
absolution A formal pronouncement of forgiveness. In Anglican usage it may be made only by a BISHOP or PRESBYTER. The form of the absolution in those Prayer Book services which include one is generally 'precatory', i.e. a praying that God may forgive. In the 1662 office for the Visitation of the Sick, however, it takes an indicative form ('I absolve thee').
Acts of Uniformity see under UNIFORMITY
administration, words of see under WORDS
Advent (Latin *adventus*, 'arrival, coming') The liturgical season prior to Christmas, beginning with the Sunday closest to 30 November. The name refers both to the coming of Christ at his birth and to his coming again as eschatological Judge.
Agnus Dei A prayer or hymn, named from its opening words in Latin ('O Lamb of God'), said or sung in the Eucharist during the FRACTION or shortly before communion. The 1662 BCP did not include it, and its use has at times been controversial, but it appears in many modern Prayer Books, often optionally.
Aid against Perils, Collect for The second of the two invariable COLLECTS at Evening Prayer in the 1662 BCP, which begins 'Lighten our darkness'.
alb A long white garment with narrow sleeves, traditionally made of linen and tied with a cincture or girdle at the waist. Its use has been a matter of controversy among Anglicans, but is now very common and recognized in the rubrics of some modern Prayer Books.
altar rails A low fence set up, especially beginning in the seventeenth century, to protect the altar from irreverence. Kneeling at this barrier to receive communion was not its original purpose, but once the practice was established, altar rails continued to be built although there was no longer a danger of stray animals entering the chancel.
anamnesis (Greek 'remembrance, memorial', from the command in the New Testament accounts of the Last Supper) A paragraph in the eucharistic prayer, which follows the WORDS OF INSTITUTION ('Do this in remembrance of me') and connects the act of remembrance to what the church understands itself to be doing in the Eucharist.
anaphora (Greek 'offering') The central prayer of a eucharistic liturgy.
Anglican Communion A name first used in 1851, some years before the first LAMBETH CONFERENCE, if not before, to refer to the churches historically rooted in the reformed Church of England which are in communion both with that church and with each other.
Anglican 'Of or pertaining to *Anglia'*, the Latin name for England. In the Middle Ages *ecclesia Anglicana* meant 'the English church'. Until the nineteenth century, 'the Anglican church' was synonymous with 'the Church of England'; neither Scottish nor American Episcopalians would in any formal sense have called themselves Anglicans. The word is now used with reference to the teachings and practices of churches in communion with the Archbishop of Canterbury, some of which have adopted it in their official names.
Anglo-Catholic A movement or party within Anglicanism that emphasizes continuity with the pre-Reformation church (as contrasted with the continental Reformation), sacramental worship, affinities with Roman Catholicism, and a 'high' or sacerdotal view of holy orders. The term is often paired with 'EVANGELICAL' as its opposite. See also TRACTARIAN.
Annexed Book The manuscript copy of the revised BCP that was signed by CONVOCATION on 20 December 1661 and attached as 'the book annexed' to the fourth Act of UNIFORMITY (1662). See also SEALED BOOKS.
anointing see UNCTION
Ante-Communion The service of Holy Communion, omitting everything which in the 1662 BCP follows

the Prayer for the Church Militant, and concluding with one or more collects and the blessing. The rubrics order this much to be said on Sundays and holy days 'if there be no Communion'. The abbreviated service was sometimes said at the altar and for that reason referred to as 'Table Prayers'.

anthem The English form of the word ANTIPHON. In modern usage it is synonymous with 'motet', referring to (non-liturgical) choral music sung during a church service. The rubrics of the 1662 BCP use the word in each of these senses, and also for a hymn or canticle (the 'Easter Anthems') appointed in place of the VENITE on Easter Day.

antiphon (Greek, 'reply') A short text, generally drawn from scripture, said or sung before and after a psalm or canticle in the daily offices, and sometimes also between its verses. Down through the 1662 BCP there is no provision for antiphons, but the rubrics of some modern Prayer Books permit them.

antiphonal Said or sung 'in reply', alternating between different (groups of) voices.

Apostles' Creed An ancient profession of faith, recited at both Morning and Evening Prayer in the 1662 BCP. Some modern Prayer Books allow it to be said at one of these offices or the other. From early times it has been the creed professed by candidates for baptism, later by their GODPARENTS or sponsors, and in some recent baptismal liturgies by the whole congregation as well.

archbishop The chief bishop of a PROVINCE, who is usually a diocesan bishop as well.

archdeacon Originally, the title of the chief of the deacons who assisted a bishop. In Anglican usage an archdeacon is a cleric, styled 'the Venerable' and often having a territorial title, whose duties and authority within a diocese vary in the different provinces.

Articles of Religion A set of doctrinal statements, often called the Thirty-nine Articles, which after a complex history of composition and revision reached their final form in 1571. Though not strictly speaking part of the 1662 BCP, they have often been printed at the end of it, and they appear in some modern Prayer Books.

Ascension The feast commemorating Christ's ascent into heaven (Acts 1:6–11), observed on the Thursday that falls forty days after EASTER. The period from then until Whitsunday (Pentecost) is sometimes called Ascensiontide.

Ash Wednesday The first of the forty days of LENT that precede EASTER. The ceremony of imposing ashes, which gives the day its name, was replaced in the first BCP by what would later be called the COMMINATION office. Several modern Prayer Books provide a penitential rite for Ash Wednesday that includes an (optional) imposition of ashes blessed at the service.

asperges The ceremonial sprinkling of holy water, especially at the beginning of the Eucharist. The name comes from the first word of Psalm 51:7 in Latin ('*Purge me* with hyssop'), the verse traditionally sung during the ceremony.

Athanasian Creed The usual name for the profession of faith also known by its opening words in Latin as *Quicunque vult*. It is not so much a creed as a doctrinal hymn, and cannot have been written by St Athanasius. The 1662 BCP prescribes it in place of the APOSTLES' CREED at Morning Prayer on certain holy days. Many modern Prayer Books omit it altogether, but it is printed (though not prescribed) in the Church of Ireland BCP (2004) and, as a 'historical document', in the 1979 BCP of the American Episcopal Church.

banns A 'proclamation' or announcement of an intended marriage, in which opportunity is given for declaring any impediment. Where the practice of publishing banns is maintained, it takes place on three successive Sundays during a service of worship.

baptism (from Greek *baptizein,* 'to dip or immerse') The ceremonial initiation of a person into the Christian church. The liturgical rite has always centred on a symbolic washing with water, but methods (sprinkling, pouring, immersion) and eligibility (infants, adults) have varied. According to the classical Anglican CATECHISM, baptism is one of the two SACRAMENTS 'generally necessary to salvation'.

bede see BIDDING

Benedicite A CANTICLE, taken from the Song of the Three Children in the apocryphal additions to the book of Daniel, named from the Latin word with which it begins: 'O all ye works of the Lord, *bless ye* the Lord'. In the 1662 and earlier BCPs it is assigned to Morning Prayer as an alternative to the TE DEUM. In modern Prayer Books it often appears in a condensed form. The *New Zealand Prayer Book* (1989) has a *Benedicite Aotearoa,* which names local 'works of the Lord'.

Benedictus es A CANTICLE taken from the Song of the Three Children in the apocryphal additions to the book of Daniel, named from its Latin opening: '*Blessed art thou,* O Lord God of our fathers'. It was introduced in the American BCP of 1928 and the Scottish BCP of 1929 as a shorter alternative to the TE DEUM or the BENEDICITE, of which in its original context it forms the introduction.

Benedictus (Latin, 'blessed') The first word, and hence the name, of two different biblical texts used liturgically: (1) The CANTICLE also known as the Song of Zechariah (Luke 1:68–79), appointed to follow the second lesson at Morning Prayer in the 1662 and earlier BCPs, which begins '*Blessed* be the Lord God of Israel'. Modern Prayer Books often include it as an alternative canticle after the first lesson instead. (2)

The *Benedictus qui venit,* Matthew 21:9 (itself quoting Psalm 118:26), '*Blessed* is he that cometh in the name of the Lord', sung in ancient eucharistic rites as a continuation of the Sanctus. Included in the 1549 BCP, it was dropped in 1552 but reappears in many recent Anglican eucharistic liturgies, at least optionally.

berakah (Hebrew, pl. *berakoth*, 'blessing') The biblical, Jewish, and early Christian form of prayer that blesses or gives thanks to God.

bidding (Anglo-Saxon *bid*, 'pray') An ancient form of intercession in which a series of matters to be prayed for is announced, using some such formula as 'Ye shall pray for . . . ' or 'I ask your prayers for . . . '. Each of these biddings may be followed by an interval of silence and a collect. A 'bidding of the bedes' is a praying of the prayers.

bishop (Old English *bisceop*, fr. Latin *episcopus*, fr. Greek *episkopos*, 'overseer') A chief pastor. In the Anglican Communion bishops alone preside at ordination and certain other services. A bishop has jurisdiction over a diocese, and may be assisted by 'suffragan' bishops. However chosen or selected, a bishop must be ordained or consecrated to that office by at least three other bishops, themselves already ordained in like manner. See also archbishop and episcopate, episcopacy, episcopal.

Black Rubric The usual name for a declaration inserted in the 1552 BCP to explain that the practice of kneeling to receive Holy Communion intended no adoration of any 'real and essential presence' of Christ's natural flesh and blood. The wording was altered to 'corporal presence' when the text, which had been omitted in 1559, was put back in 1662. The name 'Black Rubric', which was not in common use until the nineteenth century, implies that since the declaration is no true rubric it ought to be printed in black, not (as it sometimes was) in red.

black-letter days A common name for minor holy days. In Prayer Book calendars printed in two colors, the major holy days appear in red, the rest (sixty-seven in the 1662 BCP) in black. Some Anglican calendars have omitted all such days, and some still do. In others, this class of observances is further distinguished, for example into 'lesser festivals' and 'commemorations'.

Book Annexed See Annexed Book

Breviary A liturgical book containing all the necessary texts for reciting the Daily Office or Hours of Prayer. The name is from Latin *breviarium,* 'short, abridged', as in its earliest form this volume gave only the opening words of the texts.

calendar A listing of commemorations, holy days, seasons, and the like that are to be observed liturgically in the course of a year. In relation to the civil calendar, some observances, including Christmas and saints' days, always have the same date. Easter Day does not, and consequently neither do the feasts and fasts connected with it. Printed calendars in most Prayer Books accordingly add instructions or tables for determining the date of Easter and other 'movable feasts'. See also sanctorale and temporale.

Candlemas A popular name for the Feast of the Purification. The name comes from the procession with candles, symbolizing the 'light to lighten the Gentiles' in the gospel of the day (Luke 2:22–40), which took place at the festival Mass.

canon (Greek, 'measuring rule', 'standard') (1) The canon of scripture is the standard list of books accepted as authoritative and so as constituting the Bible. (2) The canons of a cathedral (or a diocese) are certain members of its official staff or chapter, other than the dean who is its head. The office so held is a canonry. (3) In ecclesiastical law, a canon is an authoritatively imposed regulation regarding doctrine or discipline. (4) The canon of the Mass is the central (and at one time unchanging) prayer that begins with the preface and Sanctus.

Cantate Domino Psalm 98, so called from the Latin of its opening words, '*O sing unto the Lord* a new song'. The 1662 BCP gives it as an alternative canticle to the Magnificat at Evening Prayer, unless Psalm 98 happens to be one of the psalms of the day.

Canterbury The city where the missionary bishop St Augustine, who came to England in 597, established his headquarters and cathedral church. Canterbury has ever since been the primatial see. In addition to being Primate of All England, the Archbishop of Canterbury heads the Anglican Communion as one of its 'instruments of unity'.

canticle (Latin *canticum,* 'song') A general name for any hymn, song, or psalm appointed to be said or sung at the beginning of one of the daily offices or after a lesson. In the 1662 BCP there are nine canticles in this sense: at Morning Prayer, Venite, Te Deum, Benedicite, Benedictus, and Jubilate; at Evening Prayer, Magnificat, Cantate Domino, Nunc dimittis, and Deus misereatur. Modern Prayer Books have greatly increased the number of alternatives, sometimes maintaining the custom of designating them by their opening words in Latin.

catechism (Greek *katecheo*, 'teach orally') An instructional text, usually in question-and-answer form, setting out basic tenets of Christian belief and practice. The traditional Anglican form has included sections on the (Apostles') Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, but more recent catechisms have added other subjects.

catechumenate The process of preparation for baptism, consisting of doctrinal instruction and examina-

tion of morals. The same word can be used to refer to the period during which this preparation occurs, and to the group of catechumens, i.e. those who are being prepared. Both the practice and its name have been revived, sometimes in connection with preparation for CONFIRMATION.

Catechumens, Mass of the The first part of a eucharistic liturgy, which in ancient times was attended by catechumens, who had not been baptized yet and were dismissed before the OFFERTORY. The corresponding second part is the 'Mass of the Faithful'.

cathedral Properly, 'cathedral church', the church in which the BISHOP's official seat, the *cathedra,* a throne or teaching chair, is located. It is thus the principal church of the DIOCESE, though not always the largest.

cathedral use The form of public worship (apart from the Eucharist) that was current in the Christian church prior to the introduction everywhere of what had been, in its origin, a monastic ordering of daily worship.

celebrant The term most commonly used for the PRESBYTER or BISHOP who 'celebrates' or presides at a liturgical service, especially the Eucharist. It does not appear in the classical BCP, but the rubrics of some more recent Prayer Books use it. In others, 'president' or 'presider' is used with the same meaning.

cento (Latin 'patchwork') A literary text pieced together from other works. A cento psalm is a CANTICLE compiled from verses of several canonical psalms. There are examples in the 'Forms of Prayer to be Used at Sea' in the 1662 BCP.

ceremony, ceremonial In contemporary liturgical usage, 'ceremony' and its derivatives refer to the way in which a service of worship is conducted, especially its formal actions and gestures, whereas 'rite' and 'ritual' refer to the form of its words. In most contexts, however, there is little if any distinction.

chalice (Latin *calix,* 'drinking cup') The vessel that holds the eucharistic wine. Its counterpart, which holds the bread, is the PATEN.

chancel The part of a church building reserved for the officiating clergy. Usually the distinction between chancel and NAVE is marked by a screen (the chancel screen or roodscreen), steps, or an ALTAR RAIL. See also CHOIR.

chapel (1) A separate building, in which Christian worship takes place, but which is not, in some sense, properly a church. (2) A more or less distinct area within a church building, in which worship is conducted.

chapter The DEAN and CANONS of a CATHEDRAL or collegiate church, considered as a body; also a formal assembly of that body. A 'chapter house' is thus a building where the chapter meets.

Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral A statement, approved by the 1888 LAMBETH CONFERENCE and included in several Anglican Prayer Books, of the essential constituents of a reunited Christian church: Holy Scripture, the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, and the 'historic episcopate'. These four articles had been agreed upon at the General Convention of the U. S. Episcopal Church in Chicago two years previously.

Childermas An old English name for the feast of the Holy Innocents (see Matthew 2:16), observed on 28 December.

choir (quire) A group of singers. By extension, 'choir' became an architectural term for the part of a church building occupied by those who sing. This was generally at the eastern end, in front of the altar, where the HOURS OF PRAYER were chanted in monastic churches. In that sense, 'choir' is roughly synonymous with 'chancel', as in the rubric, 'In quires and places where they sing, here followeth the anthem'.

chrism A mixture of olive oil and balsam used in some rites of baptism, confirmation, and ordination. The blessing of chrism and other holy oils has been the prerogative of the bishop. There is a form for this rite in the Canadian *Book of Alternative Services* (1985), and the *Anglican Prayer Book* of the Province of Southern Africa (1989) provides a Chrism Eucharist for the morning of MAUNDY THURSDAY, the traditional time for this service. See also UNCTION.

chrisom The white robe with which newly baptized Christians are clothed. The 1549 BCP orders the use of 'the white vesture, commonly called the Chrysome', which was to be returned at the CHURCHING of the child's mother. It was omitted in 1552, but the Prayer Books of some provinces, including Nigeria, the Philippines, and Southern Africa, now include it.

Chrysostom, Prayer of St In the BCP, the prayer so named ('Almighty God, who hast given us grace at this time . . . ') first appeared in the LITANY and later at the end of Morning and Evening Prayer. Cranmer drew it from the ancient Liturgy of St Chrysostom, but its authorship is not known.

Church Militant, Prayer for the A long intercessory prayer in the service of Holy Communion, also called the 'Prayer for the Church' or the 'Prayer for the Whole State'. In the 1662 BCP it is introduced with the bidding, 'Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth'. Some other Prayer Books omit the last three or four words of the bidding, which were added in 1552.

Churching of Women A service of thanksgiving after childbirth, called in the 1549 BCP 'The Order of the Purification of Women'.

churchwardens Lay officers, usually two, who are responsible for the care and maintenance of a parish church and its property, and serve as the representatives of the laity in the parish.

Circumcision, Feast of the A feast observed on January 1, the eighth day after Christmas (see Luke 2:21, the gospel for the day), which is given different names in modern Prayer Books, including 'The Naming of Jesus' and 'The Holy Name of Jesus'.

clerk Although derived from the Latin *clericus,* which is also the origin of 'clergy', the word usually refers to a lay officer. In the old 'three-decker' pulpits, the lowest stage was occupied by the clerk. The formal phrase 'clerk in holy orders', however, refers to an ordained person.

collect A short prayer, characteristic of the western liturgical tradition, that generally follows a pattern of (1) invoking God by reference to divine attributes or acts, (2) petitioning God for some benefit, often related to the invocation, and (3) pleading the merits or mediation of Christ. In the full form, a Trinitarian DOXOLOGY follows. A collect is always one of the PROPERS for a holy day.

Comfortable Words Four sentences from the New Testament, recited with introductions, of which the first is, 'Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith unto all that truly turn to him'. In all the classical BCPs, and before them in the 'Order of the Communion', they follow the confession and ABSOLUTION. In more recent Prayer Books that retain them, they are often made optional.

Commination service (Latin *comminatio*, 'threat of [divine] vengeance') A service for Ash Wednesday 'and at other times as the ORDINARY shall appoint', intended to follow Morning Prayer and the LITANY. It was drawn up for the first BCP, and its full title in the 1662 Prayer Book is 'A Commination, or Denouncing of God's Anger and Judgements against Sinners'. It includes a litany of curses taken from Deuteronomy 27, an exhortation, and Psalm 51, followed by suffrages and prayers.

committal A name for the part of the service for the burial of the dead that ordinarily takes place at the grave, derived from the words spoken by the minister as earth is cast upon the body: 'we therefore commit his body to the ground'.

common The word used for the variable parts of the liturgy assigned to commemorations for which no specific PROPERS are appointed. For example, a COLLECT and scripture readings may be provided for use in a service commemorating any saint, or any martyr, teacher of the faith, and so on.

communion In a liturgical context, the reception of the sacramental bread and wine by those who take part in the Eucharist; hence 'Holy Communion' as a name for the whole service. 'Communion in both kinds' or 'both species' refers to the practice, insisted on by the Reformers, in which the wine as well as the bread are received by all, not the celebrant alone.

Compline (Latin *completorium*, 'end, completion') The last of the daily HOURS OF PRAYER. Most of this office in its medieval form became part of Evening Prayer in the first BCP. Many recent Prayer Books also provide a separate service, often including the NUNC DIMITTIS, called 'Night Prayer' or 'Prayer at the End of the Day' if not Compline. The 2004 Church of Ireland BCP has both Compline and 'A Late Evening Office'.

confirmation The service described in the 1662 BCP as the 'laying on of hands upon those that are baptized and come to years of discretion'. According to traditional Anglican practice only a BISHOP may confirm, and only those who have been (or are prepared to be) confirmed may be admitted to Holy Communion. But developments in the theology of Christian initiation have tended to lessen the significance of this rite, and there is notable fluidity within and between recent Prayer Books.

consecration The act of setting apart or separating something or someone for purposes that serve God. Thus: (1) In the language of the 1662 BCP, the priest who officiates at Holy Communion consecrates the bread and wine that are to be delivered as the body and blood of Christ. (2) A service of ordination to the episcopate has traditionally been called a consecration. Some recent Prayer Books, however, use the word to name an element in the ordinations of deacons and presbyters as well; other ordinals do not refer to consecration at all. (3) Services for the consecration of churches and their fittings have a long history in Anglicanism, and they have been included in some recent Prayer Books.

Consecration, Prayer of The name first used in the 1637 Scottish BCP, followed by the English version of 1662, for the prayer in the Holy Communion service that follows the SURSUM CORDA and includes the WORDS OF INSTITUTION, accompanied by the MANUAL ACTS. In recent Prayer Books the corresponding prayer is often referred to as the 'Great Thanksgiving' or the 'eucharistic prayer' or both.

Convocation A short name for two assemblies in the Church of England, which have often met together and are commonly thought of as one. Properly, the ('internal') PROVINCES of Canterbury and York each have their own Convocations, the Upper House being constituted by bishops and the Lower House by representative and *ex officio* clergy. The legislative powers of Convocation (which is older than Parliament) have varied; today practically all its functions have passed to the General Synod.

corporal A piece of linen, used at Holy Communion beneath the CHALICE and PATEN, and to cover them if consecrated bread and wine remain at the end of the service.

Corpus Christi A 'Day of Thanksgiving for the Institution of Holy Communion', observed on the Thurs-

day after Trinity Sunday. The Latin name means 'body of Christ', referring to the eucharistic bread. Several recent Prayer Books acknowledge what had become in some places an unofficial practice, by providing propers for this feast.

Coverdale's Psalter A common name for the book of Psalms first translated by Miles Coverdale in 1534. It was included in the 'Great Bible' of 1540, which was ordered to be set up in churches and from which the psalms and other biblical excerpts in the first BCP were taken. In 1662, when the whole PSALTER was first made an official part of the Prayer Book, Coverdale's was the version that was printed, although the EPISTLES, GOSPELS, and other quotations were changed to follow the Authorized Version of 1611.

creed (Latin *credo*, 'I believe') A profession of faith. The creeds appointed in the 1662 BCP are the APOSTLES', the NICENE, and the ATHANASIAN. The 1989 *New Zealand Prayer Book* has a 'Liturgical Affirmation of Faith' addressed to God; in *Common Worship* (Church of England 2000) there are seven 'Authorized Affirmations of Faith' in addition to traditional creeds.

curate Properly, the ordained minister who has charge of a parish (the '*cure* of souls'). The 1662 BCP uses the word in this sense, for example in the Prayer for the Church Militant. Today, however, the word is almost always used to refer to an assistant presbyter or deacon.

Daily Office A general name, now common among Anglicans, for the set of liturgical services appointed for recitation at certain times of day on every day of the year. In addition to the two traditional Anglican offices of daily Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer, several recent Prayer Books provide a form for use at mid-day and another, corresponding to COMPLINE and sometimes so named, for late evening or night.

deacon (Greek *diakonos*, 'servant') A person ordained to the first (in sequence) and lowest (in rank) of the three HOLY ORDERS of the Anglican ministry. Although in the past most deacons have subsequently been ordained to the priesthood, a permanent or vocational diaconate is being reestablished in some provinces. Informally, the celebrant's first assistant, who reads the gospel at a solemn Eucharist, is called the deacon, even if a presbyter.

dean (Latin *decanus,* 'one set over ten [*decem*] persons') The title of several different ecclesiastical officials, usually though not always members of the clergy. (1) The dean of a cathedral church is the head of its chapter or governing body, and in charge of its services. Within the diocese, the dean ranks next below the bishop. Certain other churches, such as Westminster Abbey, which are not cathedrals, also have a dean as their chief cleric. (2) The head of an Anglican seminary or theological college, who may not be ordained, is often styled 'dean'. (3) A rural dean (now sometimes 'area dean') assists in administering subdivisions of a DIOCESE known as deaneries. (4) In the ('internal') province of Canterbury in the Church of England, and in certain other Anglican churches, one of the bishops is *ex officio* the provincial dean.

Decalogue (Greek, 'ten words') The Ten Commandments. In liturgical contexts, it often refers to the recitation of the Commandments with responses, as appointed in the 1662 BCP.

dedication festival The annual commemoration in a parish or cathedral church of the day on which it was consecrated. In some Anglican provinces, the first Sunday in October (or, as in *Common Worship,* the last Sunday after Trinity) is kept as the 'feast of dedication' if the actual date is unknown.

Deposited Book The name sometimes used for the revision of the 1662 BCP which was proposed in 1927 and again, with small but important changes, in 1928, but which on both occasions failed to win the approval of Parliament.

deprecations See LITANY.

Deus misereatur Psalm 67, so named from its opening words in Latin, '*God be merciful* unto us'. The 1662 BCP assigns it as an alternative CANTICLE to the NUNC DIMITTIS at Evening Prayer, unless Psalm 67 happens to be one of the psalms of the day.

diocese The geographical area under the authority of a bishop, and the normal unit of Anglican church administration. There are usually several dioceses in an ecclesiastical PROVINCE. The name of a diocese has traditionally been that of the city where its bishop's church, the CATHEDRAL, is located; but in newer dioceses other names are used, such as those of civil territories or topographical regions.

Directory see WESTMINSTER DIRECTORY

dissenter A word usually applied to Protestants who, objecting to the Church of England's doctrine or polity, have separated themselves from it. In common use it has tended to mean the same as NONCONFORMIST.

Divine Office The canonical hours or HOURS OF PRAYER. Cranmer's PREFACE uses 'divine service' with the same meaning.

doxology Uttered praise to God. The 'lesser doxology' is the GLORIA PATRI; the 'greater doxology', the GLORIA IN EXCELSIS. The central prayer in most eucharistic rites ends with a doxology, as does the Lord's Prayer ('For thine is the kingdom . . . ') in some though not all of its liturgical uses.

Easter Anthems The name given to a CANTICLE appointed to replace the VENITE at Morning Prayer on Easter Day. In the first Prayer Book it consisted of Romans 6:9–11 and 1 Corinthians 15:20–22; the 1662 BCP added 1 Corinthians 5:7b–8 at the beginning and GLORIA PATRI at the end. Modern Prayer Books

sometimes refer to it as *Pascha nostrum* (Latin, 'our Passover') and suggest its use as the opening canticle throughout the Easter season.

Easter The oldest and greatest Christian feast, celebrating the resurrection of Christ. Because the Sunday on which it falls in a given (solar) year depends in part on a lunar calendar, complicated calculations are needed to determine its date, which are explained in tables that until recently have been printed in most Prayer Books. The season that follows Easter Day and ends with the Ascension (or with Whitsunday) is called Eastertide.

Easter Even The day, and especially the evening, before Easter, also called Holy Saturday. See also the following entry.

Easter Vigil The celebration, also called the Paschal Vigil and the Great Vigil of Easter, of the 'paschal mystery' of Christ's death and resurrection. It begins on Holy Saturday, now often late at night, or early on Easter Day. Rites for observing it are provided in some recent Prayer Books, including those of the Canadian, Southern African, and American churches. At this service the 'paschal candle' is blessed and lighted and the *Exsultet* or 'Easter proclamation' sung. Several Old Testament lessons (the 'prophecies') are read, water for baptism is blessed, and the service leads to the first Eucharist of Easter.

elements (eucharistic) A name used for bread and wine, considered as the substances employed in the service of Holy Communion.

elevation The ceremonial lifting up of the consecrated bread (the host), and of the chalice, after the corresponding words of institution in the canon of the Mass. The rubrics of the 1549 BCP forbid all 'elevation, or showing the sacrament to the people'. Those of the 1662 BCP specify the priest's manual acts with no mention of any elevation.

ELLC The English Language Liturgical Consultation, formed in 1985 as a successor to the International Consultation on English Texts (ICET).

Ember Days Days of fasting or abstinence observed on the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday of four 'Ember Weeks', one in each quarter of the year. They are associated with ordinations, which have often taken place on Ember Saturdays. The 1662 BCP orders one of two collects 'for those that are about to be admitted into Holy Orders' to be said throughout the week; other Prayer Books provide full propers. In the traditional reckoning, Ember Days follow the first Sunday in Lent, the day of Pentecost, Holy Cross Day (14 September), and St Lucy's Day (13 December). A few recent Prayer Books use other ways of determining when they are to be observed.

embolism (Greek *embolismos,* intercalation) A prayer said by the celebrant at the Eucharist. It follows and takes up the final words of the Lord's Prayer ('deliver us from evil'), beginning 'Deliver us, O Lord, we beseech thee, from all evils . . . '. It has been included in the official rites of a few Anglican provinces, such as Korea.

epiclesis (Greek, 'invocation') The prayer for the operation of the Holy Spirit in sanctifying either the eucharistic bread and wine, or the sacramental act of receiving them. The eucharistic prayer in the 1549 began with an *epiclesis*, omitted in 1552. Following the classical eastern liturgies, in which an invocation of the Spirit follows the institution narrative, an *epiclesis* came to occupy a corresponding position in the Scottish Communion Office of 1764, from which it passed to the American and other more recent Prayer Books.

Epiphany (Greek *epiphaneia,* 'manifestation') The feast observed on 6 January to celebrate the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles, personified in the wise men from the East who came to Bethlehem. 'Epiphanytide' continues through Shrove Tuesday, the day before the beginning of Lent. In modern Anglican calendars the propers for the Sundays in this liturgical season frequently commemorate other manifestations of Christ, especially his baptism, which is often celebrated on the first Sunday following the Epiphany.

episcopate, episcopacy, episcopal The episcopate is either the state or condition of being a bishop, as in 'the long episcopate of Bishop *X*', and thus the corresponding order of clergy, as in '*Y* was raised to the episcopate'. Episcopacy is the system of church government by bishops, as in 'the second Scottish episcopacy'. The adjective 'episcopal' means 'of or pertaining to bishops'. All Anglican churches are episcopal, and some of them prefer this word on the ground that 'Anglican' connotes Englishness. The compound 'Anglican/Episcopal' is used in some semi-official contexts.

epistle The scripture reading at Holy Communion that precedes the reading from one of the gospels is known as 'the (liturgical) epistle'. An epistle in this sense is always one of the eucharistic propers. A lesson 'for the epistle', taken from Acts or the Old Testament, rather than one of the New Testament epistles, is appointed for a small number of days in the 1662 BCP.

Erastian A convenient though elastic term for the view of church-state relations which holds that civil authority is in the last resort supreme in ecclesiastical matters, especially in a state that professes one religion. It is derived from Thomas Erastus, who in 1589 published a book against the opposite view as held by extreme Calvinists.

established, establishment In an ecclesiastical context, establishment refers to the civil laws and conventions by which the state exercises control over one church but not others. The only church in the Anglican Communion that is now established in this sense is the Church of England, notably with respect to the appointment of diocesan bishops and certain other officials.

Eucharist (Greek *eucharistia*, 'thanksgiving') An ancient name for the service also called Holy Communion, the Lord's Supper, and the Mass. The word has been widely revived and now appears in most current Prayer Books.

eucharistic prayer A name used in many modern Prayer Books for the central prayer in the service of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion, recited by the celebrant beginning with the PREFACE and SANCTUS.

Evangelical In current Anglican use, the wing or party of the church that emphasizes teaching and practice characteristic of the (especially Calvinist) Reformation: the sole sufficiency of scripture, personal conversion, atonement by the blood of Christ, and a correspondingly 'low' view of sacraments and the ordained ministry. The term is often paired with '(Anglo-)Catholic' as its opposite.

Evensong The medieval English name for the office of Vespers, used in the 1549 BCP for the office that later Prayer Books call Evening Prayer. The old name has been kept in popular use, especially since the nineteenth century, particularly for services where much of the office is sung.

exhortation In general, an address in set form that calls on the congregation to perform rightly some act of worship, or to fulfil their duty as Christians. In the 1662 BCP, the address at Morning and Evening Prayer that begins, 'Dearly beloved brethren, the Scripture moveth us' is an example. In Holy Communion there are two pairs of alternative exhortations; the one known as the 'Short Exhortation' begins 'Ye that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins'. The services of Holy Baptism, Holy Matrimony, and the Visitation of the Sick also include exhortations.

Exsultet The 'Easter proclamation', traditionally sung by a deacon standing near the paschal candle at the EASTER VIGIL. Its name comes from the opening word in Latin ('*Rejoice* now, heavenly hosts'). The spelling *Exultet* is also found.

Faithful, Mass of the The second half of the Eucharist, beginning with the OFFERTORY; see CATECHUMENS, MASS OF THE

farce (Latin *farcire,* 'to stuff') In ecclesiastical use, to farce is to interpolate, especially by inserting words into a liturgical text. In this technical sense, the KYRIES that follow each of the Ten Commandments in the 1662 BCP may be said to have been farced by the addition of 'and incline our hearts to keep this law'. The word can also refer to unauthorized expansions of authorized prayers.

feria A word now used for any day that is neither a Sunday nor a holy day. Thus 'the ferial office' means the office as it is to be recited on ordinary weekdays. Originally, however, the Latin *feria* referred to a festal day.

filioque (Latin, 'and the Son') A word added to the NICENE CREED, to make explicit the western doctrine of the 'double procession', according to which the Holy Spirit 'proceedeth from the Father *and the Son*'. Because it was not part of the creed as definitively formulated, the eastern churches have never accepted the so-called '*filioque* clause'. Partly for that reason, some Anglicans have been disposed to omit it, and an alternative text that does so is provided in *Common Worship* for use 'on suitable ecumenical occasions'.

font The receptacle for the water used in baptism, often though not always a permanent fixture in a church building. Its size and placement have varied greatly in Christian history.

fraction A liturgical ceremony, also called 'the breaking of the bread', performed by the celebrant at the Eucharist. Its usual position in modern Prayer Books is immediately before the distribution of communion. The rubrics of the 1662 BCP, however, order the bread to be broken just before the WORDS OF INSTITUTION, as one of the MANUAL ACTS.

Gallican A term used broadly to refer to liturgical forms prevalent in the western church, other than the Roman rite, from which they differ in several respects, and which largely replaced them beginning in the ninth century. See also MOZARABIC.

General Thanksgiving The first of the thanksgivings in the group of prayers appointed in the 1662 BCP for use before the concluding prayers at Morning or Evening Prayer or the Litany. It begins, 'Almighty God, Father of all mercies, we thine unworthy servants do give thee most humble and hearty thanks'. Bishop Edward Reynolds was the author.

Gloria in excelsis A hymn, also known as the 'greater doxology', named from the Latin of its first words, '*Glory be* to God *on high*'. In the 1549 BCP it occupies what had been its traditional position near the beginning of Holy Communion, but in 1552 it was moved to the end, before the blessing. Most though not all modern Anglican eucharistic rites return it to the earlier position; some also allow it to be used as one of the CANTICLES in the Daily Office.

Gloria Patri (Latin, 'glory be to the Father') The 'lesser doxology', a Trinitarian ascription of praise named from its opening words. In Anglican liturgy it has traditionally been recited at the end of each psalm and CANTICLE (except TE DEUM) that is said or sung at Morning and Evening Prayer.

Gloria tibi (Latin, 'glory to you') A short acclamation said or sung between the announcement and the reading of the liturgical gospel at the Eucharist. According to the 1549 BCP 'the clerks and people shall answer, "Glory be to thee, O Lord." ' The provision was dropped in 1552, but has been restored in many modern Prayer Books, some of which also appoint an acclamation of thanks or praise after the reading.

godparents Sponsors, 'sureties', or witnesses to baptism, who take special responsibility for the Christian formation of the newly baptized. The 1662 BCP prescribes that 'there shall be for every Male-child to be baptized two Godfathers and one Godmother; and for every Female, one Godfather and two Godmothers'.

Good Friday The Friday before Easter. Successive Prayer Books have always numbered it among the days of fasting and abstinence. The 1662 BCP provides a proper of the usual kind, but modern Prayer Books often include special liturgies that restore some of the older observances, such as the 'Solemn Adoration of Christ Crucified' and communion from the reserved sacrament.

gospel 'The (liturgical) gospel', considered as a constituent part of Holy Communion, is a passage from one of the four New Testament gospels, read as the last of the lessons. In Anglican usage the reader must be a deacon or presbyter. A gospel, in this sense, is always included in a eucharistic proper. See also epistle.

Grace, Collect for The second of the two invariable collects at Morning Prayer in the 1662 BCP.

Grace, the A common name for the sentence that begins, 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God', derived from 2 Corinthians 13:14. In the Elizabethan Prayer Book of 1559 it appears at the end of the Litany, and in 1662 it was added following the Prayer of St Chrysostom at the conclusion of Morning and Evening Prayer.

Great Litany A name used in some recent Prayer Books for what in the classical BCP is termed simply 'the Litany', the reason being that they include other prayers, usually shorter, in litany form.

Holy Communion The traditional Anglican name for the service also called the Lord's Supper and, especially in recent Prayer Books, the Eucharist. It derives ultimately from 1 Corinthians 10:16, where the Greek *koinonia,* 'participation', is translated as *communio* in Latin.

Holy Saturday The day before Easter. The 1662 BCP calls it 'Easter Even' and provides a proper for Holy Communion, but the rubrics of some modern Prayer Books, including the 1979 American BCP and the 1989 Southern Africa *Anglican Prayer Book*, follow the old tradition that no celebration of the Eucharist takes place on Holy Saturday.

Holy Thursday In Anglican usage, a name for Ascension Day. The Thursday before Easter ('Holy Thursday' in some other traditions) is Maundy Thursday.

Holy Week The week that precedes Easter, beginning with Palm Sunday and including Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday.

Homilies, First and Second Books of Two collections of authorized sermons, intended to guide the form and content of preaching in the reformed Church of England. Cranmer collected the twelve sermons published in the first book (1547) and wrote several of them. The second book, with twenty sermons, mostly by Bishop John Jewel, appeared in 1562. One more sermon was added later.

Hours of Prayer Also 'canonical hours', the times for reciting the seven daily offices of prayer, which are themselves referred to as 'hours'. The first of these, in the traditional scheme, comprised matins and Lauds, counted as one hour, followed by the four 'little hours' of Prime, Terce, Sext, and None; then Vespers, and lastly Compline.

Humble Access, Prayer of The prayer that begins with the words, 'We do not presume to come to this thy Table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness'. It alludes to Mark 7:24–30 and Matthew 15:21–28, and was composed for the 1548 'Order of the Communion', from which it passed to the BCP. The name comes from the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637. It is included, at different places and often optionally, in some eucharistic rites of modern Prayer Books.

ICET The International Consultation on English Texts.

incumbent The ordained person who has charge of a parish. In the Church of England, the incumbent may be a rector, vicar, or curate-in-charge.

injunction An order or instruction issued by ecclesiastical authority to the clergy, and sometimes also to the laity.

institution narrative That part of a eucharistic prayer which narrates Christ's actions and words at the Last Supper, by which he is understood to have instituted the Eucharist. See also words of institution.

Interim Rite An order for Holy Communion consisting of the components of the 1662 rite rearranged to follow the 1549 sequence. It was widely adopted in the Church of England after the Prayer Book revisions proposed in 1927 and 1928 had failed, as an approximation to the form future revision would most likely take.

introit A psalm, or part of a psalm, chanted at the opening of a eucharistic rite. The first BCP maintained this very ancient practice by providing a whole psalm for each Sunday and holy day (though without the accompanying antiphon customary in the medieval rite). These introits were done away with in the re-

vision of 1552, but modern Prayer Books generally acknowledge a widespread if informal revival, by permitting a psalm or hymn to be sung at the entrance of the ministers.

invitatory Used broadly, this word refers to any invitation to prayer. More specifically it is a name for the VENITE, which together with its variable ANTIPHON invited the praying of the Daily Office. A rubric in the 1549 BCP uses 'invitatory' to refer to (and prohibit) this antiphon alone. Some modern Prayer Books refer to the VENITE (and JUBILATE) as the Invitatory Psalm(s) and provide seasonal antiphons.

Jubilate Psalm 100, named from the Latin of its first words, '*O be joyful* in the Lord'. In the 1662 BCP it is an alternative to the BENEDICTUS following the second lesson at Morning Prayer. Some modern Prayer Books make it an alternative to the VENITE.

kairos (Greek, 'right or proper time') A moment or occasion that calls for decision or action; the proper time or time appointed. *Kairos* in this sense is often contrasted with *chronos,* which refers to time as undifferentiated flow or duration.

kalendar The same word as CALENDAR. The spelling (from *kalends,* the first day of the month in the ancient Roman calendar) appears in early BCPs and is sometimes still used, to distinguish the church calendar from the civil one.

Kindred and Affinity, Table of A list of those relatives with whom marriage may not be contracted, which has usually been printed at the end of the BCP. The prohibited relationships are established by descent (kindred), marriage (affinity), or both in combination. Originally drawn up by Archbishop Matthew Parker in 1563, the table was adopted in the CANONS of 1604.

kontakion A hymn in several strophes, sung in the eastern church at the eucharistic liturgy and in most of the offices. One such hymn, which begins 'Give rest, O Christ, to your servant with your saints', has been adopted in the funeral services of several recent Anglican Prayer Books.

Kyrie The first word of a short Greek prayer *Kurie eleêson*, 'Lord, have mercy', used in Christian liturgy from very early times. The western church added 'Christ, have mercy', and various combinations and repetitions of the two phrases were used, notably at the beginning of the Mass. The 1549 BCP follows this tradition, with a ninefold *Kyrie* in English. Later revisions substituted recitation of the Ten Commandments, each answered by an expanded *Kyrie*. Following unofficial revival of the traditional use, many modern Prayer Books permit or prescribe some form of *Kyrie*, in English or Greek, at the opening of their eucharistic rites.

Laetare A name for the fourth Sunday in LENT, derived from the beginning of the Latin INTROIT. The corresponding names in Anglican usage are 'Refreshment Sunday' and 'MOTHERING SUNDAY'.

Lambeth Conference A gathering of bishops of the Anglican Communion at the invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, first held in 1867 and at roughly ten-year intervals thereafter. The name is taken from Lambeth Palace, the Archbishop's residence in London, where the first nine Conferences met. The Lambeth Conference is not a synod, and its status and function continue to evolve.

Lammas Day The first day of August, so designated in the calendar of the 1662 BCP. The name is derived from 'loaf-Mass', probably in allusion to the blessing of bread made from the first grain of the harvest season.

Latitudinarian The name of a party or movement originating in the seventeenth century, influenced by the Enlightenment. Latitudinarians appealed to reason in matters of religion, and as a result advocated moderation and distrusted extreme positions.

lectionary (1) A liturgical book containing the texts of the biblical passages to be read in services of worship. The 'Epistolary' or epistle-book and the 'Evangeliary' or gospel-book are lectionaries in this (older) sense. (2) A printed table in which the psalms and biblical lessons appointed for reading at the Eucharist and the daily offices are listed according to the church calendar.

Lent The penitential season prior to EASTER, traditionally marked by fasting, almsgiving, and renewed prayer. It begins on ASH WEDNESDAY and lasts for forty (week-) days. The season from SEPTUAGESIMA through SHROVE TUESDAY was at one time called Pre-Lent.

lex orandi lex credendi A slogan of unknown origin and elastic application, which posits a correspondence between the 'rule of praying' and the 'rule of believing'. Exactly what the two 'rules' amount to, and whether their relationship is reciprocal or one-way, remains unstated.

Lincoln Judgement The ruling given in 1890 by E.W. Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury, on a complaint filed against the bishop of Lincoln, Edward King, for having committed a number of offences by following RITUALIST practice in celebrating Holy Communion. The judgement had a significant effect on subsequent interpretations of the BCP rubrics.

litany (Greek *litana*, 'prayers, supplications') A form of prayer in dialogue, in which biddings or petitions, said or sung by a minister, are answered by the people with a fixed response such as 'Hear our prayer'. In Anglican usage, 'the Litany', not further specified, refers to a prayer in this form first issued by Cranmer in 1544 and included in the 1549 and later BCPs. These direct it to be said or sung after Morning Prayer on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Sundays ('Litany days'), and at ordinations. The names of its components are:

the invocations; the suffrages ('deprecations', 'obsecrations', 'intercessions', and 'supplications'); Kyries; and the Lord's Prayer, followed by a further 'supplication', versicles and responses, and the Prayer of St Chrysostom.

Liturgical Movement A largely scholarly undertaking, now ecumenical, that originated within Roman Catholicism at the beginning of the twentieth century, emphasizing the participation of the laity in worship, especially the Eucharist, and the recovery of ancient (pre-medieval) forms of liturgy. The reforms it favored were given a major impetus at the Second Vatican Council, and its influence on Anglicans has been felt in all the Prayer Book revisions since then.

liturgy (Greek *leitourgia*, generally any 'public work') In the Greek Old Testament, Temple worship; in Christian use, any of the prescribed, public services of the church as contrasted with private devotions. 'Liturgy' can be used as well for the written texts according to which these services are conducted. The BCP as a whole has sometimes been referred to as the (English) Liturgy. In a more technical sense, which is usual in the eastern churches, 'the Liturgy' is the Eucharist.

Lord's Supper, The The name favoured by the reformers for what the 1549 BCP accordingly names 'The Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass'.

Magnificat The Song of Mary (Luke 1:46–55), so named from the Latin of its opening words, 'My soul *doth magnify* the Lord'. It has been the canticle used at Vespers from ancient times, and is appointed in the 1662 and earlier BCPs to be said or sung after the first lesson at Evening Prayer, with the Cantate Domino as an alternative. Modern Prayer Books for the most part maintain the traditional position, though alternatives are usually provided.

manual acts The sequence of five ceremonial actions which the 1662 Prayer Book rubrics direct the celebrant at Holy Communion to perform while reciting the Prayer of Consecration: taking the paten in hand, breaking the bread, laying a hand on all the bread, taking the cup, and laying a hand on every vessel in which there is wine to be consecrated. By extension, the phrase is used for any gestures that accompany the eucharistic prayer.

Mass The English word that corresponds to the Latin *missa,* the name usually (though for reasons that are not entirely clear) used in the western church for the Eucharist. The 1549 BCP acknowledged that this service was 'commonly called the Mass', but beginning in 1552 the word disappeared from Anglican use and has never been officially restored, although in the nineteenth century it began to be favoured by Anglo-Catholics.

Matins (Latin *matutinus,* 'at early morning') Originally the name of the earliest of the daily Hours of Prayer. The 1549 BCP uses 'Mattins' for the office which began in 1552 to be called Morning Prayer. Since the nineteenth century, if not before, the two names have been interchangeable in popular Anglican use.

Maundy Thursday The old English name, still general in Anglican usage, for the Thursday before Easter. It comes from Latin *mandatum novum,* 'a new commandment' (John 13:34), in the first antiphon at the foot-washing ceremony at Mass on this day.

metropolitan An ancient title for a bishop who exercises authority throughout an ecclesiastical province – normally, the bishop of the civil 'metropolis' or principal city. It is part of the official style of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, while in the Anglican Church of Canada the archbishop of each ecclesiastical province, who has no fixed see, is its metropolitan. The term has also been used for the chief bishops of the Anglican Communion now more commonly referred to as primates.

Missal A liturgical book containing the texts and directions needed by the celebrant for saying or singing Mass (*missa*). A volume in which the corresponding material from the Prayer Book is printed for the celebrant's use is often referred to as a Missal.

mixed chalice A term used to refer to the custom of mixing water with the eucharistic wine. See 'usages'.

Mothering Sunday A popular name, adopted in some recent Prayer Books, for the fourth Sunday in Lent (also 'Laetare Sunday' and 'Refreshment Sunday'). Its origin has not been firmly established.

Mozarabic The usual though not altogether accurate name for the liturgical forms used in the Iberian Peninsula from earliest times until they were replaced by the Roman rite beginning in the eleventh century. They have close affinities with Gallican rites. The Prayer Book of the Spanish Reformed Episcopal Church incorporates a number of Mozarabic features.

Nicene Creed The usual name for the creed, first formulated at the Council of Nicea in 325, which in a somewhat modified form has long been recited in eucharistic worship. It is so appointed in Anglican Prayer Books, at least on major holy days, either following the gospel or, now more commonly, after the sermon. Until 1979 the American BCP allowed it as an alternative to the Apostles' Creed at Morning Prayer.

Nonconformist Originally, one who refused to conform to the practice of the Church of England, especially in regard to liturgy, without necessarily objecting to official teaching. Often, however, the word has the same meaning as dissenter.

Nonjurors Those who refused to swear the oath of allegiance to William III and Mary II in 1689 and after-

wards, on the ground of having previously sworn allegiance to the exiled James II. In England they numbered nine bishops and some four hundred priests, who were expelled from their posts by act of Parliament. There and in Scotland, Nonjuring bishops maintained an episcopal succession.

Nunc dimittis A CANTICLE, the Song of Simeon (Luke 2:29–32), named from its opening words in the Latin Bible ('Lord, *now lettest thou* thy servant depart in peace'). In the 1662 BCP it is to be said or sung after the second lesson at Evening Prayer, with DEUS MISEREATUR as an alternative. This is usually the position of the *Nunc dimittis* in modern Anglican liturgies, although it is sometimes moved to COMPLINE, the office to which it had belonged before the Reformation.

oblation By derivation, 'an offering' and more specifically that which is offered in sacrifice. The application of the word with respect to Holy Communion has been a matter of controversy among Anglicans. It appears at two points only in the rite of 1662: in the Prayer of CONSECRATION, which refers to Christ's 'one oblation of himself once offered'; and in the Prayer for the CHURCH MILITANT, which mentions 'alms and oblations', most probably meaning, by both words, offerings of money. The name 'Prayer of Oblation' is often used for the first of the two alternative prayers after communion, which includes the words 'here we offer and present . . . our selves, our souls and bodies'. Later Anglican eucharistic liturgies, beginning with the Scottish Communion Office, have included an explicit offering of the eucharistic elements to God.

obsecrations See LITANY.

occasional offices Those 'other rites and ceremonies of the church', such as baptism, matrimony, and the burial of the dead, which are conducted only as occasion may require, in contrast with the church's regular (daily or weekly) services.

octave The eighth day (Latin *octava dies*) after a liturgical feast, counted inclusively and thus falling on the same day of the week. In this sense January 1 is the octave of Christmas. The term is also used to refer to the whole eight-day period, considered as an extension of the feast on which it begins.

offertory That part of a eucharistic rite during which gifts are collected and presented. It is usually so named in the rubrics of modern Prayer Books, which sometimes explicitly include the eucharistic bread and wine, as well as any alms, in referring to that which is offered. 'Offertory' was also the name of a short ANTHEM sung during this action, to which Prayer Book 'offertory sentences' functionally correspond. By extension, the collection of money at Morning or Evening Prayer is commonly called the offertory.

office (Latin *officium,* 'duty') In its broad sense, any 'service' (of worship), as in 'the burial office' or 'the Communion office'. 'Divine Office' and 'DAILY OFFICE' refer more specifically to a sequence of services, each assigned to a certain time of day, such as the HOURS OF PRAYER.

'Order of the Communion, The' A form issued in 1548, in English, which was to be interpolated into the Latin Mass between the priest's communion and that of the people. It includes an exhortation and address to those about to receive the sacrament, and what would later be known as the General Confession, COMFORTABLE WORDS, and Prayer of HUMBLE ACCESS, followed by the WORDS OF ADMINISTRATION and the blessing. All these were later incorporated into the eucharistic rite in the Prayer Books of 1549 and 1552.

orders, holy Beginning with the first English ORDINAL (1550), Anglicans have recognized only 'these orders of ministers in Christ's church: bishops, priests, and deacons'. The 'minor orders', including that of SUBDEACON, were done away with, so that a 'clerk in holy orders' is a deacon, a priest, or a bishop.

ordinal A book containing the order of service for ordinations; hence, in Anglican usage, the section of a Prayer Book that sets out 'the Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons'. These three ordination rites are always distinct, but provision is usually made for ordaining deacons and priests at the same service, and *An Anglican Prayer Book* (Province of Southern Africa) takes this practice to be the norm.

ordinary (1) Those parts of a eucharistic rite which do not vary according to the CALENDAR, as contrasted with those which do (the PROPER). The eucharistic prayer has usually been reckoned as part of the ordinary in this sense, but the provision of several such prayers in contemporary liturgies, including many Prayer Books, has tended to blur the difference between 'ordinary' and 'proper' elements. (2) An ecclesiastical officer who exercises immediate rather than derived jurisdiction. In Anglican polity the word refers, as a rule, to the BISHOP of a diocese.

'Ornaments Rubric' The usual name for a directive requiring the 'ornaments of the church, and of the ministers thereof' to be those used 'by the authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth'. It first appeared in the Elizabethan Prayer Book of 1559, at the beginning of the order for Morning Prayer. Because it does not specify the 'ornaments' it prescribes, its exact interpretation has been a matter of dispute ever since.

Oxford Movement A movement in the Church of England opposed to what its adherents saw as liberal, ERASTIAN, and 'ultra-Protestant' tendencies. It gave rise later to RITUALIST developments, and ANGLO-CATHOLICS regard it as inaugurating their position.

Palm Sunday The Sunday before EASTER Day, so named from the elaborate rite for the blessing of palms that had developed in the Middle Ages. The ceremonies were abolished in England even before the first BCP, and the name was not used officially by Anglicans until the twentieth century. Some recent Prayer Books restore elements of the traditional observance.

parochial (Greek *paroikia,* 'district') Having to do with a parish.

paschal An adjective derived from *pascha,* the Greek form of an Aramaic word meaning 'Passover'. In Christian use 'paschal' means 'of or pertaining to EASTER'.

Passion Sunday The fifth Sunday of LENT, so designated in some Prayer Books. Passiontide, correspondingly, is the last two weeks of Lent. In some recent Prayer Books, the sixth Sunday of Lent (the next before Easter) is observed as both 'The Sunday of the Passion' and PALM SUNDAY, with a Eucharist that includes a 'liturgy of the Palms' as well as the reading of one of the gospel narratives of Jesus' passion.

paten The dish used in the western church for the eucharistic bread. Its size has varied, depending on the type of bread and the usual number of communicants. The corresponding vessel for the wine is called the CHALICE.

Peace, Collect for The name for the first of the two unvarying collects at Morning Prayer, as well as for the corresponding collect at Evening Prayer.

peace, the An exchange of greetings among ministers and people that takes place (formally or informally) in the eucharistic liturgy, and sometimes at other liturgical services. It represents a revival of the ancient 'kiss of peace' or *pax.* At the Eucharist it usually comes immediately before the OFFERTORY and is introduced with a VERSICLE and response.

penitential psalms A traditional group of seven psalms (6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, and 143), often included in PRIMERS and other devotional works.

Pentecost (Greek, 'fiftieth [day]') In the New Testament, the name for Shavuoth, the Feast of Weeks, a spring harvest festival celebrated fifty days after Passover. It was on this day that the Holy Spirit descended upon the apostles (Acts 2:1–4), and thus it became the name for the Christian feast celebrating that event, observed on the Sunday fifty days after Easter. The old English name of the feast is WHITSUNDAY.

Phos hilaron A hymn sung during the lamp-lighting in the eastern office that corresponds to Vespers in the western church. Many modern Prayer Books include it at the beginning of Evening Prayer, in a translation with 'O joyful light' or 'O gracious light' as the opening words, or in a metrical version.

Pie A late-medieval English name (also 'Pica') for the directory that set out instructions for the saying of services and the arrangement of their variable parts. The preface of the 1549 BCP complains of 'the number and hardness of the rules called the pie'.

pontifical An adjective derived from 'pontiff' (Latin *pontifex,* 'bridge-builder', a chief priest). It is used substantively for the liturgical book containing the instructions and prayers for services at which a bishop presides, such as confirmation and ordinations. A 'pontifical Mass' is one celebrated by a bishop, and 'pontificals' are the vestments and other insignia peculiar to bishops, many of which have been revived in Anglican use.

porrectio* (or *traditio*) *instrumentorum (Latin, 'handing-over of tools'). The ceremonial delivery, at an ordination, of objects associated with the order of ministry being conferred. In the first Anglican ordinal, the New Testament was to be presented to a newly ordained deacon, a Bible and a chalice to a priest, and a pastoral staff to a bishop. The 1552 Ordinal omitted the pastoral staff and the chalice. Some recent Anglican Prayer Books prescribe or allow the delivery of chalice and paten at ordinations to the priesthood, and some have restored the pastoral staff for new bishops.

post communion In general, any item in a eucharistic liturgy that follows the communion of the people. Thus the 1549 BCP provides some twenty SENTENCES for what it terms the 'post Communion', and the (usually unvarying) prayers that come at this point in later Anglican rites have been called post-communion prayers. Some recent Prayer Books restore an older practice by providing a proper post communion, usually quite brief, for each Sunday and holy day.

preces (Latin 'prayers') In Anglican use, petitionary VERSICLES, such as 'O Lord, open thou our lips', with their responses, especially when these are said at the beginning of an OFFICE or leading up to the recitation of a COLLECT.

preface (eucharistic) The opening part of the central prayer in a eucharistic rite, beginning with the SURSUM CORDA and introducing the SANCTUS. Additions to this prayer used only on particular occasions are termed proper prefaces. The 1662 BCP provides proper prefaces for five feasts, to be used throughout their OCTAVES, and one for Trinity Sunday. Modern Prayer Books usually have many more, including proper prefaces for seasons, saints, and sometimes for Sundays as contrasted with weekday FERIAS.

prefaces of the BCP Cranmer's preface to the 1549 BCP, which begins, 'There was never any thing by the wit of man so well devised', appears in the 1662 BCP with the title 'Concerning the Service of the

Church'. The preface that precedes this ('It hath been the wisdom of the Church of England . . . ') was composed for the new book by Bishop Robert Sanderson. Both these prefaces are sometimes included in modern Prayer Books together with newer ones of their own.

presbyter The English form of the Greek noun *presbuteros,* used in the New Testament with the meaning 'elder' (e.g. Acts 11:30). 'Priest' is a worn-down form of the same word. In the English Bible, however, 'priest' is the usual translation of *hiereus,* a word with sacerdotal connotations that never designates Christian ministers. From the sixteenth century onwards, 'presbyter' has for that reason been judged by many to be the preferable term. Modern Prayer Books frequently use 'presbyter' and 'priest' interchangeably, in the ORDINAL for example.

presbyterian A form of church government by elders or PRESBYTERS, as contrasted with both 'episcopal' governance by BISHOPS and 'congregational' governance. The polity that John Calvin advocated was presbyterian, and many churches in the REFORMED tradition follow it, among them the established Church of Scotland.

Presentation of Christ in the Temple A name, now the usual one, for the feast commemorating the events narrated in Luke 2:22–40, which is observed on 2 February. The 1662 BCP also gives its older name, the Purification of St Mary the Virgin. For the date, see under PURIFICATION.

president, presider The priest (or bishop) who conducts and presides at the Eucharist or, sometimes, another sacramental service. In this sense it is nearly synonymous with CELEBRANT. On the argument that everyone who takes part in the eucharistic celebration is a celebrant, some now find 'president' preferable, and it has been adopted in the rubrics of recent Prayer Books.

primate In current Anglican usage, a designation for the senior, presiding, or otherwise chief BISHOP of an autonomous Anglican PROVINCE, in whose official title, however, the word may or may not appear. In keeping with a much older usage, the formal title 'primate' belongs to the Archbishops of York (Church of England) and Dublin (Church of Ireland) as well as to the Archbishops of Canterbury and Armagh, who, in the newer sense of the word, are respectively 'the' primates of those churches.

primer A devotional book for the private use of lay people, based on the liturgical offices and containing litanies and certain psalms. An authorized primer in English was published in 1549. Queen Elizabeth I issued a manual of (Latin) prayers, mainly derived from the BCP, which continued this tradition.

Primus (Latin *primus inter pares*, 'first among equals') The title adopted in the eighteenth century by the NONJURING Scottish bishops for the president of the episcopal college.Today the Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church is numbered among the PRIMATES of the Anglican Communion, but is not a METROPOLITAN, and the office is not attached to any one of the church's episcopal sees.

procession Properly, a formal act of worship, often conducted as a special supplication in times of need or distress. Processions 'about the church or churchyard' were prohibited at the beginning of the English Reformation. In 1559, however, an exception was made that appears to refer to the ROGATION DAY procession with its 'beating of the bounds', and there is evidence that the LITANY was sung in procession on these and other occasions.

proper In general, a designation for parts of a liturgical service that are used only at specified times. Thus Morning and Evening Prayer, as recited on a particular festival, may include the 'proper psalms' for that occasion, instead of the ones that would be read 'in course' according to the ordinary cycle. Similarly a 'proper preface' at the Eucharist is an addition to the otherwise unvarying introduction to the *Sanctus*. An important observance will have assigned to it 'propers' (sometimes, a 'proper') that include a COLLECT, EPISTLE, and GOSPEL for the Eucharist; there may also be an Old Testament lesson, a psalm, sentences, a Prayer over the Gifts, and a post communion.

province In Anglican usage, the word has come to have two meanings. (1) Each of the autonomous ecclesial bodies or churches that belong to the ANGLICAN COMMUNION is commonly called, as such, a province. Some of these include the word in their official names, for example the Church of the Province of South East Asia. The chief bishop of a province in this sense is called its PRIMATE, at least informally. (2) Within some of these churches there are 'internal' provinces, each comprising a number of geographically contiguous DIOCESES. The Church of England has two (Canterbury and York); the Anglican Church of Australia five; and so on. The chief bishop of a province in this second sense (which is the older of the two) is usually called an ARCHBISHOP and sometimes a METROPOLITAN. It should be noted that in those churches which do not have 'internal' provinces, the two meanings coincide, and the (one) chief bishop is also the primate.

Psalter In general, a name for the biblical book of Psalms; more specifically, a separate volume containing the Psalms, meant for liturgical use. In this second sense the word is also used for that section of nearly every Prayer Book which prints the psalms for recitation in worship.

Psalter collects Brief prayers that follow, and make reference to, each of the psalms in a liturgical Psalter. The *Book of Alternative Services* (Anglican Church of Canada) includes 'Psalm Prayers' in its Psalter.

Purification, Feast of the In the 1662 BCP, the feast of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple is said to

be 'commonly called the Purification of Saint Mary the Virgin'. According to Leviticus 12:3–4, a woman who has borne a male child is to appear in the Temple after forty days to be purified; thus the feast is observed forty days after Christmas, on 2 February (see Luke 2:22–40).

Puritan The name given to those who, especially in the seventeenth century, pressed for a more thorough reformation of the Church of England and its BCP, emphasizing the supremacy of scripture, a Calvinist theology, and non-liturgical worship. Recent historians have begun to refer to this party using the contemporary term 'the godly'.

Purity, Collect for The prayer beginning 'Almighty God, unto whom all hearts be open', which stands at the beginning of Holy Communion, following the Lord's Prayer, in the 1662 BCP and at a corresponding place in most other Anglican eucharistic liturgies. It may have been composed by Gregory, eighth-century abbot of Canterbury. *Common Worship* renames it the Prayer of Preparation.

Quadragesima A name for the forty days of LENT, and sometimes also for the first Sunday in Lent. See QUINQUAGESIMA.

Quadrilateral, Lambeth See CHICAGO-LAMBETH QUADRILATERAL.

Quicunque vult The opening words in Latin ('*Whosoever will* be saved'), and hence the title, of the confession of faith commonly called the ATHANASIAN CREED.

Quinquagesima A name, from the Latin for 'fiftieth', used for the Sunday before LENT, which falls fifty days before EASTER by inclusive reckoning. Perhaps by loose analogy, the Sunday before Quinquagesima came to be called Sexagesima, and the one before that Septuagesima, although it is 64 days before Easter, not 70. These three Sundays are so designated in the 1662 BCP, but the names have been dropped from modern Prayer Books.

recusant The term used for Roman Catholics who, especially after the 1559 Act of UNIFORMITY, refused to accept the 'Elizabethan Settlement' of religion, including the use of the BCP.

red-letter days A common name for the most important holy days. Prayer Book calendars printed in two colors list these days in red, whereas ordinary black ink is used for minor holy days. The calendar of *Common Worship* further distinguishes its (literally) red-letter days into 'Principal Feasts and Other Principal Holy Days' and 'Festivals'.

Reformed A church or practice that follows the Calvinist (rather than the Lutheran or some other) tradition flowing from the Protestant Reformation.

requiem A short name for a Eucharist celebrated at or in connection with a funeral. The name derives from the INTROIT of the Latin Mass for the dead, *Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine,* 'Rest eternal grant to them, O Lord'.

reservation The practice of setting aside consecrated bread (and wine) after the Eucharist, either so that this 'reserved sacrament' may be taken to the sick, or for devotional purposes, or both. Its legality under the rubrics of the 1662 BCP was for some time a matter of dispute. Modern Prayer Books usually, if implicitly, recognize the practice so far as ministry to the sick is concerned.

response See VERSICLE.

rite, ritual Contemporary liturgical scholarship commonly contrasts 'rite', as referring to the words that constitute a service of worship, with 'ceremony', which refers to what is done and the manner of doing it. In less technical use the two terms are more or less synonymous, as they evidently are in the full title of the 1662 BCP when it mentions 'other rites and ceremonies of the church'.

ritualist (1) In the eighteenth century, a scholar specializing in the study of liturgy. (2) Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, a member of the high church party favouring ceremonial practices, derived either from pre-Reformation use or from contemporary Roman Catholicism, that were more elaborate than had been customary in Anglican services.

rochet A long white garment, probably derived from the ALB, but worn without a cincture at the waist. Among Anglicans it is used (only) by bishops, and as such it appears in the rubrics of the 1662 BCP and other Prayer Books.

Rogation Days In Anglican use, the three weekdays before ASCENSION Day. The 1662 BCP lists them among the 'days of fasting, or abstinence', and some modern Prayer Books provide propers for them. The preceding Sunday is sometimes called Rogation Sunday.

rood An old English word meaning 'cross', used especially for a crucifix set above the screen which often separated the NAVE of a medieval church from the CHANCEL, and which was thus called the roodscreen.

rubric In liturgical books, an instruction to do, sing, or say something. These 'stage directions' were written in red (Latin *ruber*), to distinguish them from words meant to be spoken or sung. They were later printed so, at times, although the rubrics of most Prayer Books for ordinary use have been black, the difference being marked by italicization instead.

sacrament According to the classical Anglican definition, 'an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us, ordained by Christ himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof'. Of the seven liturgical acts identified as sacraments in the Middle Ages,

the Church of England retained two, baptism and the Lord's Supper, 'as generally necessary to salvation'. Of the other five, 'commonly called sacraments' according to the ARTICLES OF RELIGION, matrimony, confirmation, and ordination have always had a place in the BCP, while many modern Prayer Books also include rites for the UNCTION (anointing) of the sick, and for confession or 'reconciliation of a penitent'.

sanctorale The 'year of the saints', that part of the liturgical calendar which is concerned with the commemorations of saints, and also days of national or ecclesiastical significance celebrated on fixed dates. It is the counterpart of the TEMPORALE.

Sanctus (Latin, 'holy') A hymn beginning 'Holy, holy, holy', based on the cry of the seraphim in Isaiah 6:3. It has been used at the Eucharist from ancient times, and is also incorporated into the TE DEUM. See also BENEDICTUS.

Sarum The old city of Salisbury in England. 'Sarum use' refers to the local variation of Roman liturgical practices used at Salisbury Cathedral and also, by the end of the fifteenth century, in most of the rest of England and in Wales and Ireland.

Sealed Books Printed copies of the BCP, certified under the Great Seal of England as 'true and perfect' after being examined and compared with the ANNEXED BOOK by commissioners appointed for the purpose. The 1662 Act of Uniformity ordered these standard copies to be 'kept and preserved in safety for ever' by cathedral and collegiate churches, the courts at Westminster, and the Tower of London.

see (Latin *sedes,* 'seat') A bishop's cathedra, throne, or teaching chair, and by extension the office or jurisdiction of a BISHOP in a particular DIOCESE. A see in this second sense commonly takes its name from the diocese, as in 'the see of Canterbury was vacant'.

sentence A short biblical text used liturgically. In the 1662 BCP, prescribed sentences are to be said before Morning and Evening Prayer; at Holy Communion, one or more 'offertory sentences' are to be said or sung during the collection of alms; and the burial office opens with three sentences and provides others at the COMMITTAL.

Septuagesima, Sexagesima see QUINQUAGESIMA.

Series 1, Series 2, Series 3 Three successive collections of services, authorized for experimental or trial use in the Church of England as alternatives to the 1662 BCP, that led to the publication of the *Alternative Service Book 1980*. 'Series 1' (1966) resembled the proposed Prayer Book of 1928. The services in 'Series 2' (1967–68) still made use of 'Tudor' English, but those in 'Series 3' (1973–78) were composed in a modern idiom.

Shrove Tuesday The last day before the beginning of LENT, named from the shriving (confession and absolution) that took place then.

si quis (Latin, 'if anyone') The formal act of giving opportunity to allege an impediment to marriage or ordination. The presiding minister announces that if anyone knows a valid reason why the service should not go forward, it is to be declared. In the case of marriage, the same opportunity is given in the publication of BANNS.

singing psalms Metrical translations or paraphrases of the biblical book of Psalms. The most popular version was that by STERNHOLD AND HOPKINS, which was often bound together with the BCP, after the 'saying psalms', i.e. COVERDALE's Psalter.

State Prayers The invariable prayers for the Sovereign and for the Royal Family ordered at Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, and Holy Communion in the 1662 and earlier BCPs.

State Services A collective name for three services annexed to the 1662 BCP and removed in 1859. The 'state holy days' thus commemorated were the anniversaries of the frustration of the Gunpowder Plot, the martyrdom of King Charles I, and the restoration of King Charles II. The 'accession service' for the reigning sovereign is often included under the same name.

Stations of the Cross An extra-liturgical devotion centred on a series of incidents in Christ's journey to his crucifixion, especially when these are depicted on the inside walls of a church. The traditional number of stations was fourteen, of which five do not correspond to episodes in the canonical gospels. Versions of the devotion that are entirely biblical have been adopted by Anglicans, and included in the Prayer Books of some provinces.

Sternhold and Hopkins The popular name for a metrical PSALTER begun by Thomas Sternhold in 1549 and published in a complete edition (with further versifications by John Hopkins) in 1562. These 'singing psalms' were often bound together with the BCP.

subdeacon A cleric in the highest of the 'minor orders' of ministry in the medieval church, ranking below the DEACON. At the Reformation, the Church of England did not retain the minor orders, but in a solemn eucharistic liturgy the celebrant's second assistant, who reads the EPISTLE, is sometimes informally called the subdeacon, even when not ordained.

suffragan bishop There are two quite different Anglican usages of this term. (1) In an older but not yet ob-

solete sense, all the (diocesan) bishops of an ('internal') ecclesiastical province are suffragans with respect to its archbishop, whom they may be called upon to assist with their suffrage, that is, their support. (2) Within a diocese, a suffragan bishop is an assistant to the diocesan bishop. The duties, jurisdiction, and method of appointment of a suffragan bishop in this sense (now the more common one) vary from province to province. Ordinarily, however, suffragan (as contrasted with coadjutor) bishops do not automatically succeed the bishops they assist.

suffrages By derivation, prayers that seek God's favour or support. The term is used for the section of Morning and Evening Prayer that follows the creed, and especially for the series of VERSICLES and responses that begins with 'O Lord, show thy mercy upon us'. The third part of the TE DEUM as it appears in the 1662 BCP, beginning with 'O Lord, save thy people', consists of suffrages, and similarly there is a series of suffrages in the LITANY.

Summary of the Law Christ's saying about the two commandments on which 'hang all the law and the prophets' (Matthew 22:37–40), considered as a liturgical text. It was substituted for recitation of the Ten Commandments in the English Nonjurors' Communion Office of 1718, and is allowed as an alternative in several modern Prayer Books.

surplice A long, white garment with full sleeves, worn by members of the clergy and laity who have formal roles in liturgical services. In the 1552 BCP it is the one vestment prescribed for the clergy, but later revisions removed the prescription, and the wearing of the surplice became for a time a matter of heated controversy.

Sursum corda A Latin phrase which since the 1549 BCP has been translated as 'Lift up your hearts'. It is used to refer to the whole dialogue that precedes the SANCTUS in a eucharistic rite.

synaxis (Greek, 'meeting') In liturgical use, the first part of the Eucharist, including psalms, lessons, and prayer.

synod (Greek *sunodos,* 'meeting') A formal gathering of clergy and (now almost always) laity, to transact the ecclesiastical business of a diocese, province, or church, under the presidency of its bishop or primate. Every province of the Anglican Communion (including, since 1969, the Church of England) is governed by its own synod. They do not all use the term, however; the American church, for example, calls its national synod the General Convention.

table prayers A name used, especially in the eighteenth century, for the service of ANTE-COMMUNION, referring to its being read by some clergy at the Communion table rather than from the reading-desk.

Te Deum A Latin hymn to the Father and the Son, named from the Latin of its first words ('We praise *thee, O God*'). It is assigned as the first CANTICLE at Morning Prayer in the 1662 and earlier BCPs, with the BENEDICITE as an alternative. Modern Prayer Books retain it, often omitting the third part, which does not belong to the original.

temporale The components of the liturgical year observed at times that depend on the date of Easter (including Ash Wednesday, Lent, Ascension Day, and Pentecost) or, to a lesser extent, on Christmas. The word is also used for the corresponding part of the CALENDAR. See also SANCTORALE.

Thirty-nine Articles see ARTICLES OF RELIGION.

Tractarian A name, derived from the ninety *Tracts for the Times* published from 1833 to 1841, used to refer either to the OXFORD MOVEMENT which these tracts propagated, or to its early phase as contrasted with later RITUALIST and ANGLO-CATHOLIC developments.

Triduum sacrum (Latin, the 'sacred three days') The liturgical commemoration of the Last Supper and Christ's suffering and death, observed on the last three days of HOLY WEEK: MAUNDY THURSDAY, GOOD FRIDAY, and HOLY SATURDAY.

Trinity Sunday The next Sunday after WHITSUNDAY (PENTECOST), on which the mystery of one God in three Persons is celebrated. It was the custom in England, though not everywhere, to reckon the Sundays that follow as 'Sundays after Trinity', and some modern Prayer Books, including *Common Worship,* maintain this tradition.

Trisagion A Greek word meaning 'thrice holy', used as the name of a refrain frequently said or sung in liturgies of the eastern church: 'Holy God, holy and mighty, holy immortal One, have mercy on us'. Some modern Prayer Books give it as an alternative to the KYRIES at the Eucharist; it also appears in liturgies for Good Friday.

unction The act of anointing. 'Extreme unction', usually given only to a person at the point of death, was one of the seven SACRAMENTS of the medieval church. A rubric in the 1549 BCP office for the Visitation of the Sick that allows anointing 'if the sick person desire to be anointed' was removed in 1552. Thereafter unction had no official place in Anglican liturgy (apart from the coronation of the sovereign) until the twentieth century, when some Prayer Books restored it, optionally, to services of ministry to the sick. Anointing (with CHRISM) is also included, again optionally, in the rites of baptism, confirmation, and ordination in some Prayer Books.

Uniformity, Acts of The succession of Parliamentary enactments (1549, 1552, 1559, 1662) aimed at securing

uniformity of doctrine and worship in the English church, and conformity with it throughout the realm. Each of these Acts required exclusive use of the corresponding version of the BCP, and penalized non-compliance.

'usages' Four liturgical practices introduced at Holy Communion by some of the English NONJURORS, who became known as 'Usagers': the MIXED CHALICE; prayers for the departed; an invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the eucharistic ELEMENTS; and a prayer of OBLATION offering them.

use The customary, local form taken by rites and ceremonies in a particular region or diocese. Cranmer's PREFACE refers to various uses (Bangor, Salisbury, York, Lincoln) that were followed in different parts of England in the early sixteenth century, and declares that 'now from henceforth, all the whole realm shall have but one use'. A BCP may thus state on its title-page that it contains the services of the (whole) church 'according to the use of' the Church of Ireland, or England, or Nigeria, and so on, as the case may be.

Veni Creator The first two words, and the name, of a ninth-century hymn long used at ordinations. The metrical translation first included in the 1662 BCP, which begins 'Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire', was written by Bishop John Cosin.

Venite Psalm 95, so named from its opening word in the Latin Bible ('*O come*, let us sing unto the Lord'). In the 1549 BCP and its successors it has its traditional position as the INVITATORY psalm, except on Easter Day, when special EASTER ANTHEMS are ordered instead. Modern Prayer Books sometimes omit or replace the last four verses, and often provide alternatives such as the JUBILATE.

versicle A short prayer, said by the officiating minister, to which other worshippers reply with a similar prayer, the 'response'. Most versicles and responses are drawn from the psalms, as are 'O Lord, open thou our lips' and its response, 'And our mouth shall show forth thy praise' (Psalm 51:15). The letters *V* and *R,* sometimes with additional strokes to indicate abbreviation, are used in some Prayer Books to designate these pairs.

vigil Traditionally, a fast observed on the day before certain festivals, though never on a Sunday. The calendar of the 1662 BCP lists 'the evens or vigils' of Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday, and thirteen other feasts. Modern Prayer Books usually do not prescribe the observance of such vigils, but in several the EASTER VIGIL has been revived.

visitation A formal inspection of the spiritual and temporal affairs of a parish or chaplaincy, usually conducted by the BISHOP of the diocese. The general Anglican practice has been that episcopal visitations occur at least every three years. 'Visitation articles' are formal questions addressed to the parochial clergy and CHURCHWARDENS, with a view to ascertaining compliance with ecclesiastical CANONS and other directives, including those pertaining to liturgical matters.

Visitation of the Sick An OCCASIONAL OFFICE which, as appointed in the first Prayer Book, included psalms, prayers, an exhortation, an examination on the articles of the creed, confession, absolution, and ('if the sick person desire') anointing with oil. These might be followed by Holy Communion. For the 1662 BCP the service was shortened. Similar services appear, usually under other titles, in modern Prayer Books.

Visitation of the Virgin Mary The feast commemorating Mary's visit to her cousin Elizabeth (Luke 1:39–56). It appears as a black-letter day on 2 July in the calendar of the 1662 BCP. In *Common Worship* and other modern Anglican Prayer Books it is moved to 31 May and has the status of a major holy day.

Westminster Directory A common name for the *Directory for the Public Worship of God,* which by a Parliamentary ordinance of 1645 replaced the BCP. Instead of fixed forms of prayer, it provided instructions for how services were to be ordered.

Whitsunday Also Whitsun, the traditional English name for the feast of PENTECOST, perhaps derived from the white robes of the newly baptized. The 1662 BCP refers to the next two days as Monday and Tuesday in Whitsun-Week.

words of administration The formula (now often termed 'words of distribution') spoken by the minister who delivers the eucharistic bread or wine to those who are receiving communion. In the 1662 BCP there are two sentences to be used in distributing the bread, of which the first (only) was prescribed in the 1549 book and the second (only) in 1552. They were combined in the Elizabethan Prayer Book of 1559, as were the two corresponding sentences for administering the wine. Recent Prayer Books usually provide shorter formulas, often derived from ancient precedents.

words of institution The words referring to bread and wine spoken by Jesus at supper on the night of his betrayal, regarded as instituting the celebration of Holy Communion. They appear in every Anglican form of the EUCHARISTIC PRAYER. The rubrics of the 1662 BCP that provide for the case of insufficient bread or wine seem to imply the view (commonly held in western theology) that it is these words in particular which effect consecration.

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4. Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion

Included are books mentioned in this Guide. *The province's current Prayer Book is listed first, then earlier books and auxiliary publications. Some translations for use within the province are included; booklets for trial use are for the most part omitted.*

The Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand, and Polynesia

A New Zealand Prayer Book / He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa (1989)
Te Komiti mo te Whakapuaki I te Mohiotanga ki a Te Karaiti. Maori Prayer & Hymns (1953)

The Anglican Church of Australia

A Prayer Book for Australia (1995)
An Australian Prayer Book (1978)

The Anglican Church of Canada

The Book of Alternative Services of the Anglican Church of Canada (1985)
The Book of Common Prayer (1962; previous version 1922)
Occasional Celebrations (1992)
For All the Saints: Prayers and Readings for Saints' Days (1994)

Province de l'Eglise Anglicane du Congo

The Book of Common Prayer (Swahili, 1998)
The Book of Common Prayer (English, 1984; previous version 1973)

The Church of England

The Book of Common Prayer (1662; previous versions 1549, 1552, 1559, 1604)
Common Worship: Daily Prayer (2005; preliminary version 2002)
Common Worship: Initiation Services (2005; previous version 1998)
Common Worship: The Ordinal (2006)
Common Worship: Pastoral Services (2005)
Common Worship: Services and Prayers for the Church of England (2000)
Common Worship: Times and Seasons (2006)
The Alternative Service Book 1980
Lent, Holy Week, Easter (1984)
The Promise of His Glory (1991)
Enriching the Christian Year (1993)
New Patterns for Worship (2002)

Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui

The Book of Common Prayer (Hong Kong, 1957)
The Book of Common Prayer (Taiwan, 1948)

The Church of Ireland

The Book of Common Prayer (2004; previous versions 1665, 1878, 1926)
Leabhar an hUrnai Coitinne 2004, Cumann Gaelach na hEaglaise
Alternative Prayer Book (1984)

Nippon Sei Ko Kei (The Anglican Communion in Japan)
The Book of Common Prayer (1990; previous versions, 1895, 1938, 1959)

The Anglican Church of Kenya
Our Modern Services (2002)
Modern English Services (1975)
A Kenyan Service of Holy Communion (1989)
Modern Services (1991)

The Anglican Church of Korea
The Holy Catholic Church (Anglican) Prayer Book / Sung-Kong-Hoe Kee-Doh-Suh (2004)
The Book of Common Prayer (1965)

The Church of the Province of Melanesia
A Melanesian English Prayer Book (1973)
A Book of Common Prayer for Use in the Diocese of Melanesia (1938, 1953)
A Book of Common Prayer in Simple English (1965)
The Revised Order of Service for Holy Baptism (2001)

The Church of the Province of Myanmar (Burma)
The Order for Holy Communion (2001)

The Church of Nigeria (Anglican Communion)
The Book of Common Prayer (1996)
Akwukwo Ekpelu (1929)
Akwukwo Ekpelu N'ogbo N'Ibo (1934)
Ekpere Anekpere Chineke N'ogbo Nokwu Ibo (1950)
Occasional Services: In English and Igbo (1954)
Littafin Addu'a (1968)

The Anglican Church of Papua New Guinea
An Anglican Prayer Book (the 'Cententary Prayer Book', 1991)

The Episcopal Church in the Philippines
The Book of Common Prayer (1999)

The Scottish Episcopal Church
The Scottish Liturgy 1982 (previous versions 1929, 1970)
An Liotuirge 1970
Litirdi Albannach 1982
The Scottish Ordinal 1984
Daily Prayer (1988)
Revised Funeral Rites (1987)
Christian Initiation (1998)
The Book of Common Prayer (1637, 1912, 1929)

The Church of the Province of Southern Africa (The Anglican Church of Southern Africa)
An Anglican Prayer Book 1989
A Book of Common Prayer–South Africa (1954)

The Anglican Church of Tanzania

Kitabu cha Sala (1995; previous versions, 1959, 1986)
Kawaida ya Tanzania (Tanzanian Rite) (1972)

The Episcopal Church in the United States of America

The Book of Common Prayer (1979; previous versions 1789, 1892, 1928)
El Libro de Oracion Comun
Le Livre de la Priere Commune
The Book of Occasional Services (2003 and previous versions)
Lesser Feasts and Fasts (2003 and previous versions)
Enriching Our Worship

The Church in Wales

Y Llyfr Gweddi Gyffredin / The Book of Common Prayer (1984)
Public Baptism of Infants and Baptism with Confirmation–Alternative Order (1991)

The Church in the Province of the West Indies

The Book of Common Prayer (1995)
Revised Services for the Church of the Province of the West Indies (1980)

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ABOUT THE EDITORS AND CONTRIBUTORS

Editors

Charles Hefling is a professor of systematic theology at Boston College. He has served for four years as editor-in-chief of the *Anglican Theological Review,* and is the examining chaplain for the Diocese of Massachusetts in the Episcopal Church, U. S. A., to which he was ordained.

Cynthia Shattuck is Editorial Director of Church Publishing, Morehouse, and Seabury Books in New York City.

Editorial Advisory Committee

Colin Buchanan is the retired Bishop Suffragan of Woolwich, diocese of Southwark, one of the architects of the Church of England's *Alternative Service Book*, and editor of the Alcuin/Grove Studies in Liturgy series.

Richard Geoffrey Leggett is Professor of Liturgical Studies at Vancouver School of Theology in Canada, and convenes the worship working group of the Faith, Worship, and Ministry Committee of the Anglican Church in Canada.

Esther Mombo is Academic Dean and Lecturer in African Church History at St Paul's United Theological College in Limuru, Kenya.

Jenny Plane Te Paa is Principal of Te Rau Kahikatea, constituent of the College of St John the Evangelist in Auckland, New Zealand. She was most recently a member of the Lambeth Commission on Communion.

Contributors

J. Neil Alexander is Bishop of Atlanta and was formerly the Norma and Olin Mills Professor of Divinity in the School of Theology of the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee.

Katharine E. Babson is Executive Director of Christ-Myitta Myanmar/Burma and a Volunteer for Mission of the Episcopal Church.

John F. Baldovin, S.J. is Professor of Historical and Liturgical Theology, Weston Jesuit School of Theology in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and served as ecumenical partner to the International Anglican Liturgical Consultation from 1995 to 1999.

William R. Blott has served parishes in the dioceses of Niagara and Huron in Canada, and is the author of *Blessing and Glory and Thanksgiving: The Growth of a Canadian Liturgy.*

Kenneth Booth is Director of Theology House in Christchurch, New Zealand. He served on the Liturgical Commission of the Anglican Church in New Zealand, which produced its new Prayer Book in 1989.

Cynthia Botha, a priest in the diocese of Johannesburg, is Secretary to the Publishing Committee and Convenor of the Liturgical Committee of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa.

Terry Brown is Bishop of Malaita in the Church of the Province of Melanesia and former Lecturer in Theology at the Church of Melanesia's Bishop Patteson Theological College.

Ian T. Douglas is Angus Dun Professor of Mission and World Christianity at the Episcopal Divinity School, and serves on the Inter-Anglican Standing Commission on Mission and Evangelism.

Ronald Dowling is rector of St Mary Magdalene's Parish in Adelaide, South Australia, a member of the Australian Liturgical Commission, and former chair of the International Anglican Liturgical Consultation.

Emmanuel Ekpunobi is a canon in the Province of Nigeria and professor at St Paul's University College in Anambra State, Nigeria.

John Gibaut is Professor of Liturgics at St Paul University in Ottawa, Canada.

Jeremy Gregory is Senior Lecturer in the History of Christianity at the University of Manchester, England, and author of *Restoration, Reformation, and Reform, 1660–1828: Archbishops of Canterbury and their Diocese.*

Marion J. Hatchett is Professor of Liturgics and Music *emeritus* at the School of Theology, University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee.

John W. B. Hill is rector of the Anglican Church of St Augustine of Canterbury in Toronto, Canada, and author of *Making Disciples* and *Into the Household of God*.

Martin W. Hutner is a designer and collector of press books and Whistleriana and former president of the American Printing History Association. He serves on the council of the Fellows of the Morgan Library.

Gordon Jeanes is the vicar of St Anne's Church, Wandsworth, London, and former Geoffrey Cuming Fellow in Liturgy at the University of Durham.

Nak-Hyon Joseph Joo is a priest in the diocese of Seoul, and a former member of the Liturgical Commission of the Anglican Church of Korea.

Donald Kraus is Executive Editor for Bibles at Oxford University Press, New York City.

Robin A. Leaver is Professor of Sacred Music at Westminster Choir College of Rider University, Visiting Professor at the Juilliard School, New York City, and author of *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications*.

Trevor Lloyd, former Archdeacon of Barnstaple, was a member of the Liturgical Commission of the Church of England for twenty-two years. He convened the group responsible for the new pastoral liturgies for *Common Worship.*

Grant LeMarquand is Associate Professor of Biblical Studies and Mission at Trinity Episcopal School for Ministry in Ambridge, Pennsylvania, and served in Kenya as a missionary from the Anglican Church of Canada.

Tomas S. Maddela is Dean and Professor of Liturgy at St Andrew's Theological Seminary in Quezon City, Philippines.

Judith Maltby is Chaplain and Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Reader in Church History in the University of Oxford, and the author of *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England*.

Brian Mayne served as secretary of the Irish Liturgical Committee 1989–1999 and as the editor of the 2004 edition of the Irish Book of Common Prayer.

Ruth A. Meyers is Professor of Liturgics at Seabury-Western Theological Seminary in Evanston, Illinois, and general editor of the Liturgical Studies series of the Standing Commission on Liturgy and Music.

Harold Miller is Bishop of Down and Dromore in Northern Ireland, chair of the Irish Liturgical Advisory Committee, and one of the architects of the 2004 edition of the Irish Book of Common Prayer.

Leonel L. Mitchell is Professor of Liturgics *emeritus* at Seabury-Western Theological Seminary in Evanston, Illinois.

Clayton L. Morris is the Liturgical Officer of the Episcopal Church and author of the forthcoming *Holy Hospitality: Worship and the Baptismal Covenant*.

Lesley A. Northup is Associate Professor of Religious Studies and Associate Dean of the Honors College at Florida International University, and author of *The Book of Common Prayer, 1892*.

Michael Nuttall is the retired bishop of Natal and Dean of the Province of Southern Africa, where he chaired the Liturgical Commission that produced *An Anglican Prayer Book, 1989*.

David C. Okeke, until recently the Dean of All Saints Cathedral, Onitsha, Nigeria, is head of the Department of Religion at Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Nigeria.

Juan M. C. Oliver is Director of the George Mercer, Jr. Memorial School of Theology in Garden City, New York, and Director of the Hispanic Program in Theology and Pastoral Ministry at The General Theological Seminary.

Robert Paterson is the Principal Officer of the Church in Wales Council for Mission and Ministry, and former Secretary for the Church in Wales Liturgical Commission.

Philip H. Pfatteicher is Professor of English *emeritus* at East Stroudsburg University and author of *Commentary on the Lutheran Book of Worship*.

Titus Leonard Presler is Sub-Dean and Professor of Mission and World Christianity, The General Theological Seminary in New York, and a former missionary in Zimbabwe.

Jeffery Rowthorn retired in 2001 as Bishop in Charge of the Convocation of American Churches in Europe and is once again teaching liturgy at Berkeley Divinity School at Yale.

William L. Sachs is Director of Research at The Episcopal Church Foundation and author of *The Transformation of Anglicanism: From State Church to Global Communion*.

Carl Scovel is the former Minister of King's Chapel, Boston, Massachusetts, and author of *Journey Toward Independence: King's Chapel's Transition to Unitarianism*.

Charles Sherlock is Registrar and Director of Ministry Studies at the Melbourne College of Divinity, Australia, and served on the Liturgical Commission for *A Prayer Book for Australia* (1995).

Bryan Spinks is Professor of Liturgical Studies, Yale Institute of Sacred Music and Yale Divinity School, and author of *Sacraments, Ceremonies and the Stuart Divines: Sacramental Theology and Liturgy in England and Scotland 1603–1662*.

Paul G. Stanwood is Professor *emeritus* of English at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver and the editor of John Cosin's *Devotions*.

Kenneth Stevenson is the Bishop of Portsmouth, a former member of the Liturgical Commission of the Church of England, and was involved with the creation of *Common Worship*.

Gianfranco Tellini is a liturgical scholar in the Scottish Episcopal Church and former member of its Liturgical Commission.

Karen B. Westerfield Tucker is Professor of Worship at Boston University and the author of *American Methodist Worship*.

James F. Turrell is Assistant Professor of Liturgics at the School of Theology, The University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee.

Gillian Varcoe is Rector of St Mary-in-the-Valley Anglican Church in South Tuggeranong, Lecturer in Liturgy at St Mark's National Theological Centre, Canberra, and a former member of the Australian Anglican Liturgical Commission.

Justus VanHouten, s.s.f., is former president of the North American Association for the Diaconate and the Dean of Newton Theological College in Papua New Guinea.

Sze-kar Wan is the John Norris Professor of New Testament Interpretation at Andover-Newton Theological School, Newton, Massachusetts.

Pierre W. Whalon is Bishop in Charge of the Convocation of American Churches in

Europe, and serves as assisting bishop in the three other European Anglican jurisdictions as well as the Old Catholic Church of Germany.

The late **James F. White** was Professor of Liturgical Studies at University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana.

J. Robert Wright is the St Mark's in-the-Bouwerie Professor of Ecclesiastical History at The General Theological Seminary, New York.

John M. Yoshida is Dean and Professor of Liturgy at the Bishop Williams Theological Seminary in Japan and Chairman of the Liturgical Commission of the Nippon Sei Ko Kai.

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